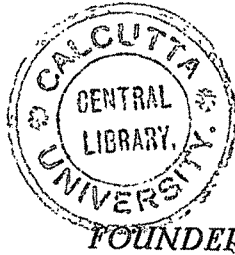


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# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### *The New Year*

The Old Year is drawing to a close as we write these lines, but we see little hope as yet that peace and goodwill will prevail with the coming of the New Year.

At home, we have had the worst harvest since that of 1942-43, the year of the Great Famine. And further the surplus area of Assam has been devastated by one of the most intense earthquakes on record. Trade and Industry are still in the throes of a three-year-old depression, caused by the anti-social attitude taken both with Capital and organised Labour alike. The sufferings of the common citizen, that is to say of 98 per cent of the population, have been intensified beyond all measure thereby. Black-marketing is still rampant and labour efficiency lower than ever. The economic tension, which had been eased somewhat due to devaluation is likely to be affected adversely by the urgent necessity for the large-scale enhancement of the food-grain imports. We shall go into details later in these matters.

The political situation at home had been stabilized to a certain extent during the first three quarters of 1950. Then came the rumblings of the Chinese invasion of Tibet and the major disturbances in Nepal, which gave a fresh impetus to the foreign-controlled disruptionist movements in India. And along with that have come some curious legal decisions which have rendered the maintenance of law and order by the present methods somewhat precarious. This has encouraged the major disruptionist group to reorganise afresh on a new alignment.

We must make it clear at this point as to why we call this group disruptionist. If it were merely a question of the path, Right or Left, it would be

another matter. If all India, or the major portion of its nationals, went towards the goals of Socialism, or even to the extreme Leftist peaks of Marxian Communism by the constitutional methods of voluntary evolution and non-violent revolution, we would acclaim rather than denounce the movement. But when we see that certain major groups are not merely inspired by foreign examples, but are actively directed and financed by a foreign organisation, and we see that its entire programme is aimed at the undermining of the solidarity of the nation's administrative and economic set-up, with the object of creating a chaotic vacuum in which foreign domination can intrude in with ease, then we must consider such organisations as anti-national and disruptionist.

Let us, for example, consider the following report on the re-organisation of the C.P.I. that appeared in the *Statesman* of December 29 :

"It is understood that the third Party Congress of the Communist Party of India, due to be held in January, may be delayed because of the recent reconstitution of the Central Committee, and also because of differences of opinion among Party members on political issues. No information is available about the venue of the Congress; possibly it has not yet been fixed.

The reconstituted Central Committee consists of Mr. Rajeswar Rao, Secretary (Andhra), Mr. Nambudripad (Kerala), Mr. Bires Misra (Assam), Mr. Narayan Reddi (Andhra), Mr. Parulekar (Bombay), Mr. Manindra Singh (East Pakistan), Dr. Ranen Sen (Bengal), Mr. Yusuf (U.P.), Mr. Dange (Bombay), Mr. Ajay Ghosh (Bihar) and Mr. Ghate (Bombay), the last five being new members. Mr. Somnath Lahiri (Bengal), who was a member of the Committee, has resigned.

The Politburo has also been reconstituted. It consists of Mr. Rajeswar Rao, Mr. Nambudripad, Mr. Dange, Mr. Ajay Ghosh and Mr. Ghate.

In a statement issued by it on December 18, the Central Committee stated that it had not been possible at the Committee's meeting earlier in the month, to "thrash out the political differences and evolve an agreed political line." The statement added that it was essential for the party to discharge effectively its duties and responsibilities "in the struggle for national liberation."

*It is learnt that the whole matter has been referred to the Cominform for a final decision and for the issue of a directive about the lines on which the Party should work in India.*

On receipt of the directive the Party Congress will meet to work out a detailed programme.

Meanwhile, to strengthen the Party, efforts are being made to readmit to the organization members who have been "unjustly expelled." Several Bengal district committees are reported to have suggested the withdrawal of the expulsion order on Mr. P. C. Joshi, the former General Secretary, and a review of his case by a commission. An inquiry commission has been set up to deal with the case of Mr. Ranadive and some of his associates for their "Left sectarianism amounting to Trotskyite-Titoite policy."

The new Central Committee, which thinks that no open session of the Congress is possible, is considering how best the Congress may be made representative of all sections of opinion in the party.

The expanded committee is also exploring the possibility of working jointly with all Leftist parties to fight the general elections, and for the withdrawal of all repressive measures, the release of political prisoners and restoration of civil liberties. As a first step, in the trade union field efforts are being made to work unitedly, if possible through amalgamation, with the A.I.T.U.C. and U.T.U.C. in Bengal.

The success of the Chinese Communists in Korea has been a source of great inspiration to Indian Communists. In Bengal, the recent release of a large number of Communist detenus under orders of the High Court has also given a fresh impetus to party activity, and several released members have already started organizing labour in jute mill areas to make up the ground lost during the past two years. A committee has been constituted, with one of the leading party members recently released from detention as secretary, to organize "trade union" activity in Calcutta industrial centres."

This was preceded some time back by a piece of news from Bombay in which the dictum of a prominent Chinese Communist leader was given. In his comments he rebuked the C.P.I. for making exaggerated claims and directed it to follow, in future, more closely the directions that were sent to it from abroad.

Apart from the disruptionists, there has been wide dissensions inside the body-politic of the Congress itself. There are separate groups crystallizing out with various nuclei and in West Bengal one such section has left the Congress altogether.

So taken overall, the political picture is dismal and in other spheres hardly promising. It is indeed a bleak prospect for the New Year!

Further, the nation is poorer today by the loss of the last two giants we had in our midst. Sri Aurobindo the Seer had remained detached from the public platform for nearly four decades. But his influence on the mind of the leaders of the nation had only been intensified by that isolation. There was an aura round him like that of the great sages of yore, and from his detachment came inspiration to the fighters for the nation's freedom.

The Divine that manifested Itself in and through a Bengali body as Its instrument has willed to withdraw Its presence from this mundane world. This came to happen on the night of December 5 last. A pall of still sorrow has descended on India at the departure of one of whom Sri Aurobindo had himself sung:

"He who would bring the heavens here,  
Must descend himself into clay  
And the burden of earthly nature bear  
And tread the dolorous way."

Since 1906 India had believed in him as one of the heaven-sent deliverers who with the *mantra* of Liberty would put his own people at the altar of equality in the comity of modern nations. That *sadhana* he saw in fruition on August 15, 1947—a date which happened to be Sri Aurobindo's birth-day in 1872. India has been hoping that as political freedom has come, her people would have now the inclination and opportunity to devote themselves whole-hearted to the service to God and Man, to the ending of inequalities in human society and injustices in human relations.

Since 1910 when he retired to Pondicherry, a vaster vista has been opened before him by Divine Will. India has been following him in her unobtrusive ways through good report and evil; and the world has been increasingly feeling its way towards the realization that in the ancient wisdom of Ind lay the secret and centre of redemption from crises that overtake her almost at equal intervals of time. The news of the passing into the Life Eternal of this Indian seer and sage has helped to strengthen this realization in this wider field. And our feelings can be given expression in the words of Shakespeare, quoted by one of his disciples in anticipation of such a day.

"... When he shall die,  
Take him and cut him out in little stars  
And he will make the face of heaven so fine  
That all the world will be in love with night,  
And pay no worship to the garish sun."

In the Master's own words we find, in the *Life Divine*:

"To fulfil God in Life is man's manhood. We must accept the manysidedness of the manifestation even when we assert the unity of the manifested. All problems in life are essentially problems of harmony."

Scarcely had we recovered from the shock of the passing of Sri Aurobindo when came the news of the sudden death of the Sardar. The Ship of State is verily without a Pilot today!

We could write chapters and chapters on the qualities and achievements of that stern warrior and Elder statesman. But as yet the sense of irreplaceable loss is the one thought that reigns supreme. The burden on Sri Jawaharlal Nehru is stupendous, and unless vision and inspiration is given him at this critical juncture in the nation's destiny, there will be calamity. The successors to the Sardar that have been chosen by Sri Nehru to take over the portfolios are amiable gentlemen of a very different calibre and metal indeed. We confess their appointment has not in the least allayed our apprehensions about the future.

Pakistan has maintained its intransigent and actively hostile attitude, despite all the futile appeasement attempts by Prime Minister Nehru. We had the information given in Parliament that no less than 81 raids had been made on Indian soil by armed Pakistanis. In West Bengal, we have had a prolonged minor skirmish *on our soil* during the first three weeks of December. The outcome has been as follows:

Cease-fire orders have been given by the West and East Bengal Governments to their police forces posted on the borders of Nadia and Kushtia districts.

During the past three weeks there have been almost daily exchanges of fire between Indian and Pakistani police near the border villages of Bhatupara and Betia, the dispute arising over the harvesting of paddy by cultivators.

The two Governments have agreed to immediate demarcation of the boundary in the disputed border areas by the Directors of Land Records of West and East Bengal.

Our staff correspondent in Dacca writes that joint demarcation of the boundary line in the disputed border areas is expected to commence in the first week of January.

Comments are superfluous! One merely wonders if West Bengal is inside the Indian Union.

### *India's "No-War" Letters with Pakistan*

Letters exchanged between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan on the "no-war declaration" had been placed before the Parliament in its last session.

We do not see that these letters have improved relations between Pakistan and India. We can only praise Sri Nehru's patience, and with that he could display the same virtue, even in a niggardly measure when it concerns critics at home.

In his last letter Sri Nehru said: "I am as convinced as ever that such a declaration would go a long way to clear the atmosphere for a friendly discussion of all the issues that are outstanding between our two countries. In view of the dark clouds of war that are spreading all over the world, such a declaration by India and Pakistan would have a peculiar value."

Welcoming the Pakistani Prime Minister's assurance that Pakistan had "no intention of attacking India" and wanted a "peaceful settlement of the Kashmir question" Sri Nehru said: "As I stated before Parliament on November 28, India is pledged to peace and I gave a solemn assurance that we shall continue to work for peace with our neighbour country. There, I think, we must leave the matter for the present."

Referring to Press propaganda, Sri Nehru said that the leading newspapers of India had dealt with the Delhi agreement "helpfully and with a sense of responsibility" and "the tone of the Calcutt newspapers had improved considerably."

Sri Nehru says: "Leading newspapers in Pakistan, however, stand out in sharp contrast and anti-Indian propaganda of an extreme type continues from day to day. This applies more especially to the *Dawn* of Karachi. In its leading articles and its news columns there is unjust and unbridled criticism of India. Fictitious reports appear of economic and political conditions in India. All kinds of base motives are imputed to us; the latest example of this is the gross perversion of our relations with Nepal."

Referring to Kashmir, he says: "You have repeated what has been said before on behalf of Pakistan, and no purpose will be served by my repeating what I have said so often on behalf of India. I would only point out that we are, and always have been, prepared to agree to any reasonable arrangements that would combine effective protection of the security of the State with complete freedom to the people of Jammu and Kashmir to decide their own future."

Referring to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's allegation about the setting up of a provisional Government of East Bengal, Sri Nehru said that in April last there had been an announcement to that effect on the air from a secret source and the attempts of the police to locate the illegal transmitter had been without success. But since then there had been no such announcements.

After drawing attention to a reported broadcast in February last on Dacca radio "calling for vengeance on non-Muslims," Sri Nehru said: "I am sure you will agree that stray incidents of this kind are best ignored. In any case I can assure you that I will not tolerate any illegal activities on Indian soil directed against the integrity and security of Pakistan. The large-scale movement of military forces of India last February that you have mentioned, was, as I stated in February, a purely precautionary defensive measure, taken in a period of high tension."

Denying the Pakistani Prime Minister's statement that the Indian representatives had agreed that there was "no question of varying the shares" of the two countries regarding canal waters, Sri Nehru said that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan had quoted from a report of a sub-committee of the Punjab Partition Committee which had not been agreed to by the Partition Com-



mittee and the whole matter had been referred to the Central Arbitral Committee.

The statement quoted from the sub-committee's report was also incorrect. The actual words used were: "There is no question of varying the authorized shares of water to which the two zones and the various canals are entitled."

Denying that India was seeking to increase greatly for herself supplies of canal water at Pakistan's expense, Sri Nehru has said that India only proposed to utilize the waters to which she was entitled. But before doing so she had generously agreed not to prejudice any existing irrigation in Pakistan until Pakistan had reasonable time to tap alternate sources.

This had been "fully realized" by Pakistan's representatives when they agreed to the May 4, 1948 agreement. "It is, I confess, a matter of amazement to me that you should still seek to maintain that that agreement was made under compulsion." Sri Nehru adds:

"Pakistan's intransigence as regards the technical examination agreed to between the two countries hardly requires proof. Engineers of both countries had met more than once, but if in spite of this and the mass of factual data available, there was no progress, it could only be attributed to the refusal of the Pakistani Government representative to permit the two sets of engineers to get on with the technical examination of the problem.

It is our firm conviction that, if only the technical examination is allowed to be made in a spirit of mutual understanding and accommodation, not only the richest areas in Pakistan but all other legitimately irrigable areas will get the supply of water they reasonably need.

"I have no doubt that if the tribunal which I have suggested is established and is assisted by the results of such a technical examination, it would not be difficult for it to find an equitable solution of the problem."

Referring to the evacuee property question, Sri Nehru said: "I can only regret that you should still think that the tribunal we have suggested would not serve any useful purpose. I am also disappointed at your refusal to discuss the evacuee property dispute pending a settlement in the canal water dispute, except on the basis suggested by you, namely, that there should be freedom of sale and exchange of urban property."

"In my previous letter I have explained why we feel that this method of approach to the evacuee property problem would not lead to a satisfactory solution. I need not repeat what I have said previously."

Sri Nehru then dealt with the question of Pakistani assets. Characterizing the Pakistani Prime Minister's statement that Mr Nehru had "summarily dismissed" the question of release of Pakistani assets

as "doing me less than justice." Sri Nehru has drawn attention to his letter of January 18 in this connexion and India's large financial claims on Pakistan.

Mentioning the sums due to India on stores transferred to Pakistan and Pakistan's share of the expenditure on the Joint Defence Council, Sri Nehru said that it would not be correct to say that negotiations on the subject between the two countries had failed. There had been some correspondence and discussions between India and the Governor of the Pakistan State Bank and the Pakistani Finance Ministry, and some progress had been made in clarifying the issues.

Thanking Mr Liaquat Ali Khan for his invitation to him to visit Karachi, Sri Nehru said: "I attach value to periodical meetings between us as they can help us more than anything to understand our respective points of view to pave the way to a settlement of outstanding issues and, generally, to promote good relations between our two countries."

## Nepal

Prime Minister Nehru told the Indian Parliament on December 21 that the Prime Minister of Nepal would issue a proclamation announcing constitutional reforms and "other matters" before the end of December.

*PTI* adds: Sri Nehru said that India was anxious that there should be peace and stability in Nepal. "At the same time, we felt that the introduction of substantial political reforms was essential for this purpose.

"It was on this basis of respect for Nepal's independence, combined with an urgent interest in political reforms there, that we carried on our conversations with representatives of the Government of Nepal who were recently in Delhi. We explained our position fully to these representatives, Generals Kaiser Shumsher and Bijaya Shumsher, and, at their request, we gave them, on December 8, a Memorandum defining our aims and proposals.

"The Government of India's primary objective is that Nepal should be independent, progressive and strong. For this purpose, they regard immediate constitutional changes, which will satisfy popular opinion and are acceptable to important non-official organizations of Nepalese nationals, as urgent.

"In their (Government of India's) view it is necessary:

"1. That a Constituent Assembly, composed entirely of properly-elected members, should be brought into being as soon as possible to draw up a constitution for Nepal.

"2. Pending the meeting of the Constituent Assembly mentioned in (1) an interim Government which will include persons representative of popular opinion and enjoying public confidence should be established.

"Apart from an adequate number of popular

representatives, this interim Government should include members of the Rana family, one of whom should be Prime Minister. Members of the interim Government should be formally appointed by the King on proposals submitted by the Prime Minister. This Government should function as a Cabinet, on the principle of joint responsibility, and should frame its own rules of business.

"3. In the interests of peace as well as stability, his Majesty King Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Shah should continue to be King of Nepal. During the King's absence, he may appoint a regent to act on his behalf during that period.

"These suggestions are made in a spirit of sincere friendship and with the sole object of ensuring the stability and progress of Nepal. They are necessarily suggestions of principle. Once the principles are accepted, details could easily be worked out.

"The Government of India will be glad to give any assistance that the Government of Nepal may need in working out the details of a constitution and on connected matters.

"They wish to emphasize that in order that the changes now made should work smoothly, it is of paramount importance that the present authoritarian regime should be liberalized in spirit as well as structure, and that the changes should satisfy all progressively-minded Nepalese nationals."

He had received a reply from the Prime Minister of Nepal which read as follows: "Our representatives who had been to New Delhi have brought with them the Memorandum containing friendly suggestions and advice offered by your Excellency and the Government of India with the sole object of ensuring the independence, stability and progress of Nepal.

"I need not say that any advice and suggestions given in a spirit of friendship by our great neighbour have always been received by us with the attention they deserve. My Cabinet has been actively considering the matter, but as momentous changes are envisaged they are naturally taking some more time to consider the matter than was originally anticipated.

"Careful thought is necessary before we actually decide on steps which will bring about far-reaching changes without jeopardizing the stability and peace of the country. Nevertheless, we are working on the matter with as much speed as is possible and I am confident that we will be able to prepare a proclamation addressed to the people of Nepal announcing the constitutional reforms and other matters before the end of the month. I shall send an advance copy of it as soon as it is ready.

"I should like to take this opportunity of expressing to the Government of India and to your Excellency in particular sincere thanks on behalf of my Government and myself for the kindness and courtesy

with which our representatives were received in Delhi, which enabled the discussions to be carried on in an atmosphere of friendship and cordiality."

Appreciating the friendly tone of this reply, Sri Nehru said: "We have no desire to hurry the Government of Nepal. At the same time we cannot ignore the fact that delay in a settlement is likely to make the situation worse.

"The world situation, unfortunately, has grown darker since we discussed international affairs earlier this month. It is our firm conviction that the longer political reforms and a satisfactory settlement are delayed in Nepal the greater the danger to Nepal's security and internal tranquillity.

"The suggestions that we made in our Memorandum were made in a spirit of sincere friendship and with the sole object of ensuring the stability and progress of Nepal. They were offered after great care and in the hope that these suggestions will be examined and dealt with by the Government of Nepal in the spirit in which they had been offered.

"We have continued to recognize His Majesty King Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Shah; we feel that, in all the circumstances, this is the right course, and any discontinuance of recognition would produce many complications and would come in the way of a peaceful settlement.

"Any other arrangement, such as the replacement of the constitutional head of the Kingdom by a Council of Regency, appointed by the Prime Minister to act in the name of a child King, would make the introduction and smooth working of progressive constitutional changes more difficult."

The Government of India, said Sri Nehru, had observed the strictest neutrality in the internal struggle in Nepal. The officers in the border areas had been instructed accordingly, and they had carried out these instructions.

Within a week of this statement, General Bijay Shamsher Jung, Foreign Minister of Nepal, came to Delhi. On December 27 he saw India's Secretary-General for Foreign Affairs when discussions on the Draft Proposals regarding constitutional reforms and other issues affecting the Nepalese situation were held. The Nepal Government's proposals, while trying to meet generally the principles adumbrated in the memorandum of the Government of India in regard to the convening of an elected Constituent Assembly and formation of an Interim Government for Nepal, it is believed, do not indicate any clear acceptance of the advice tendered by the Government of India on the question of Kingship. According to Delhi reports, Nepal Government's reply boils down to two proposals, viz., their willingness to set up a Constituent Assembly after the present census operations are completed and to form an Interim Cabinet consisting of nine members of whom not more than three would be representatives

of the people. The census would be complete after two years. The present Nepal Government are also understood to have expressed themselves against the return of King Tribhuvan.

### *India's Defence*

"Prime Minister Nehru told Parliament on December 21 in reply to a pointed inquiry by Pandit H. N. Kunzru, that India now was more secure than 90 per cent of the countries in the world.

After the cheers that followed had died away, the Prime Minister elaborated his point which, he said, he did not make on the basis of the strength of India's armed forces. He declared that, judging from the present world situation, the danger to India in the near future was far less than the danger threatening more powerful and advanced countries both in the East and the West.

The Prime Minister was speaking on the debate on the supplementary demand for Defence services. Referring to the question of a reduction in the strength of the Army, persistently mentioned by some members, he said the matter had been continually under consideration by the Government since 1946-47, but much could not be done yet because of "obvious factors."

The Government were still determined to go ahead with the proposal but would take every precaution so that the general strength of the Army did not lessen. "We would rather have a highly mechanized, relatively small army than a large ill-equipped foot army," he said.

Those elements in the Army who were not properly equipped and not relatively well trained would be demobilized. This would not affect the fighting strength of the Army as these elements were more or less equivalent to a police force."

We only wish we could share the blind optimism of these estimable representatives of ours who cheered Sri Nehru. As for the crazy cranks that are demanding a reduction in the actual strength of our fighting forces, we consider that the Adult Education Board could well make a start by imparting some lessons from Indian History to them.

### *War and Peace in the Balance*

Abroad the sky is darker than ever although there has been a lull in the actual fighting in Korea for the last four weeks or so. The attempt made in the U.N.O. by the Asiatic group to bring about a "Cease-fire" agreement between the U.N.O. forces and China seems to have misfired due to suspicion and hesitation on the part of Communist China. The Chinese U.N.O. delegation led by Mr. Wu have broken off negotiations and have gone back to Peking by a devious route, *via* Moscow.

That the Chinese delegation should thus proceed to Moscow direct from Lake Success is more than merely significant. The normal course, one should have thought, would have been to report to the home

government at Peking and then Peking could have held consultations with Moscow. But the order seems to be reversed, showing that the direction and initiative lies with Moscow and Peking seems to function as the executive headquarters.

The reading of the Chinese riddle is outside our scope for the present. China herself seems to be on the horns of a dilemma. We believe there are still counsels in Peking that are in favour of continuing the millennium-old friendly relations with India. But at the same time it would be disastrous to ignore the fact that China has virtually surrendered all her rights of independent action by entering the Soviet bloc. And therefore the chances for a successful mediation by the group led by India are doubtful.

The question of neutrality for ourselves has therefore become acute. What if the world conflagration blazes up? We are not prepared for it in the least. And for preparation we need active outside aid on a massive scale. Can we obtain that aid without sacrificing our rights of neutrality? The different political groups here give different opinions. The political trends in India, indeed in all Asia, are further complicated by statements like that of Mr. Hoover in the U.S.A.

This complacent gentleman does not seem to have realized that if war breaks out now, the U.S.A. will not be in the same position of vantage as she was in the previous two World Wars. In them she could sit on the fence and take her time in choosing the hour of her entry in the struggle for world supremacy. Even after her entry she could spend months and months, *ad lib*, training and equipping her fighting forces and developing her reserves while less fortunately placed nations poured out blood and treasure in torrents in trying to beat back the tidal waves of aggression. In the first World War, Russia and France absorbed the entire shock of the mighty war machines of the Kaiser, U.S.A. came in for vast financial involvements and little beyond. In the second World War, France went down but in the West Russia absorbed the colossal forces of destruction let loose on her by Hitler and in the Far East the Japanese could not free 75 per cent of their fighting forces that were bogged down in China. Both Russia and China traded space for time, thereby undergoing titanic sacrifices, and the time thus gained was placed at the disposal of the U.S.A. High Command for equipment and organisation of mighty forces that took their time in launching out against tried and spent enemies in the West and the East.

In the next World War there would be no "shock-absorber" nations, as should be apparent to all sensible persons, in and out of the U.S.A. We have neither the desire nor the right to challenge Mr. Hoover's isolationism. But we do find his idea of Uncle Sam posing as Jehovah, sitting in solitary grandeur to pronounce judgment and distribute largesse on the lesser peoples of the Earth, to be ludicrous to say the least. This *bania* mentality has brought Britannia to her present position,

thanks to her Curzons, Chamberlains and Churchills, and Uncle Sam will fare no better if he is unable to profit by the experience of others.

Indeed, judging by American papers and the speeches of U.S.A. notabilities, all Asia is *terra incognita* to the American pundits, outside a slice of China, and the present-day Japan. The *Reader's Digest* for September 1950, contained an article titled "Why Stalin's Conquest of Asia Must be Stopped." The author William C. Bullitt, is a career diplomat, having served his country as an ambassador both to France and to the Soviet Union. We have very seldom come upon such an exposition of ignorance about Asiatic lands and peoples by a person of high diplomatic rank.

In his opinion, the key to Stalin's conquest of South-East Asia lies in French Indo-China. If the Communist forces of Ho Chi Minh are able to drive the French and the French supported Annamite forces of Bao Dai out of Indo-China then the resulting chain reaction will mean the overrunning of the whole of South-East Asia by the powers of Communism.

His argument runs:

For if Indo-China should fall to the Communists not only Siam (Thailand) but also Burma and Malaya would be overwhelmed in short order.

The Siamese are a delightful people but they are not warriors. They admit frankly that if Ho Chi Minh should conquer Indo-China they could offer no effective resistance.

Burma is open to attack from Siam, Indo-China and China. Today Chinese Communist forces are stretched out along its northern border. The Burma Road, our supply line to China during part of World War II, may now become the supply line for the Communists in Burma. The country has a Socialist government—anti-Stalinist, but weak—and there is a veritable rainbow of dissident forces in open rebellion against the government. There are thousands of Communist guerrillas. Several different tribes are demanding autonomous status. The most important tribe, the Karens, numbers two million. They are non-Communist, but by fighting the Central Government they indirectly help the Communists. Riddled with civil strife, Burma is ripe to be taken over by a well-organized Communist effort.

Beyond Burma lies India. There, with the aid of an excellent native civil service built up by the British, a few able political leaders are trying to establish a democratic government based on illiterate and poverty-stricken masses that have never known freedom. Divided by religious hatreds as well as class hatreds, the Indians are natural victims for Communist propaganda. The presence of triumphant Communist armies on the Burmese border of India would be a prelude to such infiltration and agitation that the collapse of India into Communist hands would probably be a mere matter of time.

The British still control Malaya. But they have been so unsuccessful in putting down the Communist guerrillas that on April 29 of this year the London *Economist*, which is careful in its estimates, stated: "If existing trends in the development and continuation of bandit activity are not reversed,

Malaya will eventually be lost." Malaya is the world's largest producer of tin. Should Malaya be taken over by the Communists, it would be a serious blow to British, as well as to U.S., economy, since Malaya is an important source of natural rubber.

Indo-China, as the dike which prevents the Communist flood from sweeping over Siam, Burma and Malaya, is today the strategic bastion of the entire area.

Mr. Bullitt and Mr. Hoover both have made it plain that American aid is on the bargaining counter and the purchase medium is the pledge to enter the lists against the Soviet bloc as a satellite of the U.S.A. It is needless to point out that as such, it would mean a very considerable sacrifice of self-respect and self-determination for any nation to ask for aid under such conditions. Thus the Soviets are automatically placed in a position of vantage.

The Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Andrei Vyshinsky, signalized his appearance at the General Assembly on November 18 last by assuring that Russia profoundly desired the 'peaceful co-existence' of Capitalism and Communism in the world. He was speaking in a debate on the peace plan put forward by Mr. Trygve Lie, United Nations Secretary-General. Russia has proposed a counter-plan with a six-point programme for a 20-year peace.

The Vyshinsky programme calls for:

1. Periodic top-level Security Council meetings 'with the understanding that the Council shall function with its full and legal membership with the participation of the representative of the People's Republic of China.'
2. Unswerving observance of the principles of unanimity in the work of the Security Council.
3. Unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons and other weapons for mass extermination of people and the institution of controls to ensure the observance of that prohibition.
4. Observance of the principle of numerically equal Great Power contributions to armed forces to be made available by agreements for Security Council use.
5. Technical aid to backward countries without any demand for 'political, economic or military privileges for the countries rendering assistance.'
6. Development of international trade without discrimination.

We, in India, attempt to maintain a detached attitude towards this two Power Bloc controversy and competition. M. Vyshinsky's pronouncements leave us cold, therefore. He called Mr. Lie's 'peace-plan' as reflecting "the views of the Anglo-American Bloc"; it was based on "political bias." He omitted all reference to the war in Korea in which the Soviet protege, North Korea, has been charged with 'aggression.' And the one-month debate between the delegates of the two Blocs in the General Assembly has been unfruitful so far as easing the tension in the world's mind was concerned.

Meanwhile, the situation in the Far East is assuming an ominous shape.

The world situation *vis a vis* Peace or War was admirably summarized by Mr. L. B. Pearson, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, at the Federal-Provincial Conference in Ottawa on December 4th. A summary of that statement is given below. We might remark that though the tension has increased since then, the position in the main remains as delineated by him.

"The vital question at the present time is how great is the risk of a major war. With developments in Korea and in the United Nations in a state of flux it is particularly difficult to discuss this question with assurance of certainty. If hostilities cannot be localized in North Korea and if fighting spreads into Manchuria, the result may be open war with Communist China. Furthermore, it is only safe to assume that Peking risked armed intervention in Korea on the basis of assurances of assistance from the Soviet Union if intervention should lead to military operations against the territory of China. Therefore war with China might result in Soviet assistance to Chinese forces. Assistance might initially be indirect and voluntary, of the kind which the Chinese Communists claim they are giving North Korea and which would later be said not to constitute official intervention. But just as this kind of Chinese intervention in Korea has led to the danger of open war with China, so similar Soviet intervention on behalf of China might lead to open war with the Soviet Union. It is to be hoped that the autocrats of the Kremlin understand this danger as well as we do.

At the moment the focus of our hopes and fears is Korea. We must strive to find a solution to the grave and menacing problem there. This will be no easy task. Before it can be done, moreover, there must be stabilization of the military front in Korea on a line which can be firmly held. Our military advice gives us reason to hope that, in spite of heavy initial losses, such a line can be established and maintained. When this has been done we can then see where we are in regard to the political aspects of the Korean and Far Eastern questions. The Chinese Communists have now made it abundantly clear that they regard United Nations action in Korea as menacing their interests so greatly that they are willing to risk general war in challenging it. Therefore, as soon as circumstances make it possible, we must take up again the effort to reconcile, on the one hand, the determination of the United Nations to resist aggression and, on the other, whatever legitimate interests the Chinese may have in the future of Korea and the adjacent area. I am not sure that we can reconcile these two, our interest in world peace with the purposes behind their intervention. But we must try, and we must try by some more practical and effective means than mere public statements of good intentions and pious hopes.

During this period when the peace of the world

will be in balance and when we shall be walking on the edge of a volcano which is rumbling alarmingly we must not look for easy and spectacular results. We must realize that the Chinese Communist leaders are schooled in the tactics of public abuse which have long been part of the Soviet method of diplomacy. Many of them are completely ignorant of the Western world, are not likely to give us visible or audible help and will, in fact, make our task harder by vilifying us with scorn and slander and misrepresentation. But we need not give way to despair or to fatalistic acceptance of something that is regarded as inevitable and about which therefore nothing can be done except to arm. There is no reason on the side of the free democracies why the efforts now being made through the United Nations to localize and then end the war in Korea should not succeed. We must therefore make crystal clear by our words and, more important, by our policies, that if they do not succeed the responsibility will lie where it belongs—in Peking and in Moscow. If, as we trust, these efforts do succeed the immediate danger of a third World War would for the moment be removed. That would not, however, mean we could rule out of our calculations the possibility of such a war breaking out later. The materials for a fire would still be there and there would still be madmen about with matches.

The Soviet Union already possesses the capability to wage a major war at any time. Its policies, moreover, show it is willing to take the risk of provoking one, even though it may not deliberately desire one. At the present time the Soviet Union possesses great preponderance of power on land; on sea it would be able seriously to interrupt Allied lines of communication by use of its submarine fleet and by other means. The greatest military weaknesses of the Soviet Union are in the air and in its relative deficiency in atomic bombs. The Soviet Union would probably wish to reach a higher degree of preparedness, especially for air and atomic warfare, and to augment its economic potential before becoming engaged in hostilities.

The possibility that this cautious and delaying attitude is the basis of Soviet foreign policy must be weighed against the temptation to take advantage of the passing opportunity offered by relative Western weakness against the apparent willingness of the U.S.S.R. to take chances which may lead to war, and against the bellicose and inflammatory tactics of the Cominform. These tactics, leading to aggressive war in Korea, as well as the expansionist nature of Soviet foreign policy generally, provide the incentive and necessity for Western rearmament and closer co-operation. The effect of this rearmament will become increasingly important after 1951. If, therefore, the leaders of international communism have convinced themselves that war with the West must come at some

circumstances I believe it is our duty to make every effort to reach such a settlement, but we must not allow this process or the situation which makes it necessary to weaken our resolve or interfere with our plan to strengthen our defences. Above all, we must not allow it to weaken the unity or the friendly co-operation of those countries in the free world who are now working together so closely for the good purpose of establishing conditions of stability and peace in the world."

### Political Conditions

The general picture we have here is a greater awareness about the rights and liberties of the individual than of the society as a whole. We have had long lectures on civil liberty from the Press, platform and the Benches of the High Courts, and we have had plenty of exhortations on patriotism from high above, but we find in general that the common citizen is gradually having his rights and liberties circumscribed and limited by law and law-breaker both alike. A group of youths set a tram on fire or lead a procession through crowded streets during hours of business, thereby disrupting the normal work of thousands of bread-earners, causing waste of time, money and energy and adding to the troubles of the entire community. When they are brought to justice we find that the law has not the power to hold them. If, on the other hand, they are held without trial, there is an uproar in the country about the civil liberties of the individuals. We do not advocate detention without trial, but we have to put forward the question as to whether the liberty of the individual to disrupt society, that is to say to indulge in anti-social crimes, is the objective for which we have been striving all these years. The police have utterly failed to stop political crimes. In Madras, Hyderabad, Assam and West Bengal Communists have at times been vigorously active. The police have not only failed to secure previous information about their future plans so as to forestall them, but they have more miserably failed to apprehend the culprits, secure evidence and get them convicted. Many of the cases have ended either in discharge or with nominal convictions. In such cases either wrong persons were caught or the police curiously failed to get adequate evidence. The cost of police administration has continued to go up proportionately with the increase in their ineffectiveness. We must reiterate our opinion that there have been flaws on the judicial and legal sides as well. The High Courts of Justice must not be held sacrosanct. There is an idea in the heads of the eminent gentlemen who adorn the Benches of our High Courts that their actions and their pronouncements must be beyond all criticism and that a High Court judge like Caesar's wife is beyond all criticism and reproach. To them we must say that the rights of godhead cannot be assumed by them and that in any democratic society *vox populi* is truly and really *vox Dei*. Justice must be even-handed but it must be Justice and not legal quibble.

### Industry

This year's picture of our industry is a curious one. On the one side we witness the thwarted greed of industrial adventurers who have obtained control of industry through speculative intrusion. Their knowledge of industry is poor in the extreme. Their capacity for long-term planning is nil. Their sole point of efficiency lies in their ability to set up unholy combinations with the corrupt officials, evade taxes, plan blackmarketing by creating shortages and inflate profits by substituting inferior basic materials in their products. The overall picture of these three and a half years of freedom is one of sliding down the gradient. In reality, iron and steel and jute are the only well-organised industries that we possess. In the former efficiency is going down month by month and in the other ruthless get-rich-quick method of the "temporary" Indians is leading the country to chaos. The textile and sugar industries have proved instruments of unmitigated evil for loot and exploitation of the poor defenceless consumers. A countrywide blackmarketing in poor man's cloth and sugar needs has been rampant throughout all these years of freedom. But for the inefficient Ministries of Industry and Supply and the corrupt officials these evils would and should have been checked and prevented long ago. The nationalised industries, although few in number, have become costly luxuries. Eight government owned and managed collieries have succeeded in "earning" us a net loss of Rs. 1,32,30,175-9-0 during 1950 while company-managed collieries have simply coined money. To support our statement we append the following official table:

Statement referred to in reply to part (c) of Starred Question No. 707, by Shri Naziruddin Ahmad, for 6-12-50; showing the verified *f.o.r.* cost per ton of each colliery separately with the respective output for the financial year 1949-50 as also the Control rate of similar grade of the market coal.

Name of Colliery.	Output during 1949-50 Tons.	Average cost per ton.	Control price of same quality.	
			Steam Coal	Rubble and Smithy Nuts.
1. Kargali	6,07,822	25 3 2	14 6 0	14 0 0
2. Bokaro	11,99,495	11 8 5	14 6 0	14 0 0
3. Jarandih	30,398	25 5 8	14 0 0	14 0 0
4. Sawang	37,244	22 1 3	14 6 0	14 6 0
5. Bhurkunda	1,46,362	16 10 6	14 6 0	14 6 0
6. Argada	95,748	13 13 2	14 6 0	14 6 0
7. Kurharbaree	1,88,304	27 13 3	16 4 0	16 4 0
8. Serampore	1,85,656	28 4 9	16 4 0	16 4 0
9. Talcher	1,27,478	17 4 8	15 6 0	15 6 0
10. Duclbera	65,326	22 2 4	15 6 0	15 6 0
11. Kurasia	2,48,843	11 1 8	15 8 0	15 8 0

On the other side of the medal we have the picture of organised labour. Under the guidance of

disruptionists who are directly or indirectly controlled by Moscow, or under the control of shortsighted hot-heads as in Bombay, efficiency is being deliberately sacrificed resulting in a disastrous rise in cost of living. While pampering union labour, who constitute not even two per cent of our population, the labour leaders forget what additions they are going to make to the already too-high cost of production and what the burden will mean to the poor consumers. The Ministry of Labour at the Centre is in very inefficient hands. Today, organised labour is gradually trying to attain control by means which entail the suffering of 93 per cent of the population. Labour leaders seem to have thrown overboard all thought of the welfare of the country as a whole.

We have the picture of a national planning before us. The Planning Commission has submitted a semi-progress report for the first half year. Towards the end of September the Planning Commission announced the outline of its Rs. 1800 crore outlay project which was to serve as a basis of discussion for the London Commonwealth Conference which finalised the Colombo Plan. There is a considerable family resemblance between that and the present Rs. 1840-crore Colombo Plan, writes Mr. S. B. Rangnekar in the *Economic Weekly* of Bombay. The Colombo Estimates of expenditure are identical with the Planning Commission (September) estimates. At a glance, the expenditure on the Six-Year Plan for India as included in the Colombo Plan is as follows :

Agriculture .. ..	Rs. 608	crores
Communications .. ..	702.7	"
Fuel and Power .. ..	56.6	"
Industry and Mines .. ..	180	"
Social Welfare .. ..	291.3	"

Expenditure on agriculture and instruments for moving agricultural products will form 71 per cent of the total expenses, only 10 per cent having been allocated under the head Industry and Mines. India's potentiality as an industrial country has been fully recognised all over the world. The present tendency to convert India once again into an agricultural country must be seriously considered. We refrain from giving details of the plan here for want of space; we must content ourselves by referring to Mr. Rangnekar's very able article on the subject in the *Economic Weekly*, dated December 23, 1950. But we must register our apprehension that our Six-Year Plan, an offshoot of the Colombo Plan, smacks definitely of an attempt to put our national planning on a reverse gear. Eminent gentlemen have been placed in charge of national planning. But we must confess that we are unable to praise those planners who aim at increasing our agricultural land by 3½ per cent and food production by 10 per cent in six years time and that after an investment of more than Rs. 1800 crores! We have no hesitation in predicting failure for their efforts

unless the administration is remodelled entirely in order that they have a solid foundation on which to build. We believe that greater emphasis on smaller projects would have done greater good and would have made us less dependent on foreign money, foreign machinery and foreign experts which, if denied or withdrawn at a crucial moment, would bring untold misery and loss. Today, India cannot be boycotted, but if this plan is put into operation, threat of boycott by U. K. and U.S.A. would remain a source of perpetual danger to us. The Bihar Food Minister admitted the other day that the small irrigation schemes have been complete failure because nothing had been done by the Departments. This is also equally dangerous for the country. Today our planners, big or small, stand on shifting sands of power-politics, speculative and rapacious capital, intransigent and grossly inefficient labour and a thoroughly corrupt, lazy and inefficient administration.

### Trade

The picture in the field of trade is no better. Some gain has been claimed after devaluation but it is yet doubtful whether the net balance will be in our favour taking into consideration the immense suffering caused to the consumer due to the sharp rise in prices following devaluation. Ordinances, speeches, statements and press conferences came one after another in torrents but the price-level remained where it was. Blackmarketing thrived as even before. Jute became an object of international blackmarketing and crores of dollars went into the pockets of the jute exporters and mill managing agents. Export duty on jute was raised to Rs. 1500 per ton in order to mop up the surplus dollars left after meeting all costs of production and carriage to U.S.A. While the country is going severely short of cotton textiles, huge orders for the export of coarse and medium cloth from the U.S.A. have been accepted. There were talks of State Trading in jute and jute products but nothing tangible emerged. The import control machinery had proved such a great handicap to the trade that an inquiry had to be undertaken into its working.

### Transport

As in food, industry and commerce, transport has also remained at the same low level of efficiency. Despite enormous expenditure of foreign exchange and large-scale importation of locomotives and other railway materials, railway travel has become even more lacking in all amenities than it ever was during the last decade. Bribery and corruption are still rampant and transport of materials is now a more intense headache than ever before.

### Post—Telegraph—Telephone

The Post and Telegraph Department was regarded as an example of fine organisation and efficiency in India.



until 1942. Today sending materials by post has become a gamble as we know to our cost. In the matter of communication by post, telegraph or telephone, degeneration seems to be the motto of the day. The stoppage of Sunday delivery and the introduction of the ridiculous "Own Your Own Telephone" schemes have been the two outstanding "achievements" of the Ministry of Communications both of which have proved oppressive for the general population. Similarly in Radio and Broadcasting, there does not seem to be any planning. Lack of enterprise on the part of direction is becoming more and more prominent every day.

### *Public Health*

The general picture here is also one of stagnation with a few bright spots here and there. We must remark in this connection that the medical profession as a whole does not seem to have realised that it has any national responsibility. The medical associations are fairly well organised all over the country but we have received as yet no indication of a clear-cut progress or any definite coherent and insistent calls from them, indicating their willingness to co-operate with the nation for the betterment and welfare of the people they serve. The Ministry in charge at the Centre and in the States do not seem to possess any vision nor do we find them exhorting the people to help themselves.

### *Education*

The picture here is of utter absolute muddle at the Centre and little better in the States. The University Commission has submitted its Report but we have witnessed no attempt on the part of the Education Ministry to implement its recommendations. The same muddle and indecision continue in the field of secondary and primary education. Some provinces like Bombay, Madras, U.P. and Bihar have gone ahead with their programmes of expansion of primary education but in many of the States practically nothing has been done in this direction. Many of the school text-books contain the same ancient howlers. Educationists have been busy throughout the year as before in making money by producing school text-books. No effort has been made to reform our universities on whose Senate about 90 per cent of the members continue to be nominated. The result here has been just as one could expect with the present set-up in the Central Ministry of Education.

### *Technical Aid to India*

The three years since the 15th August, 1950, have demonstrated how our people are inadequately equipped to play a decisive part in the material competitions of the modern world. We attempt to import "experts" from outside to give a shape to our grandiose schemes of re-construction and renovation of India's economy. And for reasons unexplained, we have only found it possible to indent technical advisers from Far Western

countries; Germany, Japan and the Soviet Union have either not been approached or these countries have refused to be helpful.

Placed in this predicament, we have to make the best of it. In this view of the matter, we are glad that the United Nations Economic, Social, Cultural Organization has been moved and agreed to help India. Sometime ago, an agreement was signed at Delhi between our Government and this world organization. The account given below will give us the history of this transaction. Between the signing and implementation of the agreement, there will be a time lag. We must not lose patience with this weary waiting. We cannot be choosers when our scientists and capitalists are so inadequate in number considering the vastness of our needs. A Delhi report tells us that an agreement was signed here by Dr. M. S. Adishesiah, Head of the Technical Assistance Service, UNESCO, on behalf of UNESCO and Dr. Tara Chand, Secretary, Ministry of Education, on behalf of the Government of India in connection with the programme of technical assistance to be rendered by UNESCO to India during 1951.

This is the second agreement to be signed with specialised agencies of the U.N., the first agreement having been entered into with the Food and Agricultural Organization last September.

During his visit to Florence last May to attend the fifth General Conference of UNESCO Dr. Tara Chand had made an official request to UNESCO on behalf of the Government of India for assistance under its expanded technical assistance programme. The request pertained to a number of schemes of national importance for which technical assistance was considered necessary, the important ones being the establishment of a Scientific Bibliographical Centre, the establishment of a Higher Technological Institute and the provision of specialists for work in various educational and research institutions including the National Laboratories.

UNESCO has agreed to provide the services of ten specialists in various subjects during the first year of the programme. Two of these specialists will be working in the National Laboratories, three in the Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur, three in the research laboratories of the Central Water Power, Irrigation and Navigation Commission and one each in the Birbal Sahni Institute of Palaeobotany, Lucknow and the Central Institute of Education, Delhi. The Government of India will provide for these specialists facilities, such as furnished accommodation, medical care and hospitalisation and the cost of transportation within the country.

The recently concluded Indo-U.S. technical assistance agreement, under President Truman's Point Four programme, was signed at New Delhi on December 24 by the U.S. Ambassador in Delhi, Mr. Loy Henderson, on behalf of the U.S.A., and Sir G. S. Bajpai, Secretary-General, External Affairs Ministry, on behalf of India.



Under the agreement, the two Governments undertake to co-operate in the interchange of technical knowledge and skill and in related activities designed to contribute to "the balanced and integrated development of the economic resources and productive capacity" of India.

Comprising five Articles, the agreement will serve as a basic one, and individual contracts for specific projects will be entered into as and when necessary. It also makes provision for co-ordination and integration of the technical programmes operated in India.

India's share in the first year's allocations by the U.S. Congress for bilateral technical aid under the Point Four programme has been provisionally fixed at \$1.2m. The country's requirements of U.S. experts and of facilities for training Indian scholars in the U.S.A. have been assessed.

Three U.S. experts are at present working in India on agricultural projects. Two Indian Government officials will shortly leave for the U.S.A. for training in agricultural extension methods. These arrangements are likely to be brought under the agreement signed today.

Since the authorization of the Point Four programme by the U.S. Congress last June, five specific projects for India have been approved. Three of these are under way. Two are agricultural projects while the third is in the field of child welfare. Two other projects, approved but not yet under way, call for sending three U.S. geologists to India for the development of ground, water and mineral resources.

### *Deshmukh on India's Financial Position*

Sri Chintaman Deshmukh delivered the annual address this year at the yearly general meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India.

Sri Deshmukh's speech may be regarded as a presentation of the Financial picture of the Indian Union purely in so far as it concerns the industrialists of India. The Common Citizen will find nothing inspiring in it nor is there any hope or promise in it of any easing of the tension in the year to come.

The two main concerns of the vast majority of the nationals of India are that of rising prices and shortage of essentials to the point of scarcity. With regard to the former Sri Deshmukh has tried to explain away failure, without indicating whether the Government was still grappling with the problem or it has thrown up the sponge. The second question has hardly been touched.

With regard to wasteful expenditure by governmental departments, there is no doubt in the mind of any reasonable person that there is enormous scope for saving, both at the Centre and in the States. This matter has also been sketchily touched by Sri Deshmukh in his address. Indeed from what he has said there is little hope of any remedial measures being initiated.

In his address Sri Deshmukh said: "We are meeting at a time when the international atmosphere is surcharged with grave apprehensions. Let us hope that the efforts which are being made to relax the tension and

to avert the possibilities of a world conflagration are crowned with success. The prevailing unsettled conditions, while making the solution of our economic problems even more difficult, lend a sense of urgency to our endeavours in that direction and underline the necessity of a closer understanding and collaboration between the Government and the public. Recent international developments abroad have accentuated the severe strain to which the economic situation in the country was already subjected as a result of succession of natural calamities of unusual severity at home.

"I think it will not be out of place if I mention here some of the measures taken by the Government of India to check the upward pressure of prices exerted by these factors. As you know last year following the devaluation of the rupee, there were price cuts in essential commodities like cereals, cotton yarn, cloth, pig iron and steel. A reduction of 3 to 15 per cent was made in the issue price of food partly through a cut in transport and distributional charges and partly through a reduction in procurement prices. As a result of these price reductions, the general price index fell to 381.3 in December last, representing a reduction of about 3 per cent from the October 1949 level. It did not however prove possible entirely to check the upward pressure on prices generated by devaluation and by June 1950 most of the gain had been lost, the price index rising to 395.6 by that time.

Sri Deshmukh said that the commencement of hostilities in Korea also resulted in rise of the general index to 405.2 in July this year and the rise continued, the high-watermark being reached in the first week of October when the index stood at 413.5. Since then, he added after some slight fluctuations, it had fallen to 411.3 for the week ending November 25. Comparative figures were available for October 1950, which showed an increase in our price level of about 4 per cent as against the pre-Korean war level, he said. This, however, represented a slower rate of increase than in the U.K. and U.S.A., where since the outbreak of the Korean war, the corresponding rise in price level was 7 per cent and 8 per cent respectively.

Outlining Government measures to check inflation the Finance Minister said that soon after the outbreak of the Korean war, Government passed the Essential Supplies (Temporary Powers) Amendment Act, prescribing drastic penalties for hoarding foodgrains. The Centre assumed powers to make laws for a period of one year in respect of two subjects in the States' lists, viz., trade and commerce, and production, supply and distribution of goods. In September last, the supply prices of goods ordinance was passed. Very recently, a Prices Advisory Board, consisting of representatives of various interests, had been formed to advise Government of price policy and on the best means of executing such policy. Imports have been liberalised and a new Open General Licence was issued. Arrangements were being made to avoid competitive purchase of cotton in order to keep

time, they may consider that their best opportunity will be in the months ahead. Because of this and because of recent events in North Korea the danger of major war in the immediate future has, I think, increased. Such a war could result either through deliberate armed aggressive action on the part of the Soviet Union or its satellites or through willingness on their part to take increased risks in spite of the knowledge that major war might result.

The question of whether the risk of a major war will diminish after, say, the end of 1951 depends, of course, in large part on whether the Western world has been able to increase its defences and ensure the necessary unity of action; or whether we can strengthen, as we are trying to do, the United Nations as an agency for preserving peace, for settling disputes, and, in the last analysis, for organizing collective force against an aggressor. The free Democracies are now taking steps to these ends at Lake Success and within the North Atlantic organization. The crisis of the last few weeks in Korea has shown with even greater clarity than before the necessity for doing this and for doing it quickly and effectively. The Democratic world is tragically but inescapably compelled to devote an increasing proportion of its resources to the task of rearmament.

This rearmament is essential and must be given priority for the time being over other objectives; but by itself it is not enough. We must also preserve and increase our economic and social strength. *We must take the steps necessary to rally to our side the peoples of Asia.* We must give political and normal leadership of a kind which will attract and hold the support of wavering powers, especially in Asia. Otherwise the Soviet Union may be able to extend by non-military means, by the pull of its sham but alluring offers of bread with freedom, its domination over large parts of the underprivileged, underdeveloped world with its masses of millions. The forces of Communist aggression in Asia have in the past successfully allied themselves with the forces of national liberation and social reform. The task of the Western Democratic powers is to assist the Democratic Governments in those areas to break that unnatural alliance. For this purpose it is essential that Western countries help Asian Democratic countries in their plans for economic development in order to relieve distress and poverty there, on which international Communism feeds. Within the measure of its resources Canada should do its part to help in this great effort to promote human welfare and hence to ensure peace.

There is some discussion going on at present whether the atom bomb should or should not be used against aggressors in Korea. One important consideration must be the effect of such use on the relations of the Western World with Asia. The military and others may argue that the atomic bomb is just another

weapon, but in the minds of ordinary people everywhere in the world it is far more than that and its use has acquired immensely greater significance than any other aspect of war. The anxiety with which the possibility of such use is regarded has been straining and increasingly evident of late among our friends in Europe and in Asia. This anxiety is the main reason for the appeal, even in free countries, of cynical Communist peace campaigns.

It is hard to exaggerate the psychological and political consequences of employment of the bomb or threat of its employment in the present critical situation. Strategic use of the bomb against Chinese cities might conceivably reverse the course of military events in Korea now, but at the cost possibly of destroying the cohesion and unity of purpose of the Atlantic community. Certainly its use for a second time against an Asian people would dangerously weaken the links that remain between the Western world and the peoples of the East.

The atomic bomb is the most powerful deterrent element in the arsenal of the free world but it is universally regarded as the ultimate weapon and should be treated as such. There has been mass intervention of Chinese Communists in Korea. In the present critical military situation those who have their own forces engaged (and this applies of course particularly to the United States whose intrepid men are bearing the brunt of the fight) are obviously entitled to have full consideration given to the use of every available means of supporting the ground forces fighting under the United Nations command. This is natural and inevitable; but before a decision of such immense and awful consequence for all of us is taken, there should surely be consultation through the United Nations, particularly with the Governments principally concerned. One of those would be the Canadian Government, which has from the beginning been a partner in the tripartite development of atomic energy. It is of supreme importance to the morale and survival of free peoples that, if war comes, responsibility should be clearly and inexorably fixed. While there is any chance at all of preventing the extension of present hostilities, the advantages of using the bomb or even of threatening its use are, I think, likely to be far outweighed by the reactions among the peoples of the world and especially the peoples of Asia.

In the confused and dangerous international situation of today it is essential to try to see the world steadily, realistically, and as a whole. The obvious Soviet game is to provoke incidents and tensions at various points on border lands between the Western world and the Soviet Union and to try to lead us into the trap of concentrating too great a proportion of our limited resources on one or two isolated border points. It is clear, the Communists are trying to lead us into this trap in Korea. In order to fight the present war in Korea a large part of the immediately avail-

able forces of the West have been committed to that country. If war in Korea should become war against China (and I repeat we must do everything within the power of statesmanship to prevent this) it will be difficult to avoid committing an even larger part of Western resources to that war. This would mean we would be leaving exposed our most important, and in the long run our most dangerous front—Western Europe. That is still the part of the world where we must concentrate our main effort on building up substantial defensive strength under the collective control of the members of the North Atlantic Pact who are slowly but surely building the structure of a North Atlantic community on political, economic, military and social foundations. At present the increasing power of that community is the greatest deterrent to war."

After describing the uneasy balance throughout the world between the countries under the domination of Soviet communism and those where free institutions still prevail, Mr. Pearson recalled how this balance had been upset by the Communist attack on the Republic of Korea.

"From the outset," he said, "it was clear that this act of open and armed aggression might have consequences which would present us from re-establishing any tolerable relationship with the Soviet world and might even lead to a third World War. One of the most serious charges against the North Korean Government, and against those governments in Moscow and Peking which stood behind it, is that they were willing to run this enormous risk not only for themselves but for the whole world. Ever since the attack on the Republic of Korea, we have believed that the efforts of those who supported United Nations action should be directed solely towards defeating the aggression and thereby halting the chain reaction which might have followed its success. The men who decide the policies of the Soviet Union and of their Communist satellites could gamble with the future of the world in order to extend the boundaries of the system under their control. We were not prepared to gamble in that reckless way. Conscious of our share of responsibility for the preservation of peace and freedom, and indeed for the preservation of mankind, from the mass destruction which modern weapons make possible, we believed and continue to believe that we should not try to do more in defeating this aggression than restore the freedom and unity of Korea."

Mr. Pearson then outlined the military measures which had been taken in an effort to restore stability. After the defeat of the invaders in South Korea, this effort entered a new phase. "What we had now to solve," he went on, "was more than a military problem. We had to determine in what way and at what point we would attempt to re-establish the political position in the Korean area. On a problem of that

kind there could easily and properly be a number of different opinions.

"I do not intend to examine the various opinions which were put forward, except to say that in all the discussions of this problem which have taken place at Lake Success, in Washington, in London and elsewhere, we have consistently urged that moderation and a sense of global strategy, both military and political, should be our guide in deciding at what point military operations should be broken off and the work of pacification and reconstruction begun. We still believe that that is the proper rule to follow.

"It is now clear that in a further reckless act the Chinese Communists have intervened in Korea in very large numbers. Their final purpose is not yet beyond doubt, but certainly they have committed themselves to an incursion far in excess of any that might be explained by nervousness over local Chinese interests along the border between Manchuria and Korea.

"In this dangerous situation, it remains our view that if and when the military position is stabilized, we should try to begin negotiations with the Chinese Communists by every means possible. I am aware of the difficulties, I assure you, but I believe that nothing should be left undone which might conceivably result in an honourable and peaceful settlement in Korea. If, for example, providing the military situation is stabilized, there could be a cease-fire followed by negotiations possibly covering more subjects than Korea, in which the Chinese Communists would participate, there might still be hope of reaching such a settlement. At least we would have done our best, and the responsibility for failure could be placed where it would belong.

"I know that the policy I suggest will be called 'appeasement' by some; 'warmonger,' 'fascist,' 'appeaser,' 'red,' 'peace,' 'democracy'—such words are now used so loosely and irresponsibly that their coinage has become debased. So let us not be frightened by words. The action which was taken at Munich in 1938, and which has made 'appeasement' a byword, was open to two charges—that it was short-sighted because it was based on illusions about the nature of the Government which was the aggressor at that time, and that it was shameful because it sacrificed the freedom of one country in the interests of the security of others. Neither of those accusations can be brought against the policy I have outlined. It is not appeasement. It is an attempt through diplomacy to reach a *modus vivendi* with the Asian Communist world. The United Nations Commander in Korea himself has remitted to diplomacy the task of deciding what to do in Korea in this new situation created by Chinese intervention. It is the function of diplomacy to seek accommodations which can be the basis for stable relations between differing countries and systems. We have agreed in the past that some such accommodation with the Soviet Union and its satellites is necessary. In the present

down the prices within the ceiling fixed. It was the intention to introduce monopoly procurement of food in all States in order to secure supplies to the maximum possible extent for the rationed areas; but the sudden worsening of the food situation in several States as a result of the severe drought in October had introduced serious complications with which we are wrestling at the moment, he added.

Refuting the allegation that economic problems have been subordinated to political considerations, Sri Deshmukh said that Government did never allow politics to interfere with their economic policy, especially in regard to food procurement prices. Neither it could be said that the taxation policy of Government has been influenced by political motives. "In determining our policies," he added, "psychological conditions have naturally to be taken into account, and if that is to be dubbed as politics, there is no governmental action in the economic sphere which can be considered to be free from politics. Economics is not an arithmetical problem but essentially a problem of human reactions and human relations."

On Indo-Pak Trade Sri Deshmukh said that the continued difficulties of Indo-Pakistan trade, which began with Pakistan's decision not to devalue her currency, had been a source of disappointment to all of them. The present situation could not be improved until a suitable exchange rate was fixed. He also said that the absence of a settlement was due to no lack of effort on the part of India Government. "We suggested to Pakistan a conference between the Governments of the two countries to discuss all issues arising out of devaluation along with other measures calculated to help in the restoration of normal trade relations. Pakistan Government were not, however, prepared even to place on the agenda of such a conference either the exchange rate of Pakistan currency or the minimum prices fixed by them for raw jute."

He said that India supported Pakistan's application for membership of the International Monetary Fund because "the settlement of this issue could be brought about by an objective scrutiny of the par value of Pakistan currency by the International Monetary Fund which has the necessary experience and authority." Pakistan's membership became effective in the middle of July this year, Sri Deshmukh said, they had hoped that the question would be taken up by the I.M.F. as the par value of member's currency was determined normally within a period of two or three months from the date of its membership. But owing to the pre-occupation of the Fund staff with other matters, the discussion had to be delayed to give more time to the Fund's technical staff to complete their study of this question. He had hoped, the Finance Minister added, that this study would be completed last month but recent information, however, went to show that this discussion was likely to be postponed for a further period.

Stating that India was keen to solve this deadlock, Sri Deshmukh said, "All that we desire is that the par value of the Pakistan rupee should be fixed as a result

of an objective study free from all political predilections." He hoped that it should not be impossible to arrive at some arrangement to maintain the trade relations between the two countries pending the decision of the International Monetary Fund. He assured that political differences between the two countries, had not been allowed to "influence us in our economic relations with Pakistan."

Expressing Government's concern for jute industry Sri Deshmukh said Government were fully conscious of the importance of avoiding to take any hastily conceived measures which might affect adversely the long-term interests of the industry. Government, however, could not, he added, look with indifference on any section of the public indulging in practices which were detrimental to the interests of the country. He welcomed the co-operation of the industry in putting down these activities. The Finance Minister said that their decision to raise the export duty on Hessian was prompted by the expectation that with the considerable resultant curb on the scope for dubious practices, it would be possible for the industry to exercise more effective control over their members and their associates and that Government would not be driven to have recourse to more drastic alternatives. On the question of State trading, he said, Government were fully aware of the complexities of this expedient and its manifold social and economic implications and he assured that no action would be taken without full consideration of all aspects of the question.

On the criticism that the principal cause in the general and steady rise in the cost of living index and thereby in the cost of production, must be attributed to the deficit budgets of the Central Government, Sri Deshmukh said it would be wrong to attribute as inflationary effect to the deficits of the Central Government. He explained that though there had been deficits in the capital Budget since 1946-47 to the tune of about Rs. 500 crores during the same period, there had been deficits in the country's balance of payments also which had reduced the external assets of the Reserve Bank of India by Rs. 800 crores, which was higher than the deficit in the Central Government's Budget. He recognised that if the deficit financing could have been avoided altogether, the effects of the adverse balance of payments position during the last few years would have been positively disinflationary. The alternative to this deficit financing of Budget would have however been the discontinuance of the rehabilitation of railways and the few important works which were being undertaken at the public sector.

Further, a substantial part of the Budget deficit was due to the settlement with the U.K. for stores and equipment badly needed for the defence services and the pensionary liabilities of the Government of India.

Sri Deshmukh announced that Government had been engaged on a scrutiny of expenditure in order to find out possible avenues of economy. But he also laid stress on the raising of sufficient resources for our development programme, which is as important as economy in expenditure.

He said, the constitution of the Planning Commission in this country had proved timely, not only for co-ordinating our development plans but also in the larger context of the move initiated by the Commonwealth countries for the economic Development of South and South-East Asian countries. The co-operative economic development plan which had been evolved at the Conference recently held in London includes, as an integral feature, a Commonwealth technical assistance programme first outlined at the previous Conference of Commonwealth Ministers at Sydney under which India would receive as well as render technical assistance. "In addition to this, India is likely to receive technical aid under President Truman's Point Four programme, and negotiations between India and the specialised agencies of the United Nations, as well as for the bilateral aid direct by the U.S.A. are in progress," he revealed.

The Finance Minister felt the necessity of improving stock exchange quotations "before we can hope for any considerable investment in new flotations." "It is essential to restore genuine investment activities in the stock market and one of the causes which keeps the genuine investor away is the activities of the speculator," he said.

Sri Deshmukh emphasised the desirability of creating out of profits adequate reserves for financing trade and industry, and the shareholders to be content with moderate dividends.

Speaking on the labour relations, the Finance Minister urged that labour and employer should work harmoniously and settle their disputes through some method of adjudication and arbitration. He appealed to the Trade Union leaders to wean away workers from the fold of those who advocated indiscipline and violence.

He felt that reference to Tribunals of questions relating to retrenchment as a result of rationalisation was justified. He also favoured the idea of granting gratuity.

Referring to the criticism of the awards of Labour Tribunals, he said, Tribunals gave awards after great deliberation and after hearing both sides. The presiding officers were drawn from the ranks of Judicial officers, serving or retired, and it would not be fair to charge them as being partial towards workers.

He pointed out that when employers were not satisfied with the award of the Industrial Tribunals, they could appeal to the Labour Appellate Tribunal. It was mainly at the insistence of the employer that the Appellate Tribunal was set up with a view to securing uniformity in decisions concerning labour matter, he said. He, however, felt that it might be necessary to devise some further means for ensuring that the overall economic considerations were kept in mind and that the benefits which were extended to labour did not imperil the development of industry.

The Finance Minister said that with a view to giving the necessary incentive to trade industry and commerce, the rigours of wartime taxation had been considerably softened during the last few years and there had been

a progressive reduction in the rates of income tax and super tax at all levels of income.

The Finance Minister disclosed that Income Tax (Amendment) Bill would be introduced in the near future. It would be a fairly comprehensive measure. While he agreed that business should be left to organise itself in the manner best suited to it, the incidence of income tax on business must be independent of considerations arising out of the peculiarities of the methods of business organisation. He, however, said that Government had realised that the rule requiring the distribution of profits up to certain limits by privately controlled companies should be elastic and proposed to make provisions accordingly.

In conclusion, Sri Deshmukh said: "India today is at the cross-roads of destiny, and I have no doubt that she will take the right road. Surveying the Indian economic scene, I am heartened by the signs of stability that I can discern through the welter of immediate difficulties. These, especially in the matter of food, are serious, admittedly, but with careful management they should not be insurmountable if the people face the situation with cool heads and stout hearts. There is increasing understanding between Government and industry, and with forbearance on both sides there is no reason why industry and labour should not settle down to harmonious relations. We in Government have a lively realization of the importance of maintaining law and order and of creating economic conditions conducive to increased production of wealth. In a scarcity-weary community it is not always clear to one sector what its duty is to others: but it is for the leaders of public opinion in their various sectors to influence choice of action in the right direction. With internal stresses thus abating India offers a favourable field for enlightened and imaginative capital assistance from abroad. That, like the quality of mercy, will be doubly blessed."

### *Bombay Food Conference*

A Conference of the Food Ministers of the Centre and the States met at Bombay for the discussion of the overall food position in the country. The representatives of all the 22 States and Chief Commissioners' provinces agreed that there should be a unified policy for food. The States resolved that they must act unitedly in enforcing controls on the movement of foodgrains from one place to another, within or without the State. The decision to import sufficient foodgrains has been taken. An eight-member committee has been formed to go into the question of the abolition of rationing in the villages. The Committee will evolve a unified system of distribution within the States. The members of the Committee are the Food Ministers of Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Sourashtra and West Bengal.

Sri Munshi made it clear to the Conference that India, under the present circumstances, could not give up her controlled economy in foodgrains. But this, he added, was different from maintaining that there should be complete uniformity throughout the country.

"In my view," Sri Munshi continued, "the main pillars of controlled food economy today are: (1) Maintenance of a reasonable price level and (2) Government control of distribution arrangement to prevent suffering by the middle class and certain vulnerable sections of the people."

The Food Minister reiterated that Government's self-sufficiency plan envisaged a complete stoppage of foodgrain imports only after March 1952. But, he added, exceptions in the plan would be made for building a reserve, meeting an unusual calamity and to meet a deficit resulting from a diversion of acreage from foodgrains to cotton and jute in national interests.

"There is no question of restricting imports next year under the self-sufficiency pledge because the deficit in the year is very large," Sri Munshi said.

The Food Minister called upon the States to co-operate "in meeting this challenge of scarcity during the coming year" and combine into a "syndicate for feeding the whole country."

Sri Munshi warned the Conference that on account of the drought in the "rice bowl" of India, the availability of rice for distribution in 1951 would be negligible. He appealed to the North Indian States for a "gesture" to reduce their rice consumption to the absolute minimum and divert all their rice supplies to the rice-eating States.

Sri Munshi also thanked the surplus States of Madhya Bharat, Punjab, PEPSU, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa for their "magnificent" assistance to deficit States during the current year.

Late during discussion Sri Munshi is understood to have given the Ministers an overall picture of the food situation in the country for the coming year. He was stated to have pointed out that in the next year the deficit would be at least 5.5 million and might probably exceed that figure if the reported crop failure in Madras was serious and the present estimated shortage 2.4 million tons in Bihar "upsets calculations."

The conference discussed the food position of various States, both surplus and deficit, with a view to determining the supply position.

Several States, particularly Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, complained about decontrol of gram by the Government of India. This, they said, had affected their procurement as a large section of cultivators refused to part with grain when they were unable to get gram at reasonable price.

When the question of abolition of rationing in rural areas came up for discussion Bombay's Dinkerrao Desai made a strong plea for the continuation of the present system. Any change in the policy of abolition of rationing in villages, he is understood to have pointed out, would "spell disaster" not only to the deficit States but to the country as a whole.

Sri Desai presented in detail the viewpoints of

the State in a memorandum presented to the conference. Bihar and Mysore are understood to have supported Bombay's stand on this question. Madras and most of the North Indian States favoured reduction of rationing commitments by abolishing rationing in villages.

Sri Ravi Shankar Shukla, Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, who is also in charge of Food portfolio, is understood to have urged through a separate note to the conference the establishment of grain banks in each village before any step was taken for the abolition of rationing in rural areas.

Sri Shukla said that every village in the country should possess, through these grain banks, conducted on a co-operative basis or through governmental agency, at least one year's stock. This would create proper "psychological atmosphere" for derationing in rural areas, he stated.

Sri Shukla denied that surplus States were not co-operating fully or doing their best and said they were sending out every available ounce of foodgrains. In his own State there was no rationing but it was also free from blackmarketing and hoarding. His Government were selling foodgrains through their own shops but allowed 25 per cent of the total foodgrains to go into the free market. This, he said prevented hoarding.

In its concluding session, the Food Conference unanimously agreed that distribution arrangements in States should continue to be controlled and directed "with suitable adjustments" and austerity measures must be stiffened.

The Conference accepted the conclusions of the Sub-committee with regard to the nature of control and the manner of its enforcement.

The Committee's recommendation in this respect was: "Each State should in consultation with the Centre maintain the arrangements which best serve the purpose of meeting the situation in the State in the coming year."

The Conference fixed the target of imports of foodgrains for the year 1951 at 3.7 million tons.

The Conference emphasised, however, the need to take all steps to meet the critical food situation during the next year as it was thought that the international situation might create unexpected difficulties in the way of imports.

The six-point conclusions agreed to by the Sub-committee and endorsed unanimously by the Conference are:

(1) As a result of natural calamities in all except four States, the food position in the country has been very grave. Apart from internal difficulties, the international situation has been growing difficult. It is affecting both availabilities and shipping. It is, therefore, imperative to take all possible steps in accordance with a unified policy and direction to meet the critical situation during the year 1951.

(2) The misunderstanding in the country as

regards the self-sufficiency pledge should be cleared. According to it foreign imports have to be stopped by March 31, 1952 except for—(a) Building up reserve, (b) Making good diversion to other crops in national interests, and (c) Meeting the deficiency arising from natural calamities.

It is implied in the pledge that the deficit areas have to be helped by the country as a whole thereafter. But so far as the coming year is concerned, the pledge does not interfere with securing sufficient imports. The target of import for 1951 is fixed at 3.7 million tons. At the same time, international situation might create unexpected difficulties for which the country must be ready.

(3) Any theoretical consideration of control or decontrol is out of question in the context of the present situation. The controlled economy in the matter of foodgrains must continue. The price level has to be maintained in so far it may be practicable. Distribution arrangements must continue to be controlled and directed with suitable adjustments. Austerity measures must be stiffened.

(4) As regards the nature of control and the manner in which it should be enforced, each State should, in consultation with the Centre, maintain the arrangements which best serve the purpose of meeting the situation in the State in the coming year.

(5) The Grow More Food drive and controls are part of an integrated system, and every step should be taken by the States to see that interdependent activities are controlled by a uniform and effective policy and that till the next kharif season efforts should be made to grow short-term supplementary food in the areas wherever it is possible.

(6) The situation though critical is under control and the Centre and the States are mobilising all available resources to see that the country is enabled to face it with as little hardship as possible. At the same time the public will appreciate that under no circumstances should they give way to panic, which only aggravates the situation without providing any remedy.

Effort therefore should be concentrated on publicising measures adopted and both public men and the Press should co-operate with Governments in sustaining the morale of the people. At such time it is of the highest importance that all parties and interests should combine to support the Governments in their endeavour to meet the situation.

## Food

Food continued to cause deep anxiety during 1950. The question that comes uppermost in the mind is: Are we really deficit? The quantum of shortage is still undefined. The official figure was given by Sardar Patel in October last as 6 to 7 per cent. But we believe that wastages in transit, in storage and by vermin have been very high and we shall not be surprised

if a serious enquiry into wastages reveal the total coming to 6 or 7 per cent. In West Bengal, such an inquiry had been undertaken by a Committee constituted for the purpose, but when wastage figures began to mount up, the enquiry was hurriedly shelved. Besides wastage, there are pools in some provinces like U.P., C.P., where people consume food beyond a reasonable quantity. Provinces known as surplus are Assam, Orissa, U.P. and C.P. Through sheer neglect of food production, Assam is being converted into a deficit province. Provinces like Bengal, Bihar, Madras and Bombay are deficit. So also are Hyderabad and Mysore.

The needs of the deficit areas are being met from two sources, procurement from surplus States and imports. We must say that statewide procurement has failed. Amongst the outstanding examples was Assam from where on the one hand huge quantity of food is being smuggled into Pakistan, and on the other we had the ludicrous picture of the food Minister going on hunger strike demanding food from the Centre. In surplus States, the State Governments have pandered to the greed of peasants and have subjugated the urgent need of the nation as a whole to party-politics inside the State. U.P. is an outstanding example.

Mr. Munshi has declared in the Parliament, while admitting their inability to make India self-sufficient in food by March 1951, that come hail, come storm, and all the instruments of heavenly wrath, the target date of March 1952 for food self-sufficiency would be and shall be adhered to by the Government. But we believe that all talk of self-sufficiency by any date, 1952 or 1952 or 1972 is useless unless the Centre can bring the State Governments of surplus zones to their senses. As things stand today the entire economy of the nation is being jeopardised by the corruption, folly and inefficiency of the procurement departments. In West Bengal large-scale smuggling is going on across the Bengal-Bihar border. Lakhs of maunds of rice find their way into Bihar from Bankura, Burdwan and Malda. This smuggled rice is being officially procured by the Bihar Government.

"Grow more food campaign" has been a costly farce. Up till now no Minister of first class calibre has been put in charge of "grow more food campaign" either at the Centre or in the States. Rather we have the paradox of finding the highest authorities in the land shouting from housetops that our one and the only problem is food self-sufficiency and at the same time we witness the least efficient among the Congress retinue being given the task of devising ways and means.

Gigantic multipurpose schemes are being put forward. There also, the choice of men drafted for translating the schemes into action is in the nature of a grim joke. For example, in the D.V.C. men in control are undoubtedly esteemable gentlemen, but without the least knowledge, capacity or calibre requisite for a



gigantic scheme of this type. We are importing talent from abroad but these are specialists, and unless they are supported by an administration of a far superior type to what is there today, gigantic waste and delay is bound to be the outcome. The same applies to all the multipurpose schemes so far as food production is concerned. The general picture that we have on the food front is one of indecision and drift and a very costly muddle.

### *Primary Education in Uttar Pradesh*

There is an element of vagueness with regard to the control and superintendence over Primary Education in our country. The village-centred ideal that Gandhiji placed before us made all attempts at reform and reconstruction the legitimate field of Gram Panchayats. But we have not been following that ideal in this as in other fields, creating a confusion between the ideal and the practicable or what is regarded as practicable by the politician and the administrator. The following, summarized from a Lucknow report, illustrates this condition of things :

In 1946, the United Provinces Government took an important step in the field of education by adopting the ten-year plan for the expansion of education in rural areas. The idea was that 22,000 primary schools with a complement of 66,000 teachers should be started within the next ten years. It was hoped that these new schools, in addition to the existing District Board schools, would enable primary education to be made compulsory. Public enthusiasm, however, made the Government revise its plan and make it a five-year scheme. Financial stringency has slowed the pace, the number of schools opened this year having had to be reduced from 4,400 to 550.

An idea of the progress made so far may be formed from the following figures. 11,550 schools have already been started with 28,744 teachers. A sum of Rs. 25,911,000 has been so far spent on them as recurring charges. The value of the equipment supplied comes to 2,049,000. Up to now 4,148 buildings have been put up at a total estimated cost of rupee one crore and twenty-nine lakhs, of which the Government has contributed Rs. 32 lakhs and 36 thousand in cash and timber and the public Rs. 97 lakhs and 8 thousands in cash, kind and labour.

The question of ultimate control of these institutions has always been before the Government. The Minister for Education has stated more than once on the floor of the Legislature that a dual system of educational control is not good and the management of these schools shall have to vest in some one authority, Government, District Boards or *gaon sabhas*. District Boards have been pressing Government to transfer these schools to them. Government appreciate the reason for this demand and after taking all relevant factors into consideration, have now decided to accept it.

In West Bengal, the same vagueness prevails. Below University Education, the Government has been able to get control over all branches of education. In this process they appear to have forgotten how non-official initiative has played the most helpful part in spreading education in Bengal, east and west. Under this new dispensation this source of inspiration may dry up, though the Uttar Pradesh example of the people paying Rs. 97 lakhs 8 thousands out of Rs. 1 crore 29 lakhs, the cost of school buildings, may prove our fears to be unreal. But this narrows the field of experiment, the seed-plot of every forward-looking move. The caricature of Basic Education that the West Bengal Government has made proves, however, the reality of our fears.

### *Attitude of the Sikhs*

Sometime ago Shree Ram Singh Randhawa of Amritsar sent us a cutting from the *Tribune* (Ambala Cent.) of September 29 last containing a letter published in it explaining the attitude of the Sikhs in post-1947 India. The writer of this letter was Sardar Hukum Singh, President, Shiromani Akali Dal, New Delhi. We feel that we should take note of the comments of this letter though it was not addressed to us. Because it ventilated the "object minority consciousness" of a section of the Sikhs. His criticism appears to be directed against the Hindus in East Punjab whom he described as "a strong politically conscious minority suffering under an acute persecution mania" who have emerged out of the partition "as an absolute majority in the new Punjab," transforming "all their past frustrations into an intensely aggressive communal consciousness."

The words used by Sardar Hukum Singh ring familiar to us; the Muslim League used these and poisoned the atmosphere of India with results which even Sardarji's "virile" community could not forestall or halt. We, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs of India, have none of us been able to give a good account of ourselves. For good or evil, about 7 crores of Muslims of India are in Pakistan today; the rest have been suffering from the folly of Muslim League leaders. If the Sikhs are not particularly careful Master Tara Singh's leadership will hasten them to the same predicament.

We give general support to the idea of a Punjabi-speaking State or Province as we do to every linguistic area demarcation if the other conditions are satisfied. But we have our doubts whether the Punjabi-speaking State of the Sikhs' conception will solve the problem. The special correspondent of the *Rashtriya Swam- Sevak Sangh's* weekly organ, *Organizer* of Delhi said something on this topic which throws fresh light on it. The letter appeared in its issue of December 18 last.

Nobody is opposed to a Punjabi-speaking Province as such. The real question is: what is to be the basis for demarcation of this Province and what place is to be given to Hindi and Nagri script in it. With the resettlement of millions of Punjabi-speaking refugees from the West Punjab in the East Punjab, the Punjabi-



speaking area of the Punjab has become coterminous with the existing boundaries of the Punjab including Pepsu, Himachal Pradesh and Delhi. A Punjabi-speaking Province, therefore, must mean expansion of East Punjab so as to include all these units and not any further vivisection of the already truncated Punjab.

The trouble does not, however, end here. There is the Sikh insistence on the Gurumukhi Script. The *Organizer's* correspondent suggests a middle way which may be given a trial. "About the language the best course is to give equal place to Hindi and Punjabi, as the language can flourish only if it is taken out of the shell of Gurumukhi script. Nagri script, in which Punjabi was written even before the Gurumukhi script was invented in the 17th century, can clothe Punjabi language as well, even better than Gurumukhi. The language problem, therefore, cannot be solved by excluding one or the other but by giving equal place to both the scripts. That would be in the best interests of the Punjabi language and the millions who speak it and take pride in it. So far as Hindi is concerned, there cannot be any difference of opinion about its place in any Province unless its people deliberately decide to commit suicide by confining themselves within the narrow Provincial boundaries."

### *Blatant Folly*

The Dravidian Federation has been battling against "Aryanism" and all that it has meant in the south of the Vindhyas. A section of the Tamilians have been at the forefront of this agitation. They have now been expanding their functions trying to organize a boycott of North India men and things, North India finance and business concerns. The sentiment behind it has been explained by a Madras weekly, and it is true that the people and the Government understood the "method" of this madness. Says our contemporary:

"The agitation that has been inaugurated by the Dravidian Federation against North Indian exploitation of this country, is based on the excellent principle of economic self-sufficiency of this Province. The agitation does not mean that the North Indians who have settled down here should be packed up and sent out. On the other hand, North Indians and South Indians should remain in this province as the citizens of this Province and help the growth and development of this Province economically. The sponsors of the agitation do object—and they are very serious about it—to the exploitation of this Province by the North Indian capitalists for their own advancement and benefit. What is happening here is that North Indians come here, trade in this country, accumulate wealth and carry away that money to their homes in far away Gujarat and Marwar, which makes this Province poorer, because this Province does not derive such benefit by people of this Province going out and trading in other parts of India."

There are obvious dangers to this line of justification to which a Madras Minister appears to have drawn the attention of enthusiasts in the anti-North India cause. The *Sunday Observer* attempts an angry retort on it:

"Mr. Bhaktavatsalam referred to the Tamilians who have settled in Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and other places. We must beg to state that they went as glorified coolies to serve the North Indian masters as secretaries, typists, steno-typists and clerks. We do not think that even one in a hundred of South Indians is carrying on business on a large scale in any of the up-countries like North Indians who are exploiting South India. If, as a result of this agitation, they were to be sent out of those places, we would welcome them back and they can flourish much better than they are doing in those far-off places. Let us not weep over the plumage while we allow the bird to die."

The paper says that it has not sponsored the agitation, but as publicists "who want to study every problem of this country on its merits," it makes this attempt to understand, and in a way to justify this boycott move. For, they are "following the excellent example set by countries like Burma, Malaya, Ceylon and Africa, nothing more, and nothing less." We have often to wade through masses of crudity and unbalance in course of our duty as journalists. But the above two quotations totally astound us by their blatant folly. Is Mr. Ramaswamy Naicker planning to stage a Malan or a Goonesinha coup?

### *"Refugees" Want to go to Pakistan*

Certain North India daily papers featured some time ago a news announcing the formation of an Association which propose to strive for the return and rehabilitation of "refugees" in their "original homes" in Pakistan. Rana Jang Bahadur Singh, Editor of the *Times of India*; Sri Ranbir, Editor of the *Daily Milap*, and others sponsor the movement. In a statement they explained the purpose to which the energies of their Association will be directed.

"The complicated problem of rehabilitation of 'refugees' numbering several millions, uprooted from their hearths and homes as a result of the Himalayan blunder of the leaders has not only been baffling the Government of India, but also eating into the vitals of the country. Though the Government have spent crores of rupees, the problem stands where it was. Lakhs of persons are still homeless and without any shelter. Lakhs have no means to provide themselves and their dependents with two square meals a day.

"Mahatma Gandhi was correct when he stated that the most effective method of rehabilitating the 'refugees' was to devise ways and means for their rehabilitation in their original homes. The Father of the Nation had been striving hard to bring it about, when the cruel hand of death snatched him from our midst. His mission thus remained un-fulfilled.

"After three years of trials and tribulations, we have realised that Mahatmajī's was the only sane advice. We feel an irrepressible urge to go back to our homes. Even those who have, fortunately, been well-placed after the partition, have a yearning to return to their homes and settle there once again.

"Now, in order that non-Muslim 'refugees' from

the other side of the border, could regain their lost homes, and enjoy the status which they enjoyed before the partition, we the undersigned form ourselves into an association with the sole object of making the mission of Mahatma Gandhi, a success."

We publish this statement without trying to damn it with faint praise. The organizers of the Association are responsible people. And the step they have initiated is fraught with consequences whose features are unclear today. But we join issue with them when they unnecessarily go out of their way to stigmatize as "Himalayan blunder of the leaders" their decision to accept the Mountbatten Plan. In February and March, 1947, when the fire of Muslim separatism had been burning in a blaze in the Punjab, we do not remember to have read of any statement by Hindu and Sikh leaders questioning the need for a parting of the ways from Muslims.

Sardar Patel without whose agreement no partition plan could have been carried into effect did in speeches made at the Nagpur and Banaras Universities specially try to throw light on the factors that decided the issue in his matter of partition. The Muslim League was prepared to pay the price of blood in having their Pakistan because the League leaders had at their back the expressed and unexpressed support of the British bureaucrats in India. With the Muslims satisfied they were scheming to use the Princely Order with a view to keep India weak by Balkanizing her territory.

This game "the leaders" forestalled. And we do not remember that at that time any Hindu or Sikh leader was prepared to go as far as the Muslims, realizing that such a tactics would prolong alien rule over India.

The statement revives a useless controversy. To recall the true perspective of that great decision and to defend the memory of Sardar Patel from imputations with regard to his wisdom and sense of realities in India, we unwillingly enter this controversy. The use of Gandhiji's name in this connection is not legitimate. The world knows that he regarded the demand for Pakistan as a "sin," and as a man of religion he fought against it to the last. But even he appears to have had doubts about the matter, strangely prescient of things to come. The following from the *Harian* of March 16, reporting part of his "Walking Tour Diary" of February 18, 1947, would go to support our contention :

"Q.—Do you support evacuation of the Hindus from the affected areas if the League Government or the majority community agrees to give us due compensation?"

"A.—He had supported the proposition from the non-violent standpoint. It was applicable to all provinces whether the majority was Hindu or Muslim. What could the Government do if the majority had become so hostile that they would not tolerate the presence of the minority community? In his opinion it would be improper for them to force the majority into submission nor

could they undertake to protect the minority at the point of the bayonet. Suppose, for instance that the majority would not tolerate *Ramdhun* or the clapping, would not listen to the fact that Ram was not a person but the name was synonymous with God, and that the Hindus believed in clapping, suppose further that the Muslims would not tolerate that, he had no hesitation in saying that the minority should evacuate if adequate compensation was paid."

### *Bihar's Welcome Move*

We publish gladly from the *Bihar Herald* of Dankipur the following news and comments on a matter which had poisoned relations between citizen and citizen in India. It is a welcome move.

If the PTI message be true (past experience leads us to expect strings attached to such announcements) the Government of Bihar have decided not only to abolish communal representation in the services, but also to abrogate altogether the procedure of asking candidates for the Provincial services if they were natives or domiciled citizens of the State.

Our objections to these age-old practices were only two. Firstly, they prevented the growth of an Indian Nationalism and encouraged narrow Provincialism. Secondly, they gave us a sense of inferiority. It amounted to an admission that we were not able to hold our own in competition with people of other Provinces. There may have been a time in past when our graduates were apprehensive of external competition, but today we are proud to think that the products of our University are not inferior to those turned out by any other Indian University. By taking the bold step of abolishing all distinctions between the citizens of India wherever they may come from, Bihar has thrown a challenge to other Provinces to follow in her footsteps if they dare do so....."

### *Dr. Malan in Desperation*

Dr. Daniel Malan and the White racialists he represents, are in a desperate mood. Faced by world reprobation, they have been uttering threats to all their critics and to people who really wish them well.

South Africa's Prime Minister warned Britain on September 11 last, not to 'poke her nose' into South African affairs. Criticising members of the British Parliament—even Cabinet Ministers—who made adverse criticism of South Africa, Dr. Malan told the Nationalist Party's Transvaal Congress :

"South Africa is no longer a British colony; South Africa is a sovereign, independent country. We do not poke our nose into the affairs of Britain and we expect of Britain that she should not do so with us.

"If Britain wanted to bring about an estrangement with South Africa, they must continue on the course they have set.

"I say this in no sense of hostility but in all friendliness in the hope that it will be taken to heart.

"We regard Britain as our friend. We are anxious to retain her friendship. We want to co-

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operate with Britain and other members of the Commonwealth, but it must not be onesided."

Taking their cue from their leader two other South African Cabinet Ministers rebuked the British War Minister, Mr. John Strachey, for saying that he "very much disliked the policy of the present South African Government."

Economic Affairs Minister Eric Louw said:

"Mind your own business and keep your nose out of South Africa's affairs."

Defence Minister Francois Erasmus said:

"Mr. Louw has taken the words out of my mouth."

Mr. Louw addressing the Transvaal Nationalist Party Congress said that he was surprised that a British Cabinet member should express himself in such unpleasant terms about another Commonwealth country.

In view of his own recent visit to Britain, the present visit of Finance Minister, Mr. C. C. Havher and the impending visit of Mr. Erasmus—all on matters of interest to Britain and other Commonwealth countries—he found it surprising that a British Cabinet member should express himself about South Africa in terms such as Mr. Strachey had used.

On November 28, South Africa's Nationalist Minister of Lands, Mr. J. G. Strydom went one better by saying that

"The United Nations was a danger to South Africa because it was interfering in the Union's domestic affairs; its coloured member States were trying to dictate how South Africa should treat its Indian, coloured and African population. Mr. Daniel Malan's Nationalist Government, was not only fighting against the United Nations but against the leaders of the United Party Opposition who were becoming allies of India and Pakistan."

The United Nations Special Political Committee recommended that South Africa, India and Pakistan should go ahead with Round Table talks on the Union's treatment of its 300,000 inhabitants of Indian origin before April 1951. Earlier the Committee decided it was competent to deal with India's complaint against the Union's treatment of Indians.

Mr. Strydom declared:

"It should never be forgotten that the former United Party Government under the late Field-Marshal Jan Smuts had been 'equally guilty' with Britain, France and the United States of the destruction of Germany—the only bulwark against Communism. The Nationalist Party had been reviled during the war, because it opposed that policy. But today Russia and its satellites were so powerful that Western Europe including Britain could be overrun before the United States could do anything to help."

These narrow-minded politicians have good reasons to take up this attitude. Even the U.S.A. press have become critical of them. To cite one instance, the mass circulation magazine *Life*, in a 16-page photographic study of "South Africa and the Problems," in its issue of mid-September last, said that

'the black problem' threatened 'the peace and security of the Union.' The photographs, many in colour, were the work of Miss Margaret Bourke-White who, *Life* claimed, had 'explored South Africa's great issue, and dilemma—the black problem.'

Through centuries of White control the problem has grown steadily graver until today it threatens the peace and security of the Union and has aroused grave international concern over South Africa's stewardship of human liberties. In an unabashed outbreak of racialism that tries to pass off as nationalism, South African champions of White supremacy have spread a new doctrine of segregation called *apartheid*.

Native reserves are often bare of young men because more than half of the able-bodied are syphoned into the gold mines. The work is arduous, the pay low. The only raise in 30 years was given in 1944 to bring the scale to 30 cents a day plus food and lodging.

Confronted by the civilized world's criticism, the Malanists have thrown reason to the winds and developed this desperate mood, because they have grown conscious that the days of their power are coming to an end.

## Spain

There has been speculations in the West about making it possible for Spain under General Franco to join the United Nations Organization. The United States Government has been credited with taking the initiative in the matter. The real pressure for this step appears to be coming from the Spanish-speaking States of the two Americas, who could not be ignored by their northern neighbour. There is a world of prejudice against General Franco for his part in aligning himself with Mussolini's Italy and Hitler's Germany, for killing the republican movement in the country. We have seen hints thrown out that it was the Protestant Churches which in their ill-feeling against Roman Catholicism were really creating this prejudice as Spain is a Catholic country.

But there are other standards to judge Spain by. The following from the *World Interpreter* of New York sets it out: "In the city of Barcelona, the real economic capital of the country, in 1940, 5,675 bank cheques were protested, in the value of 8,364,000 pesetas. In 1948, the number of protested cheques had risen to 64,151 in the amount of 405,878,000 pesetas. During 1949, the value of cheques protested has almost tripled.

This reflects not only a financial situation, but a mentality created in the Province of Catalonia where uprightness and commercial honesty were always comparable with those of Britain. A popular anecdote is revealing:

Senor A offers Senor B a carload of sardine tins at 18,000 pesetas. Senor B sells them for 30,000 pesetas to Senor C and he, for 40,000 pesetas, to Senor D. Finally Senor E, a far-sighted man afraid of dying from hunger should there be a war, acquires the carload for 56,000 pesetas.

Three days later, Senor E telephones indignantly to

Senor D. "I've been cheated," he cries into the phone. "You sold me sardine tins, and now it turns out that the tins are empty."

At the other end of the wire Senor D exclaims: "But man alive! Why did you open the tins? They were not to eat! They were just to do business with!"

### *Europe's New "Neutralists"*

The news that the Governments of the United States, Britain and France have as good as agreed on the scheme for the enlistment of German military formations to halt the Soviet Union's dash west-ward has not caused the world any surprise. Mr. Churchill and other schemers of a European Federation have been announcing from the house-tops that the Soviet Union if and when it decides to move west can reach the English Channel within a week, and to forestal this drive German military knowledge and skill are indispensable. In the light of these developments, the article from the *Life*, reproduced below, reveals a state of things that appears to cause a certain amount of anxiety to the American Administration:

'Neutralism' is the popular new word in Europe. Its devotees, the 'neutralists', are a growing party in practically every West European country. The 'neutralists' want to sit it out in case of war between the U.S. and Russia. Born of the cold war, the phenomenon of European neutralism is something that must be reckoned with in the continuing evolution of U.S. foreign policy. It could be dangerous. But if 'neutralism' in its present connotations is analyzed a bit, the menace shrinks to proportions that should be manageable.

Like 'isolationism,' neutralism covers a multitude of attitudes. Some European neutralists are undoubtedly defeatists; others believe in varying degrees of appeasement of Stalinist bullying tactics. Some use the word to express a grudge against the U.S. A few professed neutralists may be secret Communists who employ the word for their own non-neutral ends. But the newest brand of neutralist in Europe is neither a defeatist nor an appeaser nor a secret Communist. He is simply a person who has come to take hope that Europe can be made strong enough to stand on its own feet. As such, he is a harbinger of good things, an indication of reviving European health and aplomb.

In France the new neutralist is responsible for much of the steam behind the drive for the Schuman plan: obviously a strong Franco-German steel industry would do much toward making Europe a self-sufficient entity. Since it is precisely the aim of such U.S. policies as the Marshall Plan to promote a Europe capable of standing on its own feet, this particular drive of the new French neutralist is to be commended. In Western Germany the new neutralist is a somewhat more worrisome phenomenon. But the German neutralist in the Rhineland doesn't worry the Germans in the Western sectors of Berlin, where there are no neutralists. "If we can take care of the Reds out here," said a prominent Berlin German official recently, "we can handle the neutralists back there."

The new European neutralist is on the U.S. side precisely insofar as he works to make Europe a genuine world force. The neutralist is, however, the victim of an illusory analysis of the nature of the struggle between Russia and the U.S. if he thinks it can at any moment cease to involve him. A strong Europe, so the neutralist argues, could stand aloof in the event that the cold war between Russia and the U.S. passes over into hot war. But this is to assume that the U.S. has some special quarrel of its own with Russia. The U.S. quarrel with Russia is Europe's quarrel—and humanity's.

The plain fact of the matter is that the cold war has little immediate meaning apart from Europe's own integrity. There will be no hot war between Russia and the U.S. for Europe to stay out of unless Russia bids for world domination by grabbing either Europe or South-east Asia.

A liberal Dutch journal, the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, puts the case succinctly. 'Europe's weakness, Southeast Asia's weakness,' says the *Courant*, "are the cause of the cold war." (The italics are ours). It follows, therefore, that a Europe strong enough to stand on its own feet and to project its strength into Indo-China and Indonesia would automatically remove the cause. It is for this reason that the new European neutralists need not worry the U.S. unduly just so long as they continue to work for a powerful and united European community.

### *Jadavpur Engineering College*

This college is the only remnant of the National Education Movement inaugurated in Bengal in 1906 coincident with what has come to be known as the "Swadeshi Movement." It held its annual convocation on December 10 last; Acharya Chandrashekhar Venkata Raman, scientist and savant, delivered the address of the occasion. Speaking from his own experience of Bengal where he passed about 25 years of his life, eventful of research and pursuit of truth, he referred to the "idealism" of the people who were found always more responsive to appeals to their "faith in the virtues of academic achievement" than to their material interests. By his contributions to the world of modern scientific knowledge, the Acharya has earned his right to speak of our inadequacies. This right he exercised when he uttered words that 'point the finger to the seat of our complexes.' Acharya Chandrasekhar said:

"It was often found in this country that men occupying high position talked of the uselessness of pure science and of academic knowledge. This attitude towards knowledge was not going to lead them anywhere. The question was whether they, in this country, were going to remain content by getting the new inventions from the West, by getting ideas, equipments and experts to fit and look after the equipments from the West. Engineering could not progress by depending on others. They in India, would have to start from the beginning piling up knowledge and building up character and strength to free problems. They must have to think out original ideas and anticipate their future problem. What was wanted was leadership, as India had

shown\* in the past in the fields of literature, philosophy, etc. Let the past give them strength to face the great problems before them. They were formidable problems to be faced in Bengal. If Bengal failed, India failed. If any part of India suffered, everybody suffered. There was a fundamental unity among them. They had great problems and they had to solve them by abiding faith in human values, not on the economic value, but on the virtues of knowledge. Knowledge was the root of power and if they wanted power, they must have knowledge."

This call to self-confidence is more than ever necessary when in carrying out schemes of better life for our people, foreign knowledge and foreign "experts" have been proving to be more of a liability. Speaking of the special subject of engineering, the address highlighted the value of knowledge distinct from its application to material life. "Knowledge was moving forward. If they were not going to keep away from modern civilisation and they wanted India's progress in industry and engineering, success must be achieved in the wide front of knowledge by an aggressive pursuit of knowledge in the sense that they did not want to be mere followers of others in the field of science, but wanted to be leaders striking out new ideas which might seem utterly useless but sooner or later would find practical application. The whole history of modern science and its relation with engineering had demonstrated that science went first and engineering came afterwards. Engineering showed the way of making money, while men of science showed how to make it. Science showed the way and engineering came afterwards to grab the money."

### *Jubilee of the Philosophical Congress*

The Silver Jubilee Session of the Indian Philosophical Congress opened at the Senate House of the Calcutta University on the 19th December last. Acharya Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan presided over the ceremony and opened the proceedings with an *extempore* speech. The report that has appeared in the press does not tell us how the philosophers in India proposed to "break through this vicious circle" that encompasses the modern world except that "India is a state of mind, not a country, not a geographical expression. It is a direction of the human spirit. It is a perpetual foe to every kind of fanaticism. This has been true of India of these years. And if we live in the fundamentals of these great souls then we hope to survive to preserve ourselves against any action."

The confusion in the world of activity could not have grown if there had been coherence in the world of thought. India's ambassador to the Soviet Union should have been able to illustrate from his experience gathered there how the renovation of human values worked under Soviet auspices renews his faith in the present and the future. And his dissertation on "the spirit of the present age"—"the spirit of science"—leads us not far. And his insistence on the value of "the individual" in the evolution of the "new order"

renews a fight that Soviet philosophy appears to have gained by relegating the individual to the position of a cog in the wheel of the State. "As philosophers, as human beings," we have a general idea of the causes and consequences of the world *malaise*. But a way out we find not in Acharya Radhakrishnan's speech. He leaves us to "the young men and women throughout the world (who) are silently working for bringing about a new social order where tormented people of the world may find peace and unity. The solitary thinkers are there working for another world. We can catch the sound, fainter perhaps than others but persistent, the sound of things growing, of roots thrusting, of bonds bursting, of young men and women shaking off their chains and striving for a new world into life where man may see the face of happiness. The philosophers of the world should strive to sustain the new world with faith, to produce the men who subordinate national, racial and religious divisions to the ideal of humanity. That is the message which our old wisdom gives."

The message of "our old wisdom" is not open to challenge. Science has laid the foundations of "an one world" morality. But the question that tests the intellect of the modern world is how in the life of modern men and women, this morality can be enforced. Acharya Radhakrishnan's speech does not throw light on this concrete problem.

### *Phari Bhusan Adhikari*

The death of this savant severs another link with the Uttar Pradesh forged by Bengali enterprise in the field of scholarship, in the spread of modern education in the area. He left his mark as professor of philosophy in the Hindu University of Banaras, and after retirement therefrom was connected with Rabindranath Tagore's Visva-Bharati at Santiniketan for some time. He dies full of years and honours in his 84th year. The traditions of devotion to knowledge are being carried on by one of his daughters, Srimati Asha Arayanayakam at Sevagram where she is head of an educational institution where experiment in Gandhiji's Basic Education is being carried on. We tender homage to his memory and extend our sympathy to his children. May his soul rest in peace.

### *William Christopher Wordsworth*

The death of this educator of youth in Bengal revives memories that were generally friendly as between the teacher and the taught. Wordsworth came to Bengal during the time when sensitiveness to foreign rule had developed so profoundly that relations were liable to be strained on almost any pretext. Prof. Wordsworth could maintain an equable temper bespeaking a balanced nature aware of the difficulties of the situation. He retired from service before his time and joined the Calcutta *Statesman* as one of its assistant editors thereby becoming the educator of a wider public. He left India in 1947. To the members of his family we tender our sympathy.

# THE SARDAR PASSES AWAY

## Irreparable Loss to the Nation

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"... this fell sergeant, death,  
Is strict in his arrest."—Shakespeare : *Hamlet*

THE history of Indian politics, viewed from a certain angle, is but a history of the mortality among her distinguished sons and daughters. Untimely death and disability have formed the warp and woof of that memorable fabric. As far as human memory can reach back it has been a sickeningly heart-rending story alike of promising careers cut short in mid-career and of proved veterans that could well have been spared to us for a few more strenuous years. Necrology has, in consequence, played a by no means insignificant part in our gubernatorial addresses. It is indisputable that the one thing resoundingly certain of life is death : all flesh is as grass and mutability is the order of the day. But a fact loses none of its poignancy by being elevated to the status of a truism.

Atropos, then, with her celebrated shears, has been incessantly active with the thin-spun lives of our politicians : in a manner of speaking, today they may be with us, but tomorrow their places may know them not. It is not necessary for me to dig up the remote past to attest the truth of this statement : recent events bear it out no less remarkably. Both in the united and in the partitioned India it has been the same sad story—with death as the star-actor. As the Philosopher Prince would have put it : "Marry, this is miching-maleccho : it means mischief."

### "THE REST IS SILENCE"

We need hark back no more to the India that was united : it has gone the way of "the many Ninevehs and Hecatempoli" : the comparison between that and the present partitioned India might be spared in the interests of our equanimity. India gained independence—or was supposed to have done so—in August, 1947. By the end of January, 1948, the "Father of the Nation" was assassinated in broad daylight by a fanatic of unity. Much has been written on the loss sustained by the country as a result of it ; and by abler pens than mine. I shall, therefore, refrain from adding even a drop to that veritable Niagara. Besides, has not the Home Minister of Bombay silenced all further comment on it by saying, in his usual forthright fashion, that God willed it ? As everyone knows, he is a man of few words, and when he speaks he must be supposed to lay down the law on the subject. So, then, the

Hon'ble Shri Morarji Desai has spoken : "the rest is silence."

### THE TRIO

The Mahatma and the Pandit and the Sardar formed a distinguished trio and were at one time deemed to be indispensable to the proper governance of our beloved Motherland. Exaggeration is the essence of politics, and even in that "dark backward and atavism of time" some sceptics, like myself, dared to question the validity of that oracular dictum : it seemed to us that we had encountered it once too often and that, like most thunderings from Sinai, it was in dire need of some sort of deflation. The death of the first, and the greatest, of that distinguished trio furnished it, and furnished it much earlier than even those sceptics dared to hope. Indeed, looking at it now from the distance of three years, it appears to have caused no more than a tiny ripple on the otherwise placid waters of life : that enigmatic entity, "society", recovered from its shock almost in a trice and people went about their lawful occasions much as though there never had been such a thing as asceticism in public life. I am not suggesting that the death of the Mahatma was not, as the saying is, irreparable : I am suggesting only that one failed to discern the infinite pathos of it by a look around at the familiar places. They swiftly ceased to bear any signs of a recent cataclysm. If this were the case when the greatest of India's sons died what, one shudderingly asked oneself, would be the case if someone much smaller than he were to be removed from our midst in his own good-time ? "Death, where is thy sting?" could then be uttered more bravely.

DECEMBER 15, 1950

Not very long after that tragic event—as these events are reckoned—our one and only Sardar passed away in Bombay. The news of his death on the morning of December 15 in a city dear to him by long association was nonetheless shocking because it had not been entirely unexpected. Everyone knew that he had been ailing for months and months past, and his leaving New Delhi for Bombay a few days earlier was looked upon by many as his last journey. And so it proved to be, notwithstanding a momentary recovery.

That recovery was followed by a relapse that proved fatal. The Sardar died full of years and of honour. Nor was there anything tragic in his death—except the inevitable tragedy that is inherent in death in general.

MARCH 29, 1949

There would have been—if he had died on March 29, 1949, instead of, as he did, on December 15, 1950. On that earlier date the plane by which he was to reach Jaipur for inaugurating the Union of Greater Rajasthan next day had a forced landing within 30 miles of the city. For about four hours there was no news of him. As someone has put it, those were tense moments for our people. Seldom had public anxiety reached such a high pitch. Equally intense was the nation's relief when news was received of his safe arrival in Jaipur for keeping his engagement. Congratulations poured in from all parts of the country. On his return to Delhi the jubilation in Parliament was beyond description. The members were not satisfied until on their behalf the Prime Minister presented to the Sardar a large silver trophy mounted with a replica of the plane in which he travelled. It was characteristic of him that he heartily laughed over the incident and treated it as a "vast entertainment."

#### IRREPARABLE LOSS

The Sardar was, essentially, a Stoic: he could, therefore, afford to treat the incident as a joke—and to pass on to the other items on the agenda of life. It could never have been a joke to the country. The country loved him and the country needed him. The country needs him still. If I may venture to say so, he was the only politician among contemporaries of whom that could be said—with any degree of veracity. The oft-quoted word, "irreparable," can be applied to him with a greater measure of truth even than to his Master. The Master's work had been done when he fell a victim to the assassin's bullet. Probably Bombay's Home Minister was right in giving it as his considered opinion that Providence willed the Mahatma's death. The Sardar, however, had still some work to do if so be he had been spared to us for a while longer. And I say it that have not always been his wholehearted admirer.

That, however, is wrapping it up in a small parcel, as the immortal Sam Weller would have put it. There have been occasions when I went at him ruthlessly—notably in the matter of his titanic quarrel with the redoubtable Dr. N. B. Khare, one-time Premier of what now goes by the name of Madhya Bharat. The Sardar fully lived up to his reputation as the "Iron Man" of the Congress in that episode of his career—and lived up to it *wrongly*. There had been opportunities enough for him to live up to that reputation *rightly*; but he sadly missed them.

#### THE "DHARSANA" EPISODE

It was in 1930 that I first came to regard him as a hero. Those were the days of the "Salt Satyagraha" and of the Mahatma's famous Dandy march. My politics were then—as now—"sicklied over with the pale cast of" Liberal "thought"; and the cockles of my heart were not warmed by all that ballyhoo. Came a day, however, when I could no more regard the movement with the same spirit of detachment. To be a Liberal was not to discard the name of "patriot"; and, though Congressmen will no doubt laugh heartily over it, I have all along been both a Liberal and a patriot. When I read in the papers about the police's indiscriminate *lathi* charges on the innocent non-violent Satyagrahis—both men and women—and especially about their *lathi* charges in Dharsana where the Satyagraha was led by the Sardar's daughter, Miss Maniben Patel, I could no longer restrain myself and converted myself, mentally, into an out-and-out Congressman. There was some sacrifice involved in this—inasmuch as I risked the vehement displeasure of my father who was a Liberal in thought, word and deed. I ceased to be a Congressman again—after the senseless Gandhi-Irwin Pact of the following year. Consistency is not always the hobgoblin of little minds, and the Pact came to me as a veritable shock after all the preceding *Strum und Drang*. My flirtation with the Congress came to an end as abruptly as it began.

What did not come to an end, however, was my respect for the illustrious Sardar and his no less illustrious daughter. I have always believed that the movement would have ended in complete success—and not in that namby-pamby Pact—if it had been under the uninterrupted control of the Sardar. But that was not to be. Leaders given to endless vacillation have no business to be in charge of such dynamic movements, and the country would have been spared a deal of bother if either those movements had not been started in the first instance, or having been started, they had, throughout, been under the spirited guidance of "Iron Men" like the late-lamented Sardar. The Sardar was a born leader; but on very few occasions did it fall to his lot to lead. That was one of the tragedies of Indian politics. He was not only not the man to conclude such meaningless Pacts as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact aforementioned: he was not the man who would ever have demeaned himself into defining "Poorna Swaraj" as the "substance of independence." I was among those who were aghast when I learnt that that was how the Mahatma—who originated the Satyagraha—defined it to Mr. George Slocome of the *Daily Herald* at the time of the latter's interview with him in the Yeravada gaol. I could well have imagined what ribald mirth it would have provoked in the hearts of Congressmen if that definition had come from the lips of one of the poor Liberals. But it is a mad world, my masters, and what is really the high-



water-mark of moderation is apt to pass off as dare-devil extremism in a Congressman. It has always been so: what is mere cussedness in the Captain is rank blasphemy in the soldier. But the Sardar's mind was ever crystal-clear: verbal jugglery was anathema to him and he abhorred wrapping anything in cotton-wool—in folds and folds of it.

#### INTEGRATION OF THE STATES

Nowhere was the Sardar's clearness of mind more in evidence than in the historical integration of the five-hundred and odd States which the British bequeathed to us as a legacy. The other legacy that they bequeathed to us was the never-to-be-sufficiently deplored partition of our beloved Motherland. Having (God be praised!) been left to himself he could, as we have seen, tackle the first problem with his customary thoroughness. I have a feeling deep down in me that he would have come out in equally shining colours if he had been left to deal with the second problem also "on his own lonesome", as it were. The Sardar has never been a lover of partition. He was the one man who could have called the bluff—both of the Muslims and of the British. But, for certain sentimental reasons, the higher hierarchy of the Congress did not deem it politic to leave the partition problem in his sole charge: there would have been too many wigs on the green!

The higher Congress hierarchy, however, did immensely well to assign the task of the integration of the States to him and to no other; and, in this connection, I cannot help regretting that that hierarchy should have chosen to place Kashmir in different hands—with what tragic effects he who runs may read. But we should be thankful to small mercies, and it was an inspired Sardar who came to the task of the States. By a characteristic blend of cajolery and coercion he contrived to liquidate all these States—barring one, as I have already insisted. This is no place to go into details. The point for us to remember is that he finished his job in a blaze of glory.

#### HIS UNIQUE SERVICE TO DELHI

I have, earlier, referred to the Sardar's historic tussle with Dr. N. B. Khare, and referred to it in rather disparaging terms. The firmness that he displayed there was misplaced, and the country's misfortune was that where that firmness was really needed it was, to say the least, conspicuous by its absence. There is a time for "coming" the Iron Man "over" someone, and there is a time, too, to refrain from doing so. When the Sardar "steam-rolled" the venerable doctor of Nagpur it was certainly not the right time. His firmness was sorely required at the time of Partition and afterwards. And then he displayed his unique quality only once. It was during the Delhi riot days of 1947. He and the R.S.S. saved Delhi from Muslim domination. His name will ring

down the corridors of time if only for that tremendous service to the Hindu cause. Thereafter the giant slumbered again. I cannot remember his strength in action in the days that followed. A Hindu to the core—and a warrior at that—he, like several others, not noticeably as strong as he was reputed, to be, seemed to have allowed himself (for reasons of mistaken "loyalty") to be caught in the toils of a spurious "secularism" and thus was perforce impelled to let the rights of his fellow-Hindus go by default. I can write columns upon columns on this aspect of the matter—piling Pelion on Ossa, as it were—and do so with "my head hanging down in shame" that the only resolute Hindu Cabinet Minister could not always bring himself to sponsor the Hindu cause and to keep the barbaric Muslim hordes at bay.

#### THE TWO LOYALTIES

The Sardar, at any rate, was no double-distilled idiot and he could not, I am certain, have been taken in by all the muck that has been written and spoken in honour of that much misunderstood word, "secularism." But—and here is the rub—there was such a thing as "loyalty" to one whom, to please and to placate the Mahatma, he agreed—*malgre lui*—to look upon as his "leader," and he permitted a lesser "loyalty" to over-power the greater—namely, the loyalty to the nation as a whole. Had he been able to see the two loyalties in their correct perspective there would have been—I am prepared to lay all Lombard Street to a China orange, as the saying is—no dastardly partition of the country, no post-partition riots, no Kashmir idiocy, no "secular" nonsense, no anti-Mahasabha and anti-R.S.S. campaigns, no impotent ending of the Hyderabad "police action," no "symbolic links," and no "neutrality" stunts. He was the one man who could have put old Liaquat in his place *at any time*—even in the notorious "Joint Cabinet System" days of 1946—but *his hands had always been tied*. Of his own volition he was content to play second fiddle to one who, by rights, ought to have played second fiddle to *him*: there lay the tragedy of recent Indian politics. He—and no other—should have been the Prime Minister and he should have acted according to the dictates of his own "inner voice" rather than, in an uncharacteristically weak moment, abandoned the role of "skipper" of the team to one who on all counts, was no match for him and could not have been if he had tried with "both his hands," as Humpty Dumpty would have put it. "First things first" should have been the slogan. As it turned out, however, the slogan became: "First things second and the Hindus to be always at the loser's end—for 'secularistic' reasons."

#### THE TRAGEDY

Sam Weller once respectfully admitted to his liege lord that "when 'e was on this 'ere grievance 'e



was apt to run away like a wheel-barrow with the wheels well greased." I am apt to do the same—in the totally different context of the grievances of the Hindus against Muslims in the first instance, the British in the second, and Congressmen in the third. At a pinch I can bring myself to forgive the first two but never the third. It is not so much that they are "secular": it is that they are spurious. *They are simply bad coins that fail to ring true.* But the Sardar was, in essence, and left to himself, a genuine coin, and thus was neither "secular" nor spurious at heart. The misfortune was that he considered himself to be a mere soldier on the battle-field for ever owing obedience to his two Generals—one dead and the other living. Leaving the Mahatma alone for the present, he should never have let his loyalty to the Pandit run riot in the way it did. Had he had sufficient real "iron" in him to obey the monitor "within" the face of India, would have been entirely different today. But, alas, he willed otherwise; "and oh, the difference to us!"

#### APOLLO IN THE HOUSE OF ADMETUS

It was a notable godsend to the Muslim irredentists that our departed patriot chose to consider himself only as a soldier on the battle-field ever alert to do even the most unpatriotic bidding of his two Generals instead of following the dictates of his own conscience and being the *Generalissimo*, the Chief whom everyone in the Congress fold had to obey. Many writers, in their obituaries of him, have been at pains to stress the peasant strain in him, the strain of blind obedience to those whom he elected to regard as his superiors. I repeat with all the vehemence at my command that it was a double tragedy—his own and his nation's, the Hindu. For when all the "secularist" wine has been drunk and but the "lees" remain over people—now in a state of semi-coma—will begin to realise that there is a distinct nation on earth called the "Hindu" and that, if only he had willed otherwise, the Sardar would have been its most shining ornament. But, as has been stated above, the Sardar's role, as he mistakenly conceived it, was that of a mere soldier on the battlefield. *He was really Apollo serving in the house of Admetus.* But he did not know that he was Apollo, and the Admetus in the case was equally ignorant that he was Admetus.

#### MR. ATTLEE'S HISTORIC STATEMENT

Just after the Simla Conference of 1945, convened at the instance of the late Lord Wavell, the Sardar visited Bombay where he made perhaps the most soul-stirring speech of his life, denouncing alike the

British and their born stooges, the Muslims. But he soon appeared to forget what he had spoken then. He made out a devastating case against both. He, no less than the Pandit, repeatedly swore against the very conception of Pakistan. But when the real test came they faltered and failed to make the maximum capital out of Mr. Attlee's historic statement on the floor of the House of Commons on March 15, 1946, that *no minority in India would be permitted to wreck the unity of the country.* If any statement was ever unambiguous it was this; but neither the Mahatma, nor the Pandit, nor the Sardar had the gumption to take advantage of it. I shall leave it to my readers to imagine what huge capital our Muslim friends would have made out of it if that statement had been conceived in their interests. British statesmen, I need hardly point out, have never been guilty of being over-generous to the Hindus. They are not, *even now*—else, look at Kashmir. But even on the rare—the too rare—occasions when they "unbend" a little towards us we tragically fail to make the most of it. It is a sad commentary even on the Sardar's own reputed "strength" that he also lacked the courage to regard that statement as the Hindu's "Magna Charta" and to fling it at the faces of the Muslim "die-hards" and "last-ditches."

#### PUERILE REASONING

Everyone knows what happened ultimately—in spite of Mr. Attlee's statement. The Muslim minority was allowed—by Congressmen—to disrupt the unity of our beloved Motherland. The Sardar was often in the habit of pleading that he had imagined, when he gave his *imprimatur* to the partitioning of the country, that the Muslims, having got their "Stan," would henceforth cease to be a thorn in our flesh and that all would be well with us on this side of our own 38th Parallel. A man of the Sardar's sterling commonsense should not have put forward that puerile reasoning. But our public is extremely gullible, and it swallowed it with hook, line and sinker.

#### CONCLUSION

I could have written more, but I am pressed for time. The country has lost its most distinguished Congress leader in the death of the Sardar. I have but one complaint against him: he should not have deemed himself only as a soldier on the battlefield, ready to obey the orders of his Generals. He *only* among Congressmen was of the stuff of which Generals are made: had he conceived himself as such, and not as the other, he would have, assuredly, died a man "of fulfilled renown."



## THE LOSS OF SARDAR

News has just reached me of the end of Sardar Vallabhbhai's earthly life. For several years past he was more like my eldest brother to me than just a leader. It is always difficult for me to write about one with whom I feel a sense resembling that of identity.

I have got so much used to death, that it has ceased to upset me too much. And yet the loss of such dear and respected souls like Jamnalalji, Mahadevbhai, Gandhiji and now Sardar, not to mention others not known to the world, each leaves on the mind a lesson, which is painful. Habit enables me to bear it with seeming composure, and to perform my duties without showing signs of being unhinged; but the interest in worldly life diminishes with each such loss of friend.

The world will mourn the Sardar's death, as it has mourned so many others. Even his opponents will pay, for a while, glowing and sincerely-felt tributes. But after a time, the world ceases to miss them. It installs new heroes and transfers its worship to them.

Personal friends, however, miss them for good and irreplaceably. The Sardar's death is such a one for me and so many others like me. But since it has to be borne, it must be so done with fortitude.

Wardha, 15.12.50

K. G. MASHRUWALA

### Life for Duty

Just as the December number of the *Sarvodaya* was about to be issued today, news was received of Sardar Vallabhbhai's demise. The editor of a magazine needs must write something immediately, and so the printers postponed printing for a time and the editor sat down at his table to write. What he will write, God only knows.

It was only a few days since the *yogi* Shri Aravinda passed away and now we have the news that the Sardar is no more.

One of the newspapers writing on the *yogi* Shri Aravinda said that it was not possible for us yet to

measure the loss we have sustained by the demise of such a great man. Men of coarser intellect will not even feel its touch, they will not be even aware of it. It requires a subtle and refined intellect even to realize this loss. This in short is the gist, in my words, of what the paper wrote in connection with Shri Aravinda's death. But the loss due to the Sardar's demise, even men with the grossest intellect will realize in an instant.

The service rendered by a *dhyana-yogi* (contemplative thinker) who strives to raise the spiritual level of human life remains concealed in the region of the unmanifest. The service rendered by the active (*karma-yogi*) social worker who spends his life in solving the problems facing society and in making people's life happy, being in the manifest, is visible to the naked eye. We have lost almost within the period of a week two such benefactors of ours, men of diametrically opposite natures.

But both of them have completed their *sadhanas* and have left us enough material to guide us. That the Sardar could survive the death of Gandhiji was due solely to his strong determined will and the inspiration and grace of God. That he desired to live after Gandhiji was simply for the good of us, his countrymen. Hence it was that he buried his grief at the loss of Gandhiji in his own breast and attended wholeheartedly to the duties before him.

We should learn this very lesson from their lives and should apply ourselves to the task in hand without being overpowered by grief. प्राप्ते प्राप्तमुपासीत हृदयेनापराजितः । (With the heart even undaunted, one should discharge whatever duty comes to him.)

Paramdham, Paunar,

15.12.50

(Translated from the Hindi *Sarvodaya*.)

VINOJA

—Harijan

## AGRICULTURAL COST : A STUDY IN ITS METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

By PROF. D. C. BISWAS, M.A.

"Among persons interested in economic analysis, there are tool-makers and tool-users."  
—A. C. PIGOU.

"The gap between the tool-makers and the tool-users is a distressingly wide one, and no economist can fail to have sympathy with the impatience of the politician, the businessman, and the statistical investigator, who complain of the extremely poor, arid or even misleading information with which the analytical economists provide him . . . It is natural enough for the practical man to complain that he asks for bread and the economist gives him a stone. But the answer of the economist to such complaints should not be to fling away his tools and plunge into the tangled problems of the world, armed only with naked hands."

—JOAN ROBINSON

As the title suggests, this essay is a critical study of the methodological aspect of calculating the cost of cultivation. The subject is important and raises issues of a very complex and intricate nature. It requires a thorough analysis and critical examination of the issues involved. It is convenient, therefore, to

examine at the outset, the broad features of the problem and connected matters and then eventually to pass on to the theoretical treatment of the subject in all its bearings, bringing into prominence those particular aspects which need emphasis, without plunging into the tangled problem, "armed only with

naked hands." The object of this analytical study is more to throw light on the intricacies and initiate a theoretical discussion which may help evolve a scientifically sound technique of calculating agricultural cost than to attempt a formulation of a set of principles of cost calculation.

No apology is perhaps necessary for a discussion of this sort, because this sector of Indian agricultural economics still remains practically unexplored. As far as known, discussions that have been made of agricultural economics in this country primarily centre round the problems of uneconomic holdings, agricultural prices, and of re-orientation of the entire agricultural system of India; but very little attention has been paid to the methodological aspect of cost study. As a result, there has been no uniformity of principles of economic analysis underlying the various schemes of cost investigation undertaken by several well-known institutions, each in its own way, having no co-ordination among them. Mention may be made of the Punjab Board of Economic Enquiry, the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, some universities, and the Indian Central Jute Committee, which have collected wealth of information on cost, but as a basis for any policy making these cost data, could not be utilised being considered to be of doubtful validity. This is an evidence of the fact that the sponsors of these schemes of investigation are not unanimous about the economic principles of methodology which is responsible for the wide divergence between their estimates of cost. It is, therefore, felt that this part of Indian agricultural economics, which has so long been left void, requires exploration and light that will enable us to set the analytical process on a right track and arrive at uniformly reliable estimates of cost which can serve the administrators as a dependable and valid standard of reference. Another point of considerable importance in this connection is the structural formation of agricultural cost, which is a related subject but not an integral part of the methodological study. This subject, too, has been left practically unattended to; at least, it has not been given the attention it deserves. If possible, a separate study will be undertaken for a fuller exposition of the topic.

Determination of agricultural prices in parity with industrial prices has assumed great importance in the present-day discussion of agricultural economics. This is what it should be. Fixation of industrial prices is a less difficult job than that of agricultural prices for obvious reasons. Industrial concerns are well-organised units with well-defined establishments. Precise financial records and accounts are maintained; annual balance sheets prepared and published, and their true economic position, so far as loss or gain is concerned, is clearly understood. Whereas in agriculture, farms are not well-organised, no account of any sort is maintained, and farmers do not care

to prepare any profit and loss account. Loss or gain, they go on with their profession as usual because no alternative avenue is open to them. Farming is more a way of life than a business proposition with them; the stimulus is self-supply rather than farming for profit. If they reap a bumper harvest and find a good market for the commercial crop, they thank their stars, if not, they blame their ill luck and bear it with silent stoicism. This much is the economic sense of the Indian farmers. To what extent economic motive is operative in their formulation of farming policies is a question very difficult to answer. Take, for instance, their individual distribution of land under different crops. Whether their decision in respect of it is influenced by economic forces or by natural (e.g., agronomical and meteorological) factors or by both is a hard question to solve statistically. Here and there some attempts have, of course, been made to discover whether any correlation exists between the acreage under a particular crop and its price in the preceding season and the result obtained is stated to be significant.\* It is, none the less, problematical to assume that the farmer's decision is the resultant, pure and simple, of the interaction of the economic forces at play. It is a well-known fact that agriculture in India is a 'gamble in monsoon'. Sometimes it so happens that in a majority of cases extra-economic factors, e.g., natural phenomena, play a decisive role in the making-up of the cultivator's decision.†

Whatever be the cultivator's response to economic causes, there is no gainsaying the fact that his economic position is interwoven with the entire socio-economic fabric. Of the economic causes, however, price alone is, doubtless, a major factor in the present-day disequilibrium of the national economy and reflects its harmful effects through extremely disparate movement of relative prices. It, therefore, requires to be adjusted and stabilised to bring about a much-needed equilibrium in the socio-economic relations of the people. Stabilisation of prices makes it imperative to study the normal cost of production, more so in agriculture, because in this sphere elements of uncertainty are too many and price fluctuations, in

\* "Indian Cultivator's Response to Prices" by A. R. and H. G. Sinha and J. R. Guha Thakurta, *Sankhya*, Vol. 2 and 3, p. 155. The authors have calculated the co-efficient of correlation between the prices and subsequent acreage changes in respect of three commercial crops, cotton, linseed, and groundnut and obtained a fairly high co-efficient of the order of 0.6. Yet they maintain that in estimating crop areas by statistical methods it is necessary to take both the meteorological and economic factors into consideration.

† *Jute : Some Aspects of Demand and Supply*—By Messrs. Ghosh and Basak. (Indian Central Jute Committee's publication). The co-efficient of correlation between price and subsequent acreage under jute for the period 1918-1938 has been found to be 10.701.

† *Report of the Commodity Prices Board*: Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics Publication No. 20, p. 15: "There are a large number of limitations on the extent to which any individual producer can change within a short period the area normally devoted by him to the production of individual crop."

addition, cause havoc to the agriculturist. If floor and ceiling prices can be correctly determined and enforced and fluctuations are allowed only within a small amplitude, the farmer's economic position is likely to be partially stabilised—an achievement of no small significance.

The industry, too, is likely to be adequately benefited in so far as it utilises agricultural raw materials, and will stand on a surer footing in respect of a major item of cost. It may seem platitudinous to narrate the economic benefits which are expected to accrue from stabilisation of agricultural prices at a normal level having a steady relationship to the long period trend of costs and prices, yet consideration of these positive benefits lends added importance to the study of agricultural cost.

Fixation of prices of primary products like industrial raw materials, e.g., jute, cotton, etc., or of foodgrains is a very responsible job. Industry can not be made to suffer to make agriculture remunerative or vice versa, and at the same time relative prices of different agricultural commodities should not be allowed to disturb. Industry and agriculture are complementary, one to the other, in a balanced and unified economic system, and any disturbance in price relations will affect this system very adversely. The task is, therefore, too delicate and involves a great responsibility; as such, unco-ordinated *ad hoc* surveys of these vital economic problems haphazardly planned and hurriedly conducted ought not to be taken as the basis of any important policy making. Such a course will inevitably lead the national economy to disaster. Correct and proper appreciation of the problem in its right perspective is all that is needed first to plan an efficient investigation into this basic economic problem. A thorough discussion on an academic level is called for at this stage in order to help elucidation and correct appreciation of the intricate issues involved. State intervention to justify itself ought to be based on a sure foundation so that it can achieve its avowed object of removing the anomalies obtaining in the socio-economic relations rather than aggravate them.

So, the theory on the subject should be reviewed and adapted for the purpose against the background of the broad features as outlined above. Price fixation requires a careful study of both price structure and cost structure. What are the elements that enter into price and in what proportions? An analysis of these inter-related matters which are responsible for price formation leads automatically to the consideration of cost structure. In agriculture as in other fields of production, the cost of production is inextricably linked up with the resources of the farm. Farmer's resources and status have an important bearing upon his cost of production. Bearing this in mind the unit of land in relation to

which cost is to be calculated should be decided upon. The fundamental issue, therefore, in any study of agricultural cost in the perspective of Indian system of small-scale farming is what should be this unit—should it be a plot or a farm? This point is important because Indian agriculture is beset with diverse problems of intricate nature and their influence on cost can not be overrated. Cost in relation to a plot is something to be isolated and as such very difficult to determine unless it is considered in the context of the whole volume of efforts and sacrifices made by a particular farming unit in its entire farming enterprise in a particular period of agricultural rotation. And many other similar difficulties are associated with the plotwise study of cost irrespective of the farm. The convenient and uncontroversial course is to take the farm as the unit. An exploratory survey of the structure of farms and of farmers' status in different agricultural zones will reveal the inter-related nature of the problem and corroborate this view. As such a rightly thought-out scheme of investigation into the basic economic conditions of Indian agriculture is, therefore, a prior necessity for a sound and efficient technique of cost calculation to be devised. The weakness or strength of farming units, the influence of which is invariably reflected on cost will also be revealed thereby. This aspect of the study has a specific importance from the standpoint of relating price to cost.

In the light of the foregoing considerations the case of the farm as a productive unit for the purposes of agricultural cost determination is therefore established. But the question arises—cost of which farm governs the supply price? The usual practice with the general public is to talk of average cost in connection with fixation of prices. The Prices Subcommittee of the Policy Committee on Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries have, however, recommended in page 48 of their report the cost of the representative farm or more accurately the representative cost as the suitable basis of price fixation. The Commodity Prices Board have rejected the cost of production approach and suggested, instead, the principle of adopting *ad hoc* measures, so to say, to regulate internal prices of individual products as warranted by external prices, as an expediency to meet the temporary phases of the present abnormal economic situation, and ease out the process of restoration of the dynamic course of economic events to normalcy. So, there is no unanimity of opinion.

Theoretically prices have a tendency to equal normal cost in the long period under competitive conditions, and normal cost is not the average cost except in constant return industries. In diminishing return industries, however, the normal cost of production is the marginal cost, that is, the cost of production on the margin of profitable application of capital and labour. And this is the cost "to which the

price of the whole produce tends under the control of the general conditions of demand and supply." On this principle, therefore, the average cost of the marginal farm or intensive marginal cost of the intra-marginal farms determines the supply curve in a competitive equilibrium. Average cost of unit production over the entire range of production in a particular diminishing return industry is theoretically ruled out. Agriculture in an old country like India is definitely a diminishing return industry, especially in its present organisational set-up, and, because of this basic truth, the technique of marginal analysis is the appropriate analytical device that can be logically adopted in calculation of agricultural cost in India. For application of the principle of marginal analysis it is necessary to have information on the size and resources of each individual farm, because the scale of agricultural operation has a significant effect upon unit cost of production. This information will also reveal on what principle—extensive or intensive margin—a particular farm is operating, and the stage—above or below the margin—it has reached.

Let us examine at this stage the implications of the three sets of values that can be derived according to the three concepts, namely, average, representative, and marginal. The average cost may be computed from the entire observed data on cost or from the data of the farming unit which represents the average of the sizes and resources of all the farms investigated. The representative cost may be taken as the most frequently occurring cost in the farms under investigation or as the cost of the most representative farm or land. The marginal cost is, as has already been pointed out, the average cost of the marginal farm or the marginal cost of the intra-marginal farm or land. In all likelihood, two values will be obtained in each of the former two cases and only one value in the third case; that is, to make more clear, two values will be obtained for

the average calculated in two different ways as indicated, so also two values will be obtained for the representative cost.

In customary discussions of the average and the representative cost, the farm does not come in so prominently as is necessary to evaluate the effects of its size and resources on cost. The Prices Subcommittee have, however, made a specific recommendation to study cost of production on the representative land with particular reference to the size and resources of farms. In order to study the combined effects of soil quality and farm size, etc., on cost, it is necessary to calculate separately the cost in respect of each category of land in each farm.

An explanation is necessary for the theoretical rejection of the average cost. Let an hypothetical case be taken to illustrate the implications of the three different types of cost which will explain the reasons for rejection or acceptance of one or the other cost.

For an easy grasp of the discussion that follows on this point, a table of imaginary data is inserted here. The data refer to an hypothetical frequency distribution, on the average cost basis, of 100 farms producing a total output of 100,000 maunds of sugarcane under conditions of diminishing return. (See Table).

Let it be assumed that there is an effective demand in the market for all these 100,000 maunds of sugarcane as produced by these 100 farms under conditions of diminishing return, and that the whole output is sold without loss to any of them. All the farmers are not of the same efficiency and all cane-growing land is not of the same fertility. Both efficiency and fertility are widely varying variables; farms are distributed over a range between the most efficient and the least efficient farm, and land over a range between the most fertile land which yields the highest producer's surplus and the least fertile or marginal land which yields no surplus. In case of

TABLE

*Hypothetical frequency distribution of 100 cane growers, on average cost basis.*

Average cost	No. of farms	Cumulative no. of farms	Quantity produced	Cumulative output	Total cost in each cost group	Diff. between price and cost (price: overall average cost)	Diff. between price and cost (price: marginal cost)	Diff. between price and cost (price: representative cost)
Rs. as. p.			Mds. (000)	Mds. (000)	Rs.	As.	As.	As.
1 0 0	2	..	4	..	4,000	(+) -8/-	(+) -12/-	(+) -10/-
1 2 0	3	5	6	10	6,750	(+) -6/-	(+) -10/-	(+) -8/-
1 4 0	6	11	10	20	12,500	(+) -4/-	(+) -8/-	(+) -6/-
1 6 0	15	26	15	35	20,625	(+) -2/-	(+) -6/-	(+) -4/-
1 8 0	24	50	20	55	30,000	nil	(+) -4/-	(+) -2/-
1 10 0	40	90	30	85	48,750	(-) -2/-	(+) -2/-	nil
1 12 0	10	100	15	100	26,250	(-) -4/-	nil	(-) -2/-

148,875

*N.B.*—1. The market price is assumed to be Re. 1/12/- at which the entire output (100,000 mds.) is sold in an uncontrolled market. (2) The marginal production is 15,000 mds. (3) The marginal cost is Re. 1/12/- which is equal to the market price. (4) The number of marginal farms is 10. (5) The value of the mode is Re. 1/10/- because in this group occurs the largest number of farms; the representative cost is therefore Re. 1/10/- being the typical cost. (6) The overall average cost is approximately Re. 1/8/- (Rs. 148,875 divided in 100,000 mds.)

intensive cultivation, each intra-marginal farm or land has a series of cost per unit production for a corresponding series of different quantities of output produced, and this series constitute what is called the supply schedule or supply curve. The proportions of the different classified categories of land in the composition of the total land holding of a farm are not the same for all farms. Cultivation in each category of land has been pushed to the margin in order to raise the total volume of the crop, 100,000 maunds.

The fact that the whole quantity is sold without loss to any farmer is a conclusive evidence that the marginal cost of the intra-marginal farms or land as well as the cost of the least efficient farm or least fertile land is covered by its market price. Had it not been so, i.e., if the price did not cover the highest or the marginal cost, the least efficient farms would have switched on to the production of some other crop, and intra-marginal farms curtailed their production to bring the marginal cost in parity with price. Maybe, this change-over may not prove easy and take place forthwith due to the static and rigidified system of agricultural practices, which is an instance, in point, of the hindrances to automatic operation of the law of demand and supply. This fact accounts for the average cost not being always the minimum cost under equilibrium conditions and points unmistakably to the undeveloped nature of the agricultural economy, the consequences of which react adversely upon the economic position of farmers, at least, in proportion to the business part of their farming. On the basis of this fact it may be argued that price fixed on marginal cost parity unduly remunerates the least efficient farmers to the detriment of consumer's interest. As against this view it may be said that this is a case of maladjustment of economic functions, which is associated with the stage of economic development obtaining in a particular socio-economic setting. Its incidence, as such, should fall on the entire society. State intervention in such a situation is therefore advocated to remove the socio-economic mal-adjustments. However, this is a digression and has got little bearing on the question of methodology. The automatic process of adjustment of supply to demand to bring about a cost-price parity is implied in the assumptions made in the theoretical exposition of the long period competitive equilibrium in a free economy on which rests the classical theory of value. These assumptions constitute the limitations to the usefulness of the marginal technique in analysis of realistic economics and will be discussed in a relevant context.

In the light of the foregoing considerations it will be easy, now, to compare the average, the representative, and the marginal cost, and assess their relative significance. The average cost is, ordinarily, taken to be the true representative cost, as it is affected by all the items in the observation. The true representative character of the average

depends upon the distribution being normal or nearly so without any extreme value at either end; otherwise no statistical ingenuity can make it representative. But, in connection with price-fixing, the concept of representative cost has been introduced to mean the most frequently occurring cost (i.e., typical of the largest number of farms having a common type of land) and, as such, it is more analogous to the statistical measure, mode, than to the arithmetic mean. These two values are identical in an exceptionally ideal situation of a perfectly symmetrical distribution which is very uncommon in the domain of agricultural economics. In any other situation, that can be visualised as to the behaviour of cost in diminishing return industries, especially under conditions of small-scale and uneconomic farming, the average cost (i.e., the arithmetic mean) is likely to be less than the representative cost (the mode); and, therefore, the latter covers the cost of a larger number of farms than the former. This conclusion is doubtless hypothetical, as it is deduced partly from *a priori* assumptions and partly from empirical observations; for this reason the representative cost (the value of the mode) cannot have a greater claim to validity and reliability unless verified empirically.

The price, fixed in parity with the average cost, will not at all be remunerative for a great many farmers; those who are on the margin will be ousted altogether, and others will have to curtail production. The principle of representative cost is also not free from this defect, but, in this case, the number of producers likely to be hit is very much less. As a basis for price-cost parity the representative cost has been recommended on practical considerations and for lack of reliable quantitative information on marginal cost. But, here too, the problem of the least efficient farmer yet remains and his output is essential to make up the total supply for which there is effective demand at a price which just covers his cost with little or no margin of profit in a free economy. The intra-marginal farms or land will also lose some amount of producer's surplus due to price-fixing on the representative cost principle.

So, it appears from the above considerations that the marginal cost is the only logical basis for price-cost parity. And this parity is also free from the objections raised by the Indian Commodity Prices Board to the parity formula recommended by the Prices Sub-Committee, referred to above, on the American model of relating price to cost with reference to some base period parity.

Of the three types of cost, the average, the representative, and the marginal, as a basis for price-fixing, the last is theoretically the most sound, though difficult for calculation. The average cost is definitely unsound in an increasing cost industry, though its calculation is quite easy. The representative cost is the *via medic*; it is the average cost of the farms belonging to the largest frequency (modal) group. It is neither theoretic-

cally very unsound nor does it involve any difficult process of calculation, (unless it be a case of bi-modal or multi-modal distribution). As against the marginal cost principle it may be contended, in the present context of inflationary spiral, that in theoretical consideration of the logical basis of cost-price parity, the essential object of price-fixing should not be missed or relegated to the background. The purpose of price-fixing is not merely to stabilise price at a suitable level but also to bring relief to the consumer by reducing the price level. The contention can be very easily met. All things being equal, the price can not fall below the cost of the least efficient farmer, because in that case he will be ousted and the more efficient producers will curtail production. As a result, the demand will go unsatisfied with consequent rise in price. So, there is no way out but to relate price to the marginal cost, i.e., the cost of the least efficient farmer. Cost is definitely a function of demand in the long period competitive equilibrium. In a diminishing return industry with demand for its product inelastic, or moderately elastic at higher levels of its relative price, the greater the demand the lower will the margin of production be pressed and higher will be the cost at the margin. There can be no evading this hard economic reality.

The final choice being made of the particular type of cost to be determined, we enter into the second phase of our theme—the procedure to be adopted and the elements to be taken into consideration in determining the cost. Let it be assumed that marginal cost is our final choice and for determination of which the marginal tool is to be employed. The conditions precedent for its applicability have already been noticed. These conditions obtain only in a perfectly competitive set-up and, as such, are very abstract and take us far from the real world. The agricultural economy, particularly in India, does not satisfy them fully. The reasons are :

*On the supply side :*

1. Farming, as already stated, is more a way of life than a business proposition; self-supply rather than commercial profit is the incentive;
2. Cultivator's response to prices is very slow, which is attributed to the existence of frictional agencies which impede the smooth movement of the economic wheel;
3. Transport difficulties restrict accessibility to markets, thereby rendering them imperfect to a certain extent;
4. Staying and bargaining power of cultivators is very negligible;
5. Lack of mobility of labour and capital obstructs the quick adjustment of supply to demand; and

*On the demand side :*

1. Competition amongst buyers of important commercial crops, e.g., jute and cotton, is restricted by formation of groups;
  2. The greater bargaining capacity of buyers.
- It is quite evident from the above considerations

that agricultural competition is influenced by certain characteristics which do not conform exactly to the financial assumptions underlying conventional theories.

In view of the above limitations the marginal tool is to be applied with certain modifications to suit the real problem. On the marginal cost principle, each farm has its own cost curve, and the industry as a whole may be likewise conceived as having a separate overall cost curve. A technique is, therefore, to be devised, on the lines of the marginal concept, which will be an approximation to it but not exactly the same, to suit our problem which is circumscribed by many limitations as narrated above. A suitable *via-media* can be devised on the basis of average cost of each farm. Such a method will not deviate fundamentally from the marginal approach but at the same time will afford us an appropriate approach to our tangled problem. A scale of cost for the whole industry can thus be constructed, though on the basis of average cost of individual farms yet neglecting their individual cost curves. It has already been noted that the average cost of the marginal farm which is equal to the normal price under competitive conditions, is the same as the marginal cost of intra-marginal farms. What is the average cost of an intra-marginal farm? The marginal cost of the intra-marginal farm minus the economic rent is equal to its average cost. This is true for all positions of the margin, and for each position of the margin there is a corresponding average cost of each intra-marginal farm. A scale of cost constructed on the principle of average cost of individual farms with reference to a particular year may not hold good for other years because of a likely shift in the position of the margin in different years, but it will furnish us an important information about the different cumulative quantities of output produced and the number of farms producing at and below each level of cost, and is, therefore, substantial advance in the analytical process. To make it clear, let us refer to the hypothetical distribution of 100 farmers in the above table. There we find the number of cane-growers and the quantity of output in each cost group. The highest cost group represents the marginal farms, those above it the intra-marginal farms. The relative positions of the intra-marginal farms are obviously determined with reference to the position of the margin. Similar consideration may be made of the different quantities of the output produced at different cost levels. Thus a scale of costs can be constructed (as in Table above) to demonstrate the manner in which the individual costs are scattered in an ascending order, with the cumulative output and acreage at and below each level of cost. To make this scale of costs a stable and valid standard of reference it should be constructed for each homogeneous agricultural region on a solid foundation of facts observed over a number of years covering, at least, one complete agricultural cycle of cost and yield variation.



## THE PROGRESS OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN INDIA

By SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, C.I.E., D.Litt.

THE ambition of making original research in Indian history was planted in my heart just after I had done my B.A. examination. That was in April 1891. In the same year I wrote my first historical paper, a narrative of the fall of Tipu Sultan, which was printed in the magazine of the Eden Hindu Hostel, named the *Suhrid*. It was based entirely on printed English sources,—the only materials then known to me, but was not a mere *rechauffe* of standard historical works. Today, after carrying to its natural conclusion the detailed study of the Decline and Fall of the Mughal Empire (1650-1803) in which I had been engaged for fully half a century, I have at last the leisure to make a comparative survey of the course of historical research among us during the past 60 years.

What a contrast does such a backward glance present to our view! Our workers have made wonderful progress in this field, and have advanced from high to higher, hard to still harder tasks with the passing of the years. Their method of work and the quality of their productions have steadily improved.

Contrast our earliest Buddhistic researchers such as Krishna Behari Sen and Ramdas Sen with our latest, say Beni Madhab Barua and Prabodh C. Bagchi. Or, in the field of British Indian History, place the works of our pioneers, Rajani Gupta and Akshay Maitra by the side of the achievements of modern students like Brajendra N. Banerji and others. Or, the earliest edition of the Sanskrit *Vrihaddevata* and *Lakṣa Vistar* by Rajendralal Mitra with the later editions of the same books by Prof. Macdonell and Lieumann respectively. The two groups of workers seem to belong to two different ages or to two different races, so vast is the difference in quality between their works.

And yet, these early Bengali scholars were uncommonly intelligent and industrious, but the fruits of their labour have been superseded by those of our latest workers. Of this there are two causes: first, a difference of methodology, and secondly, an immense increase in our historical materials and "critical apparatus" over what were available to Rajendralal or Krishna Behari Sen.

The modern method of historical investigation runs in two channels: the research worker must try to reach the very fountain-head of information, and he must hear all the witnesses, as far as possible, before he can attain to the true facts. When Buddhist studies began in Bengal, our scholars depended solely on Burnouf's French translations of the Sanskrit-Buddhis-

tic literature transcribed by Brian Hodgson or the English translations of Pali works by Cowell and Rhys Davids. But today it will not do. Unless we can go to the original Sanskrit and Pali sources themselves, and confront Mahayan works with Hinayan works, true research is impossible. And, we must also study the vast collections of Buddhistic and Tantric MSS. and even sheets of paper dug out in Khotan and Mongolia by Stein and Le Coq, Grunwedel and Peliot, as well as the retranslations of early Indian works now preserved only in Chinese and Tibetan versions. If the net is not thus extensively flung and the fisher does not go down to such depths, the resulting research work becomes a mockery.

In the field of Indo-Muslim history, the only resources of our old school for the Mughal Empire were Khafi Khan's *History* (completed in 1734) and *Siyar-ul-mutakharin* (completed in 1785), and for Bengal *Riyaz-us-Salatin* (written in 1788), because English translations of these were available. But not one of these books is an original source, except for the few passages where Khafi Khan narrates what he heard from his father and Ghulam Husain what he himself saw. On the Mughal imperial period research truly worthy of the name cannot be attempted even by reading the original Court-annals (called *Namas*) of these Emperors composed in the Persian language by their order. For these Court-annals, though contemporary works, were not the very fountain-head or original source of information about these Emperors, because they were written on the basis of the official despatches and news-letters (sometimes day to day) which were stored in the Delhi Record Office and placed under the eyes of the elegant Persian authors whom the Emperors appointed to write their annals. These *Namas* were really digests of the original documents, just like the official histories of the two World-wars which every European State is now slowly compiling.

For the history of the Mughal Empire under Aurangzib and throughout the 18th century, I have used the veriest raw materials, namely, the despatches and private letters of the nobles and generals, and the news-letters from camp and court (often daily), all in the Persian language and as yet unprinted. Several thousand pieces of this class have been collected by me. In addition, from 1730, despatches and state-papers in the Marathi language are available, and happily these have been mostly printed. Then come, in the later 18th century, the letters of the British Residents



at the Indain Princes' Courts, most of which have been edited by us for the Bombay Government.

The seeker after truth regarding our people's past, is like a pilgrim ever climbing upwards to the very source of the Ganges. Secondly, he must, as far as humanly possible, assemble all the materials, written in different languages and now preserved in many different countries and cities. Let him beware of hearing one side or even only a few witnesses and thus pronouncing a one-sided judgment. Such conclusions cannot stand the scrutiny of time.

This new methodology makes it imperative for our research students to learn a number of languages, besides English, so as to go outside the narrow circle of translated works. In Europe it would be considered incredible that research is attempted without a knowledge of the language or languages in which the original sources of information on that subject are written. It is my firm belief that research in the history of the Delhi Empire in the 17th century is impossible without an adequate knowledge of both Persian and Marathi and for the 18th century these languages are the indispensable keys to the knowledge we seek. So, let our young workers provide themselves with this linguistic equipment before beginning to dig deeply. For my history of Shivaji, I had to study the original sources by learning Persian and Marathi and a little Portuguese, besides English, Sanskrit, French and a little of Rajasthani Hindi.

Now, what is the prospect of historical research among our people in the years to come? It cannot be denied that the remarkable progress we have made in modern research, has been entirely due to European teaching, European example, and sometimes conflict with European workers in the same field. Today the independence of India has removed this very potent stimulant, or necessary irritant. It is, in the altered political condition of India, all the more necessary that we should intensify our industry, sharpen our vigilance, and above all curb our natural tendency to self-glorification. For, in the realm of scientific research there is no halting, no rest; sleep means death; the arrest of progress is at once followed by a retrogression, and the flame of knowledge, if it once goes out for want of adequate oil, cannot be kindled again except at an immense cost of time and labour.

We, therefore, after the withdrawal of our European teachers, must see to it that we create among our own people an unbroken succession of efficient teachers,—what is called a "school of history" in English, or *Guruparampara* in Sanskrit. This throws an

immense burden or responsibility upon our leaders of thought.

Secondly, we must build up full and varied research libraries, completed after years of persistent effort and wise alert purchase by boards of experts with adequate funds. Research is impossible without materials, and the materials include not only manuscripts, but also rare printed books, sets of learned journals, works of reference—like the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (now not available even for Rs. 2,500 a set)—maps, *catalogues raisonnés* of manuscripts in European State libraries, and detailed survey maps, and illustrated coin-catalogue. Such libraries have to be built up in each regional circle of India, and not concentrated in the capital of this continent of a country.

The University of Syracuse in the U.S.A. purchased and brought away from Berlin the entire library of the famous Prussian historian Leopold von Ranke, including every scrap of notes and loose papers written by him; these are now being catalogued and scholars all over the world will flock to Syracuse for conducting their research. Similarly, the Indological library of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar was purchased for Rs. 32,000 by the Bombay Government and taken away from Calcutta to Poona, so that the new-born University of Poona has been able to start research on ancient India in its very second year. My own life-long collection of rare books and Persian and French MSS. on Indo-Muslim history is now unique in India in several of its contents, besides being complete for British Indian history, especially the Sepoy Mutiny.

But what I have described so long is the external apparatus of research. We need above everything else that pure flame of the quest of truth, that fanatical devotion to our aim, regardless of fame or gain, which is the mark of the true scholar. Such a scholar will easily rise above the temptation to be satisfied with the cheap praise of his countrymen, or the recognition of one of the mushroom Universities which are springing up all over India, wherever there is a dialectical variation. (The true scholar is a national of the Republic of Letters, which transcends the narrow bounds of provinces, countries and languages, and places its students at the bar of the world-court of scholarship. Let recognition by that Court be the secret ambition of every one of our research workers. National chauvinism does not go very far,—and even where it goes, it only acts as a delusive will-o-the-wisp.\*)

\* Reply to addresses presented to Sir Jadunath Sarkar at the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, on his 81st birthday, 10th December, 1950.



## LONDON LETTER

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

LONDON has been gay during the past week with flags and bunting and glittering cavalcades in honour of the visit of Queen Juliana of the Netherlands and her husband Prince Bernhard, Prince of the Netherlands. The Dutch Queen has captured the public imagination. It is not only because, as one critic points out, 'she is the representative of one of those dynasties, never very common and now grown rare, who have justified their position over centuries by an outstanding record of public service.' It is because, like the late King Gustav of Sweden, she has brought a new quality into constitutional monarchy. He dispensed with a coronation ceremony; she has abolished the court courtesy and prefers instead a friendly handshake. Each has come nearer to the common people and at the same time lost nothing in stature and dignity. Juliana has often visited this country but never before as Queen. During her three days' visit she twice drove in state through the streets of London. Seated in an open horse-drawn landau—preceded and followed by a sovereign's escort of Life Guards, but not surrounded by them—she could see and be seen by the cheering crowds who on each occasion turned out to greet her in spite of the most unpromising dismal November weather. She seemed to many to be very like the women in the 'Dutch Interior' school of paintings for which her country is famous. (It has indeed been often remarked that her hands are to be recognized over and over again in these paintings). There is the same sense of gentleness backed by tremendous force of character. It was suggested recently, at a meeting of the United Nations, that nationalism is the only force in the world today capable of combating Communism. But nationalism can be a larger selfishness and is often tempted into aggression. In a constitutional monarchy, on the other hand, the idea which is embodied is that of public service. And it follows that people who cheer such a monarch are in fact cheering their better selves. Discussing this point the other day—and reflecting that here we turn out to cheer a Juliana while in a communist country they turn out to cheer the winner in the latest duel for increasing industrial output—and how much richer is our lot—someone added: 'And here we don't *have* to turn out to cheer unless we want to!'

Critics and apologists have poured out a spate of words on the subject of the Government's handling of the Sheffield-Warsaw Peace Congress. The Home Secretary undoubtedly was in a very difficult position. Only a week or two before a scientist engaged here in the most secret atomic research had taken himself off to Russia. He was a naturalised British subject and his treachery was very recent evidence that Communists are a law unto themselves. Moreover in Korea we are at war with Communist aggression and we can-

not afford to take risks. Against this background therefore it is not very surprising if the Home Secretary looked at the business simply from the point of view of security. But when he decided to impose a strict scrutiny at the ports, to turn back anyone who failed to pass that scrutiny, and turned back so many that the organizers of the Congress decided that it was not worth while attempting to meet in Sheffield and transferred the meeting to Warsaw—then he unwittingly transformed the situation and perhaps gave the Communists many more propaganda points than they might have made at Sheffield or Warsaw. I has been suggested that instead of banning the Congress to members of the Labour Party and prohibiting their attendance, a better method would have been to allow all who wished to attend. The vote for peace would then have been overwhelming but another view than that of the Communists would have been heard and might possibly have swamped the Congress.

To turn to opinion here. There is an uneasy feeling that other things besides the Sheffield Congress fell down. Hospitality for instance. This is a particularly dreary winter and, as Mr. Harold Nicolson remarks, "We do not in the least enjoy the spectacle of elderly foreigners being turned back in hordes to face the rigours of a Channel passage." But most of all we feel that harm has been needlessly done to the cause of free speech—that men and women behind the iron curtain, who live for the day when they can re-join the free world, may wonder whether we are as vigilant of our freedom as we used to be. The Russians of course are making the most of it. *Pravda*, in accustomed style, proclaims that "this openly Fascist act has exposed Mr. Attlee as an ordinary policeman in the hire of the American aggressors." (Ordinary policemen, one might point out, are not in the hire of aggressors. Where do these dictatorships get their ideas!).

The fact is that we have missed a great opportunity. When the Communists decided to hold their "World Peace Congress" in the murky industrial gloom of Sheffield, it was a challenge. It should have been met with imagination as well as with defensive measures. No one here seems to have thought so, but a distinguished French writer, M. Bertrand de Jouvanel, has had a lot to say on this point. He has written a remarkable letter to this week's *Time and Tide*. In it he hands us a trumpet with which, had we but blown it, we might have blown down the Iron Curtain as assuredly as Joshua blew down the walls of Jericho! He suggests that when the project of a Communist Peace Congress to be held at Sheffield was first put forward, the British Government should have welcomed it. On terms. It should have made it known that the Congress would be favoured by all official means

"on the sole condition that the Soviet Government gave the same facilities for a similar congress, of, say, the partisans of liberty, to be held in a Russian town." What an obvious idea and what a brilliant one!

M. de Jouvenel continues that people in general do not realise the extent to which Russia is a Closed Empire. He says that a Benedictine monk commented the other day that "for the first time in history a State is so well closed that one cannot even enter it in a spirit of willing martyrdom." And his opinion is :

"We should tirelessly put Moscow in the position of refusing the reciprocity of free entry and free speech. We should offer them to swap great orators, ask them to send Mr. Molotov over on a lecture tour with his own translator as against Mr. Eden in the same conditions. We should offer to give them an hour of time on our own broadcasting system in exchange for the same on their system, and so forth."

I hope this letter will be read by Mr. Eden.

Meanwhile it is ironical to think of Russian Communists holding a Peace Congress in betrayed, tragic Warsaw. And it does not seem as if the Congress is bringing prosperity to the city; rather the city is being mulcted instead. An astonishing report appeared last week in the *Daily Mail*. It described the hospitality meted out to two English women delegates. Names and addresses are given so there is no reason to doubt its veracity. These women are accommodated free in workers' flats. They sleep in centrally heated rooms to which servants bring hot water and tea. A bottle of beer is on the night table—strange habits they think we English have!—but if bought outside it would cost five shillings. There are cigarettes at ten to fifteen shillings a packet, some apples as well at three and six pence each. A bus with guide-interpreter drives them to unch where the wine laid on is worth £3 a bottle. So it goes on all day. But can these women really be impressed?

The guide-interpreter, who is also a spy, is everywhere present in Warsaw. An *Evening News* correspondent recounts how, immediately after he had telephoned his first story to London, such a 'guide' was fastened on to him. Her name was Maria and she described herself as being there to help the Press generally. But watching him was her only job. One of the matters especially espied on was any attempt on the part of anyone to get into touch with diplomats residing in Warsaw. Plain clothes agents were posted outside every non-Communist embassy and consulate and the homes of all their staff. When this correspondent visited the British Embassy he was trailed by three men in a Citroen car. When he left the Embassy, they were on his tail again. In the Press buffet at the Congress he got into conversation with an American diplomat, Mr. Joseph Robinson. Maria promptly disappeared to be succeeded by an Agent who came and asked to see their passes, rejected the American's, and forced him to leave under escort. Both the American

and the correspondent asked the Agent for his authority. But all he would show them was the Dove of Peace which he wore embroidered on his arm-band! In such an atmosphere it is not surprising that the correspondent abandoned the idea of trying to get into touch with ordinary Polish families. 'It is not what will happen to you, but what will happen to them,' he was told by the British residents. By the State Secrets Act of 1949 it is a treasonable offence to give political, economic, or social information to an unauthorised person.

Before leaving this subject it is worth recalling one thing. The revolutions in Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia were not spontaneous. These countries were sold out to Russia and their present regime is guaranteed by the Red Army. Mr. Hugh Seton-Watson has just published a book, with the title *The East European Revolution*, and it is described as indispensable to anyone who wishes to follow East European affairs. The reviewer, Mr. Ian Dawson, draws attention to the fact that Eastern Europe is now the victim of Russian economic imperialism. And he continues :

"... Eastern Europe is being driven to create a heavy industry to balance the Ruhr-Lorraine complex and provide the USSR with urgently needed capital equipment . . .

"The capital for the transformation of Eastern Europe comes from the overworked sinews of its own people, and the product goes in large measure to strengthening the Soviet Union strategically and economically, the process which Marxist theory describes as exploitation of surplus value."

Exploitation of surplus value? Exploitation of human beings!

Communism has been described as a new religion. It must be unique amongst religions in that it was conceived in hate. In a footnote the other day I came across a list of Karl Marx's hates. These included the gods, the Christian religion, his parents, his wife's uncle, his German kinsfolk, his own race ('Ramsgate is full of fleas and Jews,' he amiably reported), the Prussian reactionaries, the labouring population, which he called the Lumpenproletariat, 'parliamentary cretinism', and the British Royal family! One cannot help echoing feelingly his mother's rueful comment. 'What a pity Karl did not make a little Capital instead of merely writing about it. . . .'

Apart from the visit of Queen Juliana, the principal news on the home front is the strange action of the Liberals and the effect which it is likely to have on politics. So strange is their action that in any other age they would have been thought to be bewitched. The witch in question is Lady Megan Lloyd George. She, with two other Liberals, have apparently decided that they will not use their votes to imperil the Government. There are only nine Liberals in the House of Commons but their votes were always an

anxiety to the Government. The spectacle of a Government always just scraping, and once in a while just missing, a majority is undoubtedly unsatisfying and perhaps even demoralising. But upon whatever *principle* can three Liberals decide to drop the division lobby overboard? Already they have darkened counsel. Liberals, if anyone, should have views about the question of continuing controls. But they abstained from voting on the Opposition amendment concerning controls.

This split in the Liberal Party is all the more unfortunate because it reproduces the Asquith-Lloyd George split of more than a quarter of a century ago. Association of ideas will prove very potent and there can be little doubt now that the general public will despair finally of the Liberals, who must seem to them to be more occupied in splitting up than in getting on with the business of the country. Lady Violet Bonham-Carter, Asquith's clever daughter, has perhaps rather unwisely, rather too completely, pulverised the new dissidents. She has described Lady

Megan's conduct as 'so subtle and intricate, it would be understood only by Freud.'

I will end on a different and more human note. Recently there has been a furore in the Christian world because, in this Holy Year, the Pope has promulgated a new dogma. In the English country-side, we take a more domestic view of our religion. Thus a Lay Reader writes a delightful article in a current weekly. There is a vacancy in the parish living just now and until the appointment of a new Rector it falls to him to read Morning and Evening Prayers. He pokes gentle fun, not at any beliefs, but at some of the prayers. "The more you publicly recite Morning and Evening Prayers," he says, "the more you are aware of their blemishes. They have not moved with the times as smoothly as you imagined. . . . It is a strain to pray for the High Court of Parliament when you cannot ask for deliverance from the bureaucracy!"

Amen!

Westminster, London, December, 1950.

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## PROBLEM OF POPULATION AND FOOD SUPPLY IN INDIA

By PROF. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A., M.COM.

{The haunting spectre at all the present-day discussions is the problem of Indian over-population. The phenomenal growth of Indian population, taken in conjunction with the grinding poverty of the masses, has given rise to an acute controversy as to whether India is over-populated or not. Over-population in the Malthusian sense is said to take place in an old country where population expands more rapidly than the supply of food. When such over-population takes place, equilibrium is restored by what Malthus calls, "positive checks," viz., starvation, epidemics and wars, and failure of crops due either to drought or floods, etc. In India, it is a well-known fact that tens of thousands of people perish every year due to epidemic diseases, mal-nutrition and sometimes actual starvation.}

{According to the modern notion of "optimum population," a state of over-population comes into being as soon as the actual population exceeds the optimum number.} According to Prof. Adarkar, under given conditions of the arts of production and the progress of science, there must be an optimum point at which real income per head is likely to be maximum owing to the free interplay of natural resources on the one hand and the facilities of economic co-operation on the other. {In other words, the optimum is the figure which in view of the total economic resources of the country can enable the population to enjoy the highest possible standard of

living.} The optimum is not a fixed value, for it naturally varies according to the extent of resources, and it should be interpreted as a curve rather than a figure. A country whose population at any time falls below this optimum may be considered 'under-populated,' which means that an increase in its population would enable it to improve its standard of living. Similarly, a country whose population is at any time higher than the optimum may be said to be 'over-populated.' {If the actual population figure for a country tends to come closer to the optimum population, i.e., if the demographic movement makes an improvement of the standard of living possible—demographic tension will become less. On the contrary, it will be accentuated and may become alarming if the movement of population is such as to increase the divergence between the actual population and the optimum population, thereby producing a gradual decline in the standard of living.} It is thus in terms of conformity of the actual standard of life with the highest that is physically and economically possible that the population situation has to be judged. It is this relationship that gives significant connotation to such terms as 'over' and 'under' population. According to this optimum concept over-population can take place in a nation of millions, if it can be shown that with a slight diminution in

1. *International Labour Review*: "Population and Social Problem."

number the per capita income would have been higher than it is.

With this brief theoretical discussion, let us see whether India can be described as being a victim of over-population. At the very outset it may be pointed out that there are two views on this question. On the one hand, it is maintained that the grinding poverty of the masses, exceptionally high death rate, acute food shortage, despicably low standard of living of the masses, continuous fragmentation of holdings and steady increase in the number of landless labourers is a positive proof of the excess of number over the equilibrium norm. The rapidly increasing population has upset India's rural and urban economy. Due to poverty we have been so much crippled that both our agriculture and industries cannot be developed in the light of the modern technological methods. We are thus caught in a vicious circle so that our agriculture and industries, instead of being complimentary and mutually helpful, have become reciprocally inhibitive. It is held by the supporters of this view that in the creation and feeling of this economic deadlock the rapidly growing population is greatly responsible.)

On the other hand, it is held with equal vigour that the poverty of the masses is the outcome of the sheer Imperialistic exploitation. They say that the sub-human level of existence in the country is not a proof of over-population: nor is it an index of the country's inability to support the existing size of population but it is simply the product of the present economic and social organisation which fails to utilise the natural resources of our country to supply the needs of the people. If the resources are not properly utilised, people are bound to suffer whatever be the size of population.

"Labour and resources are like the positive and negative of electricity which do not generate power until they contact. In India, the contact is yet to be established and hence we are poor. The day when 800 million hands apply themselves with a plan to the exploitation of our resources, the poverty will disappear."

Thus, according to this school of thought, there is nothing wrong at the population end. The cry of over-population is a mere piece of British propaganda raised by the apologists of the British rule and Imperialist economists contrived to shift the blame for the growing poverty in India on the Indians themselves. (In brief, their considered view is that the development of India's resources has been impeded by British rule and once that is removed population will take care of itself.)

As things stand at present, India is suffering from over-population, in a rather acute form. It will be idle to deny that India is suffering from a 'devastating torrent of children.' This is particularly true of the middle class families. The lower class people, too, have too many children but in their case

a child is an asset, for young children are made to work at an early age and thus help to augment the family income.

Dr. R. K. Mukerjee has warned that the population of India has increased but the food supply has not increased to the same extent. He concludes that India has fallen short of food for 48 million of her average men, provided that agriculture seasons are normal, and droughts and floods do not occur. In support of his view he gives us the following table:

India's population (in 1931)—353 millions.  
India's population capacity on basis of her food supply (in 1931)—291 millions.  
India's food-shortage (in 1931)—42 billion calories.  
India's present population (in 1935)—377 millions.  
India's addition to food supply (between 1931 and 1935)—30.3 billion calories.  
India's present food supply—280.4 billion calories.  
India's present food needs—321.5 billion calories.  
India's present population capacity (1935)—329 millions.  
India's present food shortage—41.1 billion calories.  
Present number of "average men" estimated without food (assuming that others obtain their normal daily ration).

Thus, according to Mukerjee, there is a food deficiency of 12 per cent for our population in a year of normal harvests.)

Mr P. K. Wattal calculated that during 1913-14 to 1935-36 population increased at a rate of nearly one per cent per annum, while the crop production disclosed an average rate of increase of 0.65 per cent per annum. This suggests that the increase of population has outstripped the production of food.

Prof. Gyan Chand estimated that the cultivated area increased by 11 per cent, while population multiplied by nearly 21 per cent between 1900 and 1934.

Dr. Thomas gives the following indices of population and production during 1920-21 to 1931-32:

	Population	Production—	
		Agricultural	Industrial
1920-21 to 1921-22	100	100	100
1922-23 to 1923-24	102	111	99
1924-25 to 1925-26	104	112	115
1926-27 to 1927-28	106	113	137
1928-29 to 1929-30	108	111	130
1930-31 to 1931-32	110.4	116	151
1934-35 to 1935-36	115	121	267

It follows from the above that agricultural production has kept pace with population, and that industrial production has increased much faster than population. In the decade 1920-30, population increased by 10.5 per cent, but agricultural production increased by about 16 per cent and industrial production by 51 per cent during the same period.

Dr. Thomas takes a thirty-year period and comes

2. R. K. Mukerjee : *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions*, pp. 25-26.

3. P. K. Wattal: *Population Problem in India*.

4. Gyan Chand : *India's Teeming Millions*.

5. *Indian Journal of Economics* (Conference No., April, 1935), p. 745.



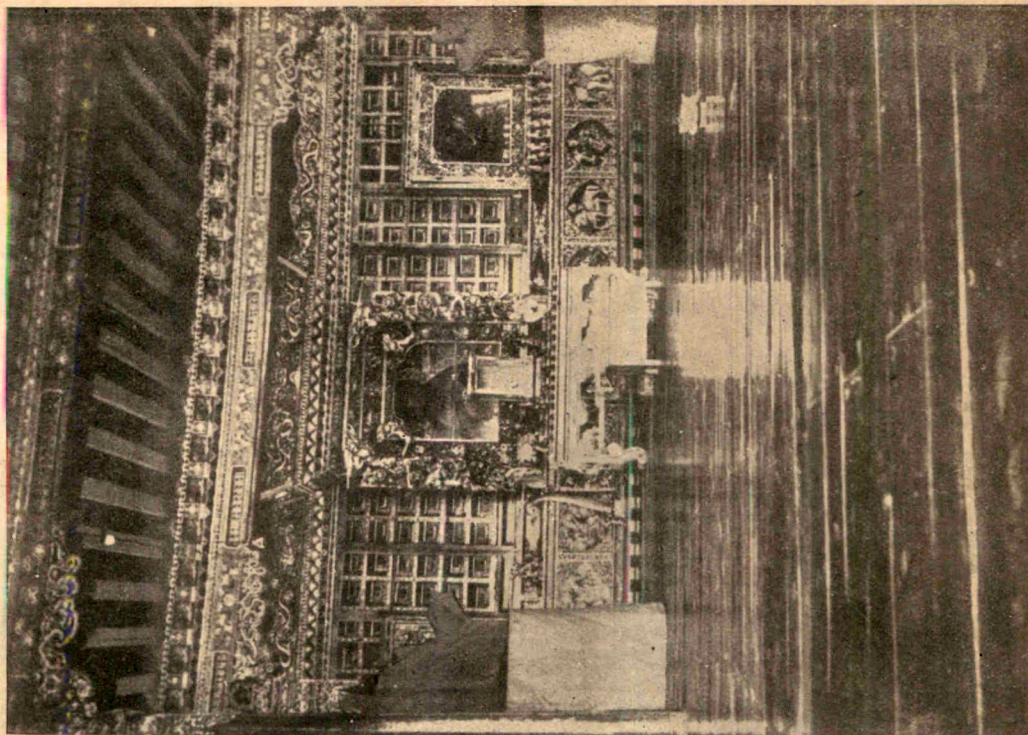


Sri Aurobindo—Lying in State





Sir Jadunath Sarkar



Padmasambhaba-pitha in the interior of a monastery in Tibet

to the conclusion that whatever period is taken, there is no indication that population has outstripped production as shown by the following figures :

Period	Population	Agricultural production	Industrial production
1900-01 to 1904-05	100	100.0	100
1905-06 to 1909-10	104	103.0	142
1910-11 to 1914-15	107	123.5	187
1915-16 to 1919-20	103	124.5	255
1920-21 to 1924-25	109	120.0	251
1925-26 to 1929-30	113	129.0	289

From the above it is clear that during the 30 years, population increased by 19 per cent, but if the first and the last quinquennial is compared, the increase is only 13.5 per cent. Thus when population increased by 13.5 per cent production increased by 29 per cent. Dr. Thomas, therefore, believes that population has not increased faster than production in a comparative sense and holds that production has been keeping pace with population.

This fact is further proved by the following table :

Commo- dity	Weight	1911-14	1915-19	1920-24	1925-29	1930-34
Rice	52	100	115	107	104	114
Wheat	15	100	104	107	104	116
Barley	5	100	97	89	76	77
Maize	3	100	118	105	108	112
Bajra	4	100	118	120	128	127
Jowar	8	100	125	143	164	164
Gram	7	100	109	126	104	112
Sugar	6	100	118	116	123	173
All commodities	—	100	113	111	110	120
Population	—	100	103	101	107	112

If the majority of the population in India are under-nourished, this must be, according to him, due not to the rapid increase in population, not to any lag in the food supply, but probably to the bad distribution of the present income.

The findings of the United Nations Conference on "Food and Agriculture" held at Hot Springs (in 1943) also points to the same direction. It says that

"Three-quarters of 1,150 million inhabitants of Asia were living below decent health standards and of them India probably has the largest share."

During the war years the food situation in India worsened by acute shortage in the country of energizing foods like milk, fruits and eggs. As a result of heavy slaughter of cattle for meeting the military requirements of meat, the civilian population including the invalids and children were deprived even more of milk and fruits than food-grains.

"The situation was aggravated by complex circumstances some of which were unavoidable, but some were such as could and should have been avoided. Among the unavoidable circum-

stances might be mentioned natural calamities like widespread disease in the *aman* paddy crop of Western Bengal and the cyclone of October 1942, war-time curtailment of transport facilities, Government purchases for military requirements, keeping of slightly more food for their families to eat by the underfed peasants and some holding of stocks by consumers due to fear of invasion.

"Among the avoidable catastrophes were uncontrolled inflation, bottlenecks in transport arrangements, half-hearted and haphazard controls of Government over commodities in different parts of the country, lack of co-operation between Central and Provincial Governments, and between the Government and the people, and the country-wide activities of the profiteers."

From the twin standpoints of direct relationship between the growth of population and of resources, as also from that of the population growth and what would be needed to produce the highest per capita income, our situation is unsatisfactory. The general conclusion to which the Famine Enquiry Commission arrived would, therefore, seem to be amply justified. They observed :

"In relation to the existing state of development of her industrial and agricultural resources, India is, in our opinion, over-populated. Pressure of population, which of course, varies in intensity in different parts of the country, is shown and felt in various ways; by the general trend of food imports and exports; by the decrease in the size of holdings, the fragmentation of holdings—and the increase in the number of landless labourers, all related to the fact that the total area under cultivation has not increased as rapidly as the population, so that the per capita has decreased; by continuing poverty of the mass of the people, and by the widespread existence of mal- and under-nutrition, in spite of the growth in total industrial and agricultural resources and in the total wealth of the country."

The acute food-shortage has caused a serious anxiety to all. While before the war there was a "dearth of money and a deluge of food," in the post-war period there has been a "plethora of funds and a paucity of food." The war no doubt led to scarcity of food and price control drove it underground and hoarding, profiteering, blackmarketing and corruption intensified it. But the root cause of this over-all food-shortage in a predominantly agricultural country is the extremely low yields of crops and their under-production due to various causes. With the shortage of food material there is an acute shortage of prime necessities of life and the country is faced with "a whole array of dangerous and enduring enemies—poverty, squalor, ill-health, illiteracy, under-nourishment and unemployment."

According to one estimate by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the total all-India requirement at present is about 64 million tons of cereals while the average production is only 54 to 59 million tons including

6. Thomas and Shastry : *Op Cit.*, p. 90.

7. L. C. Jain : *Indian Economy During War*, p. 15.

8. Famine Enquiry Commission Report, p. 90.



about 3 million tons of grains produced annually. Furthermore, for sometime past we are falling short even of our average annual production.<sup>9</sup>

*Production in lakhs of tons*

Average for five years ending	Rice	Wheat	Jowar and bajra	Total (4 cereals)	Difference from the average
1943-44	282	106	112	500	..
1944-45	301	106	109	516	16
1945-46	284	92	88	464	-36
1946-47	302	81	85	468	-32

Thus it will be seen that views are extremely divergent, and statistics of production have been used to support totally divergent views. To find out whether the food supply in India is adequate or not we must know accurately (a) the total quantity of the food available for consumption and (b) the actual diet requirements of the people, and with regard to both, the information we possess is extremely inadequate. But there are certain accepted facts which might help us to arrive at a conclusion. Firstly, during the past few decades, while the population of India has been increasing the increase in net area sown with crops has been extremely slow and gradual.<sup>10</sup> Secondly, the proportion of the total area under food crops has declined while that under commercial crops has increased. The average under food crops has not kept pace with the growth in population and there is an actual fall per head.<sup>11</sup>

Decade by decade we are having an increasing number of people than are necessary fully to utilise such resources of agricultural production as we have.<sup>12</sup>

9. N. P. Bhoumick : "Food Problem in India": *The Modern Review*, August 1950, p. 106.

10. *The Famine Enquiry Commission—Final Report* (1945), p. 78.

Year	Net per capita shown		
	Population in millions	Average net area sown (mill. acres)	Per capita area sown (acres)
1911	231.6	208	0.90
1921	233.6	205	0.89
1931	256.8	211	0.82
1941	295.8	215	0.72

11. "During the period 1908-09 to 1917-18, 0.89 acres per head of population were devoted to food crops, while during the period 1928-29 to 1932-33, the average has sunk to 0.79 per head and to 0.61 per head in 1942-43. In fact, the population had increased by 28.7 millions but the area under food crops went up only by 2.6 million acres; only 0.09 acres per head. The non-food crops, on the other hand, kept pace with the population, the average per head being 0.044 in earlier and 0.057 in the later of the two periods."

12. W. Burns : *Technological Possibilities of Agricultural Development in India*, p. 21.

The decline in acreage per head under food crops is revealed more clearly by the following estimates made by Dr. W. Burns :

Year	Average per head under food crops (including all foodgrains—sugarcane, vegetable, fruits, condiments and spices)	
1911		0.83
1921		0.86
1931		0.79
1941		0.67

There has been a striking deterioration in our food situation. India not merely shows a deficit in the quantity of food production in relation to population increase, but steady deterioration of the quality of her foodgrains. There has been a continuous increase in the production of inferior foodgrains at the cost of wheat and rice during the last 40 years. The following table gives the index numbers of production of chief cereals between 1910-38.<sup>13</sup>

*Relative expansion of less nutritive cereals*

Cereals	1910-15	1915-20	1920-25	1925-30	1930-35	1935-38	1910-38
<i>Superior cereals :</i>							
Rice	100	114.0	108.4	107.2	110.2	103.5	3.5
Wheat	100	96.2	93.4	93.0	97.8	104.2	4.2
<i>Inferior cereals :</i>							
Jowar	100	157.4	167.0	210.8	207.8	209.7	109.75
Barley	100	224.2	202.6	172.2	173.4	157.1	67.1
Bajra	100	114.0	105.0	126.0	125.0	125.0	25.0
Maize	100	114.0	100.0	106.0	112.0	105.0	5.0

It is evident that during the period 1910-38, while the production of such cereals as rice and wheat increased by 3.5 and 4.2 per cent respectively, jowar increased by 109.7 per cent, barley by 67.1, bajra by 25, and maize by 5 per cent. Inferior cereals are cheaper to grow and this also decides the nature of consumption of subsistence farmers.

The decline in the average per head under food crops might not mean a smaller food supply per head if it had coincided with an increase in the yield of crops, but there is little evidence to show that the yield per acre has increased during the past few years.<sup>14</sup> The spread of improved varieties has been very slow and research has been concentrated hitherto more on commercial than on food crops. Broadly, three-fourths of sugarcane, half of jute and nearly one-fourth of wheat and cotton are under improved strains. This conclusion is borne out by the following figures:<sup>15</sup>

13. *National Planning Committee Report on "Population,"* p. 46.

14. Yield of selected crops :

Crop	1931-33	1934-36	1937-39	1940-42	1943-45
Rice	852	806	766	731	779
Wheat	607	639	671	764	624
Cotton	78	91	89	102	105
Groundnut	939	868	857	870	799
Linseed	272	238	241	260	216
Sugar (raw)	2,985	2,442	2,832	2,915	3,061
Jute	1,263	1,039	1,094	992	1,139

15. It has been estimated that the increased yield per acre in case of improved varieties is at an average two maunds per rice, wheat and jute; one maund for jowar and bajra; 1.75 maunds per groundnut; 0.5 maund per cotton-seed and 200 maunds per sugarcane.—John Russell.

Crop	Acreage in million acres		Percentage under improved varieties
	Total	Under improved variety	
	(acres)	(acres)	
Rice	83.43	3.58	4.3
Wheat	33.61	6.96	20.6
Millets	38.69	0.34	—
Gram	16.90	0.33	—
Groundnut	5.86	0.22	3.4
Cotton	26.00	5.04	19.2
Jute	2.18	1.12	50.0
Sugarcane	4.00	3.22	80.0

So much about the quantitative aspect of our food situation. If we look at the qualitative aspect of the food supply position, the degree of mal-adjustment becomes still more acute. It is a well-known fact that mainly owing to extreme poverty of the masses and partly because she herself does not produce enough "protective food" like milk, fruits, vegetables, eggs, etc., for her people, that Indians, in general, cannot afford to have a nutritive diet. Hence, they have to remain content with a diet far below the essential required of health. A glance in the following table will reveal it (prepared by the Nutrition Advisory Commission of Indian Research Fund Association):

Articles of consumption	Ill-balanced diet	Balanced diet
Cereals	20 Ozs.	14 Ozs.
Pulses	1 "	3 "
Green and leafy vegetables	2 "	4 "
Root vegetables	2 "	6 "
Fruits	0 "	3 "
Milk	Negligible amount	10 "
Sugar and Jaggery	—	2 "
Vegetable oil, ghee	0.5 to 1.0	2 "
Fish, eggs, fruits, meat	—	1 Egg

Sir Byod Orr has rightly remarked in this connection that

"Permanent under-feeding and periodic starvation is a rule in India. In normal times about 30 per cent of the population do not get 'enough' to eat, while a much larger section of the population have to be satisfied almost invariably with ill-balanced diet containing a preponderance of cereals and insufficient "protective foods" of higher nutritive value. Intake of milk, pulses, meat, fresh fruits and leafy vegetables and fish is generally insufficient."

On the basis of rationing standards, the Government of India has calculated the deficit as two million tons. What would be the deficit if we adopted the nutrition standards? Let us adopt the standard of our famous nutritionist Dr. W. R. Aykroyd and calculate the food-shortage in the country. In his "Ideal Composition of Diet" Dr. Aykroyd prescribes an intake of 19 ozs. of food-grains for every adult (his adult value is 80 per 100 of population). On that basis our food deficit comes to about 10.5 million tons for 1947-48.<sup>20</sup>

In this connection Dr. Aykroyd has frankly remarked :

"To the nutrition worker our food situation in India is thoroughly unsatisfactory in normal times . . . The majority of the population lives on a diet far remote from the most moderate standards of adequate nutrition. If India depends entirely on what she can herself produce, a very large increase in the production of various foods is necessary to raise the existing standard to a satisfactory level. These may be roughly indicated as cereals 30 per cent increase, pulses 100 per cent, milk and milk products 300-400 per cent, meat, fish and eggs several hundred per cent, vegetables, particularly green leafy vegetables 100 per cent or thereabout."<sup>17</sup>

#### CRITERION OF AGRICULTURAL OVER-POPULATION

(1) *Man-Land Ratio* : Apart from the loss of equilibrium between food and population—even in the absence of adequate statistical data, there are certain symptomatic phenomena which tell us of the heavy pressure of population on land. The major effects of the incidence of the human factor on the physical basis of the country are reflected in the principal ways indicated as follows :

✓Owing to the slow rate of economic expansion, the rapidly increasing population had to remain in villages, thus causing over-crowding,<sup>18</sup> which reacted on the agrarian structure of the province and less to excessive splitting of the peasant properties and impoverishment of the soil.<sup>19</sup>

Over-population on the farm-land reduces the standard of living and cash resources of the individual peasant. Therefore no agricultural development which need capital can be carried out, the yield per acre declines, and the competition of overseas agricultural exporting countries—with technical aids at their disposal—reduces the possibilities of export at the time of fall of world prices. This in turn lowers the income per head of rural population, and reduces the internal market. Still less money is available for improvement or for education of the farming population in new directions.<sup>20</sup>

Since India is an agricultural country, man-land ratio is an important criterion for measuring the

16. Population in Indian Union	337 millions
Population in terms of adult-man value	269.6 "
Requirements of population in basis of 19 ozs. per adult	52.2 Tons
Production of foodgrains	47.6 "
Net supplies available (after deducting twelve and a half per cent for wastage and seed requirement)	41.7 "
Deficit foodgrains	10.5 "

—Vide : Commerce, 30th July, 1949

17. Vide : Commerce, 30th July, 1949.

18. Indian land supports a population of 148 per 100 acres as compared to 31 per 100 acres in Poland; 24 in Czechoslovakia and Hungary; 30 in Rumania; 42 in Yugoslavia; 33 in Bulgaria, 48 in Greece and 6 in U. K.

19. L. Nation : *European Conference on Rural Life*, Poland (1910), p. 9.

20. J. E. Russell : *Agrarian Problems from Baltic to Aegean*.

pressure of population. Attempts have been made to estimate population pressure with reference to the cultivated area; 2.5 acres per capita are said to represent, according to Prof. East, the minimum size of cultivated land necessary for keeping the individual in health and efficiency.<sup>21</sup> Keeping in mind the fact that in many parts of India two crops are raised during the year, and that food requirements may be less in the East (due to warm climate) than in the colder countries of the West, we may safely assume that 5 acres is the minimum size of an agricultural holding necessary for the subsistence of a family of five souls. Judged by this standard of one acre of cropped land per capita the following table bears ample evidence of over-population:<sup>22</sup>

Provinces	Population in millions	Crop area in millions of acres	Crop area per capita in acres	Co-efficient of over population
Bengal	50.1	23.0	0.47	2.10
Bihar and Orissa	37.6	24.0	0.63	1.58
U. P.	48.4	36.0	0.74	1.35
Madras	46.7	34.0	0.74	1.35
Punjab	23.5	26.0	1.12	0.89
C. P.	15.5	24.5	1.58	0.63
Bombay	21.9	33.0	1.61	0.62

The crop area per capita in different provinces varies from 0.47 acres in Bengal to 1.6 acres in Bombay. In terms of nutritional potential this area is miserably small. Dr. O. E. Baker (Agricultural expert from U.S.A.) has calculated that the per capita requirement in respect of cultivated area for different standards of dietary is as follows:

A. Emergency restricted diet	1.2 acres
B. Adequate diet at minimum cost	1.8 "
C. Adequate diet at moderate cost	2.3 "
D. Liberal diet	3.1 "

Even for what would pass as emergency restricted diet in U.S.A., the per capita area under food in India has, it would appear, to be doubled for anything like adequacy, leave alone liberty, the whole land area of the country would not suffice if the existing population number and the yield capacity were to continue.

(2) *Increasing Subdivision and Fragmentation of Holdings*: A common feature of the agricultural land is the great reduction in the size of the holding by successive sub-division. So that not only are the holdings too small for agricultural operations, they are too small for subsistence also. The Kumarappa Industrial Survey Committee revealed that in Wardha district, the average (family) holding is not above 10 acres and may be taken as 5 to 7 acres of land.<sup>23</sup> The conditions are still worse in Balaghat district where the average holding per family comes to about 5 acres which is too small to maintain a

family of 5 persons.<sup>24</sup> What is true of C. P. is also true of the other parts of India. In the densely populated parts as the Ganges-Gogra Doab, the eastern districts of U. P., South Bihar, the Padma, the Jamuna, the Cauvery and the Godavari Deltas, the fractionalisation of holdings has gone to grotesque length. What is true of U.P., is also true of considerable parts of Bihar, Orissa and Madras.<sup>25</sup> Continuous fractionalisation of holdings restrains the small cultivator not only from adopting improved appliances and methods of cultivation and constructing wells, but also leads to abolition of fallowing and hence, to soil depletion.

The extreme reduction of the size of holdings has had its repercussions on the land-lease market. It has given rise to a chain of reactions. Quick processes have set in where the peasantry are being reduced to occupancy tenants or owners of dwarf holdings, they in their turn to landless tenants who finally lose themselves in the mass of the agricultural proletariat,<sup>26</sup> adding at each stage to a general deterioration of agrarian relations. The demand for land has increased and has pushed up values to a high pitch totally unrelated to the returns from land. It has given rise to an increasing number of the parasitic class, the absentee landlords.<sup>27</sup> Excess in demand for land over its supply has resulted in general 'land hunger' leading to rack-renting on the one hand and agrarian unrest on the other. Consequently agriculture is on a deficit economy.

(3) *High Percentage of Food Crops*: Another symptom of agricultural over-population is high percentage of food crops (or a high percentage of cereal crops) in the total arable area. Climatic reasons, national commercial policy or lack of good communications, in some cases may favour the disproportionate utilisation of the arable land for the cereals. But within an agricultural region and over areas in which the natural conditions and the proportion of cereals used respectively for food and feed probably

24. *Ibid*, p. 59.

25. R. K. Mukerjee: *Economic Problems of Modern India*, Volume I, pp. 110-111.

26. The following table indicates the growth of agricultural proletariat in British India (in thousands):

	1911	1921	1931
Landlords	2,845	3,727	3,257
Cultivators	71,076	74,665	61,180
Agricultural Labourers	25,879	21,676	31,480
Others (Market gardeners, cattle raisers and foresters)	5,196	4,608	6,536

27. The following table shows increase in number of non-cultivating landlords and agricultural labourers per 1000 persons engaged in cultivation in Madras:

	1901	1911	1921	1931
Non-cultivating landlord	19	23	49	34
Non-cultivating tenants	1	4	28	16
Cultivating landlords	484	426	381	390
Cultivating tenants	151	207	223	120
Agricultural labourers	345	340	817	429

21. *Proceedings of the World Population Conference*, p. 89.

22. R. K. Mukerjee: *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions*, p. 7.

23. Kumarappa: *Industrial Survey Committee Report*, p. 6.

do not vary considerably, the percentage of area under food-crops is definitely higher in the over-populated regions.<sup>28</sup> In India, with a rapid population increase, the total percentages of cultivated to cultivable area have now reached the phenomenal figures of 75 to 95 per cent in the Ganges Valley. Densities of cultivation and population in many districts of the Ganges plain are extraordinary . . . Forests, meadows and marshes, all are now invaded by the plough due to population increase, which also leads to scarcity of fodder and grazing grounds.<sup>29</sup>

(4) *Low Yield of Crops*: Adverse natural conditions and climatic fluctuations are in some regions directly responsible for low unit yields. The population density may not have any relation with the yield in such cases. But natural factors do not entirely explain the fact that even the maxima in low unit regions remain below the optimum yield obtained in other regions of similar natural conditions. The density of population depending on agriculture in such cases have a direct bearing on the unit yield of the region. The unit yields of cereals are lower in the more purely agricultural countries than in more industrialised countries. Excessive population results in disproportionate utilization of land for cereals, unsatisfactory system of crop rotation and less possibility of recuperation of soil. (In agricultural economy the cost of fertilizers and of machinery always remains high and the standard of skill is low. There is no organised accumulation of capital necessary for the introduction of technical improvements. The agricultural population falls in a vicious circle. Pressure of population on land results in low unit-yields<sup>30</sup> which in their turn mean more demand for food and, therefore, more pressure on land.)

#### PRESSURE OF LIVE-STOCK ON LAND

There is also a direct relation between the diminishing number of live-stock and the increasing density of human population. Owing to the pressure of population on the available land, the area under food-crops steadily encroaches upon the pasture area. Thus the high proportion of cereals usually coincides with low live-stock densities. "The competition of both the human and bovine population for maintenance on small holdings which must yield both food and fodder crops has resulted in the steady deterioration of

animals' food supply and of their breed and efficiency." Vegetarianism is ultimately a result of a heavy population pressure.

It may also be stated that in spite of the much talked-of industrialisation of the country since World War I, it does not appear that rapid progress has taken place in the industrial sphere except the expansion of a few industries like cotton, jute, mineral production, iron and steel, tea, coffee, rubber and lac and recently matches, cement, and sugar under State protection. The financial market remains still primitive and undeveloped or under-developed in the matter of trade. Thus notwithstanding the growth of a few industries on modern lines, the country remains still predominantly a land of peasants with small-scale industries and the impact of demographic pressure has fallen heavily on the rural side. Prof. Mukerjee has rightly remarked :

"In India, during the last three decades there has been a decline in the relative population of industrial employment in relation to total number of workers, this accompanying a process which may be described as decentralisation . . . This has increased the occupational unbalance in the country and the pressure on the impoverished soil."<sup>31</sup>

This fact is brought out clearly by the following figures :

Region	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941
Urban	9.2	9.5	9.9	90.6	10.24	11.08	12.75
Rural	90.8	90.5	90.1	9.4	89.76	88.02	87.25
Percentage of variation during 1881-1941: Urban 3.55 and Rural -3.55.							

#### EFFECTS OF OVER-POPULATION

When the pressure of population is very heavy on the soil, it seeks relief under certain conditions partly in migration and emigration overseas in search of employment of some economic gain.<sup>32</sup> Over-crowding drives people away from Oudh and the eastern districts of U.P., to the plantations of Assam, the cotton and jute mills of Bengal, and the collieries of Bihar and Orissa and Bengal. Labour flows ceaselessly from different parts to industrial centres and even to fields in harvesting operations in Bengal and Bombay. In Madras, the people of the southern districts of Tamilnad and Northern Circars have emigrated in large numbers overseas especially to Ceylon, Malaya and Burma, etc.

31. R. K. Mukerjee : *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions*, pp. xii-xiii.

32. Provinces which receive immigrants (000):				
Provinces	1901	1911	1921	1931
Assam	699	757	1,140	1,241
Burma	...	...	552	593
Bengal	...	286	1,132	771
Bombay	148	351	472	597
C. P.	323	428	197	227
Punjab	185	117	79	67

Provinces which send out emigrants (in 000's)				
Provinces	1901	1911	1921	1931
Madras	487	585	798	888
U. P.	895	818	974	1,053
Bihar and Orissa	...	...	1,287	1,291

—National Planning Committee Report on Population, p. 43.

28. Document No. 1. *European Conference on Rural Life*, (1929), pp. 51-52.

29. R. K. Mukerjee : *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions*, pp. 7-8.

30. Agricultural yield of the Principal Crops in Indian Provinces. (In lbs. per acre):

Province	Wheat	Rice	Cotton	Groundnut	Linseed
Bengal	...	921	...	...	607
U. P.	786	629	...	...	500
Bombay	447	967	...	987	350
Madras	...	1048	98	1014	...
Orissa-Bihar	882	721	...	...	429
C. P. and Berar	444	655	101	606	215

The combined effect of all the factors stated above,—small holdings high proportion of cereal crops, low unit yields and the low density of livestock, is mal-nutrition and under-nutrition which is a most certain symptom of over-population and an outward sign of 'hidden-unemployment.' If the arable land is preponderantly under cereals, effects of bad harvests are disastrous. Further, high proportion of cereals imply scarcity of protective foods as the Woodhead Commission remarked :

"Wherever we find, anywhere in the world, a dense population dependent on agriculture, we also find a lack of protective foods because the pressure on land does not permit their production in sufficient quantities."

So that nutritionally the standard of diet is very low. As population pressure increases there is a tendency everywhere not only to use more carbohydrates than proteins,<sup>33</sup> since the former are cheaper, but also to supersede all dairy products, animal foods and fruits; and this often causes unbalance which is particularly characteristic of the poorer sections and communities. It must be conceded that Indian dietary involves a minimum land requirement, about 97 per cent of the food energy consumed by the peasant family being derived from seeds, roots and vegetables.<sup>34</sup>

#### SHIFTING OF POPULATION PRESSURE

We can, therefore, conclude, that India is suffering from agricultural over-population. Hence, the problem before us is, how to shift the excessive demographic pressure from agriculture. The pertinent question, therefore, is how to bring about a more balanced distribution of people among various occupations which will go to reduce the excessive number supported by agriculture and at the same time increase the number of persons employed in industries big and small and services and professions. The remedy lies in two directions, viz., industrialisation of the country which would take away the surplus people from land and a rationalisation of agriculture which will increase the yield from land; and increasing the volume of

agricultural employment, we now consider these problems briefly :

(a) *Industrialisation as a Measure of Relieving Pressure of Land* : As long as 1880 and 1901 pointed attention was drawn to the existence of a huge number of people in excess of what was necessary for cultivation of land by the Famine Commission reports, and the development of the industries as one of the ways of increasing demographic pressure on land was suggested in pursuance of which the Department of Commerce and Industries was formed at the centre in 1905. (Since the Industrial Revolution and especially in the first quarter of the 20th century rapid industrialisation took place in different countries of Europe and Japan to raise the standard of living of the people and to relieve excess population from farm-land. During the post-depression years also remarkable rise in the industrial employment took place. Taking 100 as the volume of employment in 1932, the index figure of employment in industry has risen within six years to 200 in Germany, 180 in Esthonia, 161 in Holland, 153 in Hungary, 151 in Denmark, 142 in Italy, 141 in Finland, 137 in Norway and 117 in Poland. For the whole of Europe (excluding Russia) the index had gone up to 140 by 1938. It is because of this industrial development that the percentage of people engaged in agriculture shows a decline in many European countries.<sup>35</sup> In this light the potentialities of India's advancement are not fully exploited. If 100 is taken as the index number of industrial employment (being the average for 5 years 1909-1913) after a period of 19 years it rose by 85 points, the index number of industrial employment in 1937 being 185. The number of workers employed in large-scale industries from decade to decade are given in the table below :

*Number of workers in Large-scale Industries*  
(in lakhs)

Year	Mines	Factories	Plantations	Railway	Total
1901	0.88	4.70	6.38	3.70	15.66
1911	3.07	7.90	7.41	5.43	23.12
1921	3.55	12.30	10.02	7.49	31.19
1931	3.45	15.20	10.80	7.77	35.81

From these statistics it would be clear that the industries which have been established or developed since 1901 have provided employment only for 2 million persons or less than 1/20 of population increase since 1901. It is true that there are possibilities of establishing and developing of basic, large-scale industries to cater India's requirements for capital goods and defence, such as for manufacture of plant and machinery, automobiles, ships, aircrafts, heavy chemicals, engineering and scientific instruments, etc., besides a good number of other commodities for which India has to rely on foreign countries. It must be noted that as the purchasing power of the people

33. Proteins from—	Relative nutritive value
Fish, meat, milk, egg	100
Rice	88
Potato	79
Pea, pulse	56
Wheat and maize	10 & 20

34. The following table gives a comparison of the sources of food energy for the peasantry in India, China and U.S.A.:

*Proportion of calories from different classes of food*

	U.P.	Punjab	China	U.S.A.
Seeds	93.6	75.1	89.8	38.7
Roots and vegetables	3.8	0.3	8.9	9.0
Animal (meat, fish & dairy produce)	0.7	14.9	1.0	39.2
Sugar	0.1	9.2	0.2	10.1
Fruits	0.1	0.3	3.2	3.0
Fats (vegetables)	1.7	0.2	1.8	...

—R. K. Mukerjee: *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions*, p. 127.

increases, their standard of living will rise which will be reflected in the increased demand for consumption goods inevitably widening the orbit of industrial expansion.

However, judging from the volume of employment accorded by the industrial progress already made between 1901 to 1931, the possibilities of absorption of a great number of persons through the establishment of large-scale industries do not appear very large. According to Sir M. Visvesvaraya we can only expect the population supported by industries—big and small—to increase from 35 to 85 million. Even if this is realised, it is maintained that only one-fifth of the people may be absorbed in industries, leaving about four-fifths to eke out their living on land.<sup>36</sup>

In the sphere of industrialisation the emphasis must be laid on the rapid growth of small and cottage industries as a measure of providing employment for a large number of people in the countryside. Such cottage industries and medium scale industries worked by power wherever possible, which can be combined with farming so as to provide work in the spare time of the rural people, will have to be fully developed or made more paying. The development of the 'agro-industries' is the most important step towards relieving the pressure on land. By 'agro-industry' we mean "factory located close to the farm and both managed in organic relation to one another."<sup>37</sup> A programme of combined development of agriculture and rural industry will lead to integration of labour and establish a really balanced and wholesome national economy.<sup>38</sup> The main purpose of agro-industry should be to process farm products and work in association with large holders of land and co-operative farms and societies. The Famine Enquiry Commission remarked :

"Such a combined development would result in an increase in the productivity of land, an improvement in the supply of cattle feed and oil for human consumption and an expansion in the volume of non-agricultural employment in rural areas."<sup>39</sup>

The important farm products which can be processed in the rural areas and which can be developed into agro-industry are the rice and flour millings,

sugar processing, cotton ginning, handloom spinning and weaving, paddy husking, gur making, poultry rearing, firing and manufacture of tea, preparation of cream and butter, fruit canning and preservation, preparation of jam, achar, murabba and pickles, milk condensation and powder making, tobacco industries, basket and paper-making, bee-keeping, soap-making, oil crushing, etc. Such small-scale industries, when they come to be established, will provide the most necessary link between agriculture and large-scale industries and will narrow down the gap between rural and urban incomes and living conditions by reducing the undue pressure on land and by providing another source of income to the rural population.<sup>40</sup>

The rural industries would create a further demand for capital goods like machine tools and motors and for partly manufactured goods like yarn, steel strips, non-ferrous metals, leather, rubber, glass, etc. The income derived from these would further enlarge the consumer's markets for large-scale industries producing consumption goods, such as sugar, cement, shoes, textiles and steel girders, etc. Describing the experiences of rural industrialisation in Europe Dr. Mukerjee writes :

"Rural industrialisation in a number of countries in Europe has brought about such an intimate relationship between agriculture and industry that it is at times difficult to draw the line between the spheres of the two. Industry helps in the handling of produce, supply the firm with fertilizers, feeding stuffs, machinery and other subsidiaries and materials. On the other hand, agriculture supplies industry with some of its raw materials. Dairies and milk condensation and powder factories, factories for the preparation of organic therapeutic products, the edible oil industry, milling, canning chocolate and tobacco industries are all the outcome of correlation between agriculture and industry in Europe."<sup>41</sup>

With a new orientation and co-ordination between agriculture and industry on the one hand and the village and the city on the other, the establishment of a similar harmony of interests between the rural and urban areas in India is not difficult or achievement, so that "the science and the technique of the city will utilise the resources and raw materials and replenish the wealth of the village more than it will exhaust and its life will stimulate the minds and enlarge the vision of a far greater number of people than it will warp or repress."<sup>42</sup>

Diversification of the industries has also been claimed as an important weapon for lowering the pressure on land. With a variety of occupations, drought and failure in agriculture would not have meant such aggravation of poverty and unemployment.

36. According to the *Industrialists' Plan* about 58 per cent of the people have to subsist on agriculture after the execution of the plan :

Occupations	1931		1941	
	Millions	Per cent	Millions	Per cent
Agriculture	106.3	72	129.7	58
Industries	22.1	15	57.9	26
Services	19.2	13	34.7	16
Total working population	147.6	100	222.3	100
Total population	338.1	...	494.0	...

—Vide : *Industrialists' Plan*, Part II, pp. 8-9.

37. *The Famine Enquiry Commission Report*, p. 307.

38. S. N. Agarwal : *The Gandhian Plan*, p. 60.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 307.

40. T. R. Sharma : *Location of Industries in India*, p. 227.

41. R. K. Mukerjee : *Man and His Habitation*, p. 15.

42. *Ibid.*

ment and dislocation of credit and finance. In a period of glut of agricultural production in the world the fall in income from agriculture might have been offset by better prices of industrial products. Industrialisation in the villages can be greatly promoted by hydro-electricity in India, absorbing the surplus of the agricultural labour population or maintaining a class of half-and-half labourers, half-agricultural, half-industrial as in Belgium and Czecho-Slovakia. As concentrated urban industrialisation has fostered population increase by creating a steady continuous demand for cheap labour and breaking up the social order the decentralisation and ruralisation of industries would besides relieving the pressure on land, tend towards a general improvement of the standard of living and check multiplication and disintegration of the stable forms of family, village and social structure in India associated with the present unhappy phase of economic development in the country.<sup>43</sup>

#### REORGANISATION OF AGRICULTURE

The main point that emerges out of the preceding discussion is that India has to remain largely as an agricultural country even after her ambitious schemes of industrialisation are materialised. The whole agrarian system needs re-organisation according to the present-day needs and conditions on improved lines. This would include an increase in the net returns, reduction of production costs, better standard of living for the farmer, less arduous work for the head of the undertaking and considerable saving of labour whether paid or supplied by the family. The reorganisation of agriculture will have to be made on the following lines:

(i) Firstly, by intensification of utilisation of land already in use. This can be affected through improved methods in agriculture, such as improved methods of manuring, use of improved kinds of seeds, better farming, cultivation of heavy crops requiring additional application of labour and capital.

(ii) Secondly, by removing certain obstacles for the full utilisation of land resources through a radical scheme of reforms and effective planning with regard to land tenures, tenancy, ownership of land, size of holdings, inheritance, agricultural indebtedness, illiteracy and so on.

(iii) Thirdly, by extension of land use through bringing more areas under cultivation by means of expansion of irrigation works, establishment of land colonies, and converting of areas now less economically used into more economic and income yielding uses.

It is difficult to say what will be the proportion of people who will be found competent and quickly adjust themselves to their new occupations, to the

total number of persons released from agriculture. The measure designed to correct the defects would not yield the same results without certain necessary pre-requisites, such as, for example, the corresponding growth of co-operatives, vocational and general instructions in rural schools and associations. Hence, if a rapid revolution, both agricultural and industrial, is to be brought about, it is necessary that a proper outlook should be developed among the people.

#### CHANGE IN CROP PLANNING

It is a well-known fact that not only are the present average crop yields per acre very low, but the existing distribution of arable land under the various crops does not give the maximum food values, which it is perfectly possible to obtain even with these low levels of yield by a judicious crop planning. The following table is very significant in this respect.<sup>44</sup>

Food Values per Acre

	Rice	Wheat	Pota- toes	Sweet potatoes	Tapioca	Plantain
Estimated yield per acre (in maunds)	10	10	50	50	50	224
Protein yield (kilograms)	31	43	29	22	13	56
Carbo-hydrate yield (kilograms)	284	258	416	563	522	1190
Calories per day (in thousand)	1280	1260	1790	3880	2880	5040

Researches of experts like Dr. Aykroyd indicate that what India needs is really not more of cereals, such as wheat, rice and ragi, but a more balanced diet. According to Sir John Russell, "The well-balanced diet does not require more but less cereals than at present, but it includes more of everything else, especially of vegetables, fruits and milk." The objective, therefore, in India should be to produce more of these supplementary and protective foods, and to release more and more land for their production by increasing the yield of foodgrains on the lands on which they are cultivated. Dr. Mukerjee also holds the same opinion that the aim should be to counteract the present food deficiency and unbalance and to secure more protein from every unit of land. In this respect it is interesting to note what Mr. Afzal Hussain has remarked about increasing the food supply by developing proper cropping schemes. He has suggested tentative lines for redistribution of crops which may result in increasing the present supplies per 100 acres available for human consumption, of protein by 16 per cent, carbo-hydrate by 9 per cent, fat by 63 per cent, and calories by 30 per cent. The redistribution of crops he has suggested is shown in the table given below.<sup>45</sup>

43. R. K. Mukerjee: *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions*, p. 210.

44. *Famine Enquiry Commission Report*.

45. *Famine Enquiry Commission Report*.



Yield of food values per 100 acres of cultivated area under existing distribution of crops per 100 acres of sown area

(Average of five years ending 1938-39)

	Cereals	Pulses	Tubers*	Oil seeds†	Total	Milk
Area (acres)	64	11	Negligible	7	82	11.5 tons per 100 acres
Protein (lbs.)	4442	1152	....	880	6478	979
Carbo-hydrate (lbs.)	34018	3432	....	805	38255	1262
Fat (lbs.)	641	194	....	1431	2266	1417
Calories (in 000's)	72448	9141	....	8876	90465	9837
(Under proposed distribution of crops)						
Area (acres)	45	13	5	14	77	18.4 tons per 100 acres
Protein (lbs.)	3110	1366	400	1769	6637	1713
Carbo-hydrates (lbs.)	23919	4057	12219	1610	41805	2209
Fats (lbs.)	450	230	1	2862	3543	2479
Calories (in 000's)	50940	11203	34000	17752	113895	17215

\* Excluding castor-seed and coconut.

† Represents potatoes, sweet potatoes, tapioca and banana.

Whether redistribution to the extent suggested by Mr. Hussain is practicable within the present framework of rural economy and social structure and with the existing resources of irrigation, manures and farm equipments, is very doubtful. But it is clear that there is tremendous scope for increasing food supply in the country—for everyone to have a balanced diet—by switching over emphasis in production from cereals to other vegetable and animal goods.

#### MIGRATION OR IMMIGRATION

When all the measures outlined above are found inadequate to relieve population pressure, it appears inevitable that the surplus population seek an outlet by migration or emigration. A more expedient solution may be found in some kind of internal redistribution of population. In view of the heavy pressure on land in certain provinces it is necessary that planned migration should take place from the heavily populated regions to the sparsely populated parts of the country. Generally speaking the U.P., Bihar and Orissa, Bengal and Madras have all over-stepped an equilibrium density, and it is the heavy and differential population pressure which explains emigration from these areas to the less thickly populated provinces. Amongst these Assam and Central Provinces may be said to be under-populated, although an optimum density may have been outstripped even in some under-populated provinces. Here large acres of wastelands which are available for cultivation but not taken up and abandoned, exists, which can be brought under plough through measures of land reclamations, agricultural engineering and irrigation; and planned migration from the densely populated parts should be directed for agricultural colonization. New township should be developed in sparsely populated parts by providing all available facilities to the colonists.

Besides internal migration, overseas emigration is

also an important factor in relieving population pressure.

There are such countries in the world as Brazil which has a population of hardly 12 persons per sq. mile; the U.S.A. a population of little more than 40 per sq. mile; Canada and Australia of as little as 2 or 3 per sq. mile; Argentina and other countries in Africa a little more. Whereas, on the other hand, India has an average density of 246 per sq. mile. Even recognising the force of climatic factors which would not suit Indian immigrants and settlers in lands like Canada, ample room is nevertheless available in countries more congenial to Indian conditions like Brazil, Central American or West Indian region, the Guinea coast of Africa and Zanzibar region. Given free opportunities of migration, the Indian peasant with his traditional skill and method of rice culture may introduce a new era of prosperity in these lands, as his dry crops like oilseeds and cotton, and dry cereals like jowar and bajra may prove a god-send to such sparsely populated regions as Sudan, Nigeria, Mozambique, Madagascar and Northern Australia.

But immigration of population on a large scale to other countries is not likely to help our problem, unless the world conscience is roused to a full appreciation of this problem, and International Migration is permitted. The Immigration Laws must therefore be revised by common consent. Unless a world-wide movement is adopted to redistribute by concerted action the entire population of the globe with a view to adjust man-power to the material resources in every corner of the earth, the population problem of the thickly peopled countries like China and India would be all but impossible to solve. The fate of these countries would be recurrent scourges of nature like war, pestilence, epidemics and famines, which may deplete their numbers by brute force or at least keep them in some check.

#### CONCLUSION

To sum up then, the problem of demographic pressure on land is not only one of provision of full employment to the rural people but is also essentially one of arriving at a balanced system of occupational distribution of population and full utilisation of natural resources together with the provision of well-balanced diet to the masses for an all-round growth and progress of the country. This all-important question can be tackled only by a well-planned development *pari passu* of industry and agriculture in such a way that the two supplement and complement each other, rather than the one ousting out the other. With the rapid economic advancement of the country, the poverty of the people will vanish and the standard of living will rise and there will be an expanded field for almost all occupations—transportation, trade, finance, public service, professional service and personal and domestic service—to absorb an increased number of the growing population.

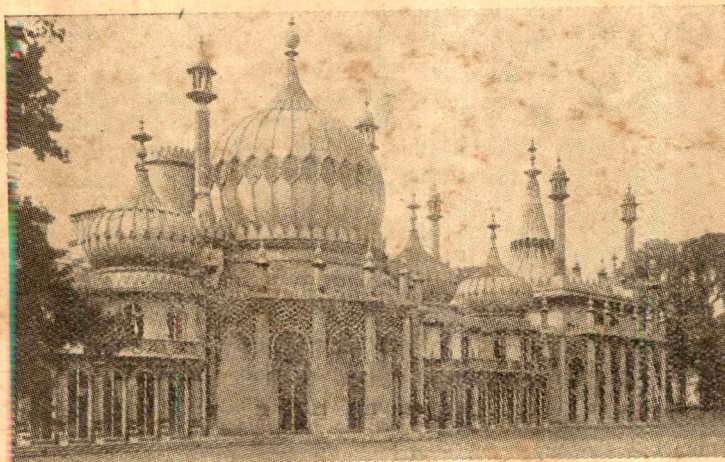


## LONDON-BY-THE-SEA Regency Brighton

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

SEE Naples—and die. This famous tribute to the beauties of Naples is one that could never have been made of Brighton. The impact of Brighton, with its marvellous, invigorating air, is all the other way—see her and live!

It was a wonderful day for England when in the autumn of 1783 George, Prince of Wales, first descended upon Brighthelmston. Only a month before he had come of age. It is impossible not to see the finger of fate in this conjunction of events. For his real contribution to history—his and our heritage—is that he was to prove the most artistic Prince who ever succeeded to the Throne of England. More than that he was to create something unique in European art, the Pavilion at Brighton. One of his predecessors—Charles the First—was his equal in taste. But he never had the opportunities for its exertion



The Royal Pavilion, Brighton

which George when Prince of Wales was able to take so freely. Charles was poor, diffident, and beset by circumstances which gave him no peace. With George it was quite otherwise. He had time on his hands and where money was concerned he was in a strong position. Nearly thirty years were to pass between the date of his first visit to Brighton and the beginning of his Regency in 1811. During most of that time, after the Hanoverian fashion, he would be at loggerheads with the King his father and—as a consequence in those days—the great hope of the Opposition. It followed from this that it would often pay both King and Parliament to buy him off and settle his debts.

Three years after his first visit to Brighton the Prince began the building of his fabulous Pavilion. It became an obsession which lasted till within three years of his death. (Suddenly he took himself off and never returned. What was the reason? Some say that like many an artist he had lost interest in his creation now that it was

finally completed. Unkind contemporaries declare that he took a dislike to the place after finding the word 'Unpaid' scrawled across one of his beautiful mirrors.)

The building of the Pavilion nearly rivalled Solomon's Temple in the years which it took to come to perfection. In all it cost the Prince Regent about half a million pounds sterling—and twenty years after his death it was sold to the people of Brighton for the ridiculous sum of £50,000! This summer saw the centenary of Brighton's ownership and a wonderful exhibition of Regency furniture and costume has been staged in the Pavilion. The interior decoration of the State Rooms has been cleaned and restored to its original condition—wall paintings and chandeliers and beautiful spode lamps have returned from Buckingham Palace—and altogether to enter the Pavilion

now is to step back into the days when the Prince himself presided. But the spirit of a place is not to be met in any collection of contemporary objects. At the Pavilion, upstairs and in an otherwise denuded room, it springs at you from the wall! Here is a painting by a modern artist and it is a satire in the grand manner. It is described as an 'Allegory: H. R. H. the Prince Regent awakening the Spirit of Brighton.' The artist was Rex Whistler who was killed in France soon after D-Day. Before he went to France he was stationed in Brighton and painted this picture on a wall in the house where he was billeted.

I have tried in vain to discover a photograph of this painting. Yet how convey an impression of its gaiety and exuberance? It parodies of course the Eros and Psyche legend. George, be-winged and trailing chiffon, has swooped down upon a sleeping nymph whose girdle is inscribed 'Brighthelmston'. The nymph sleeps with her hands clasped above her head. It is night and the Plough is over-head. Masted ships stand out to sea and a shrub to the left or a plant at the foot recall the Italian manner. The composition itself is as bold as Titian. It is in the detail that the humour lies. Thus George improbably wears his buckled shoe and kneels on crimson velvet. His left hand raises a conspiratorial finger. Funniest of all is the painting of the eye. The pupil is high-lighted, has slid right round into its corner, whence it seems to spill over in an evil sparkle! Impossible to convey the authority, the triumphant satire! (What a pity Rex Whistler was lost in the waste of war. But it is some comfort to feel how he must have exulted at being sent to Brighton.)

The Prince Regent—as he is generally known although



the Regency lasted only for nine years—certainly 'awakened' Brighton. Until the eighteenth century she had had little history. Her inhabitants engaged in fishing and in resisting the encroachments of the sea. No mediaeval building survived—except the church of St. Nicholas—because in the sixteenth century the town had been raided and burned by the French. In the seventeenth century when history did catch up with her, it came in disguise. Charles the Second<sup>d</sup> escaping after his defeat at Worcester, spent a night at Brighthelmston and sailed next day for France in a boat commanded by a local skipper. And at the opening of the eighteenth century, great storms had caused such distress that collections were taken up in churches throughout England to provide money for the building of wooden breakwaters. Very different would be the scene at the close of the century. Poverty-stricken Brighthelmston would have become Brighton, the most fashionable resort in Europe.

Brighton owes the beginning of her prosperity to a Doctor Russell who is not nearly so well remembered as he deserves to be. He was a native of Lewes, the county town of Sussex, and a Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1753, he published a book entitled *A Dissertation Concerning the Use of Sea Water in Diseases of the Glands*. Though nobody reads it now, this was an epoch-making book. It called attention for the first time to the health-giving nature of sea water. Even the drinking of it was recommended. Above all—in the light of after events—it recommended sea bathing. Thus he introduced the idea of the sea-side resort and the sea-side holiday.

At about the same time as he published his book, Doctor Russell discovered the existence of a 'chalybeate' spring in Brighthelmston. In an age of spas, this was a great advantage to the town. The doctor sent his patients there and himself built a house on the Steine—only the second one to be built there. This far-famed spot, soon to see the rise of the Pavilion and many attendant beautiful houses—was then a rough sea-swept common. (Steine is an ancient word for stone). Fishermen spread their nets out to dry and pigs scavenged around the boats.

Thirty years after the publication of Doctor Russell's book, the Prince arrived in Brighthelmston, as the guest of his uncle the Duke of Cumberland, who had rented a farm house to the north of the Steine. In the intervening years the virtues of sea-bathing had become generally accepted. (Without reference to times or seasons! People bathed before breakfast, in the dark of a November morning, if it was thought to be good for them). The Prince became a bather. He suffered from goitre, behind that high stock which he always wore, and perhaps he hoped that the sea-water would cure him. The bathing beaches of Brighton and the famous 'dippers'—attendants whose job it was to duck the visitors, few of whom could swim—have often been written about. But it is worth recording that the Prince's attendant was devoted to him. Once he went out after George (who could swim) and dragged him back by the ear to safety when he had rushed to come

in! Years later, when the Prince was gravely ill, he tramped all the way to London to enquire after him.

Sea-bathing had been drawing the people to Brighton, but as yet no one seemed to have a value for the sea itself. There was no promenade, no carriage way along the front, and the first houses to be built at that end of the Steine had their backs to the sea! Visitors put up with rough accommodation in fishermen's cottages and, with regard to the general impression of the place, Doctor Johnson's growling comment was probably apt: he found it 'so truly desolate that if one had a mind to hang oneself for desperation on being obliged to live there, it would be difficult to find a tree on which to fasten the rope.'



Regency Square, Brighton

The building of the Pavilion was to burst on Brighton like a revelation. For forty-one years it would be the Prince's pre-occupation. During that time he would invite many different architects to Brighton, chase perfection endlessly in his experiments in interior decoration, encourage the fashion in landscape gardening which was later to give an added charm to the suburbs—to Lewes Crescent in Kemp Town and to Adelaide Crescent in Hove. Every contemporary architect of note would come to Brighton, or influence the building of the houses in Brighton.

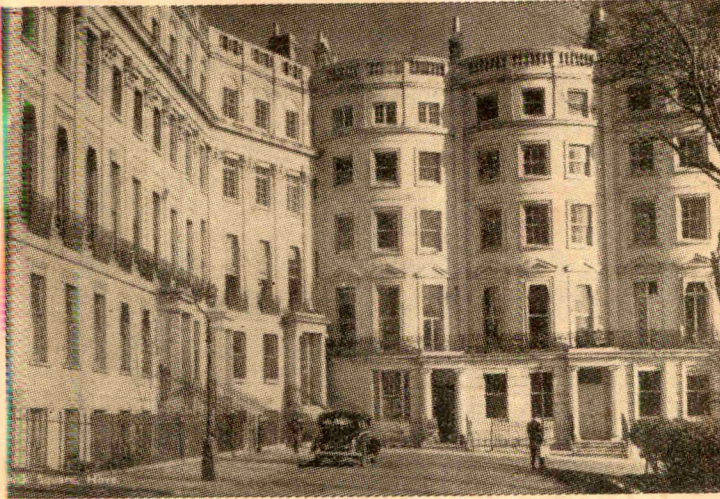
To build the Marine Pavilion, as it was first styled, the Prince employed Henry Holland, the architect of



Drury Lane Theatre in London. It was a simple building in the prevailing classical mode, with a rotunda, bow windows and iron balconies. Later green-painted, tent-shaped, iron canopies were set above the balconies. This attractive idea of canopied balconies was to become a characteristic of Brighton. When twelve years later the Royal Crescent was built—the first houses to face the

in the Western world.' The Prince Regent has often been criticised for his extravagance. He has been accused of fickleness because sometimes he changed a scheme of decoration as soon as it had been completed. But to quote Mr. Musgrave again: 'When one learns . . . how often these alterations were in the direction of greater subtlety of colour, from red to pink, or from blue to lilac, one realises how sensitive and faultless was the taste of the person directing the decorations.'

No sooner had Holland added new wings to the Pavilion than the Prince decided to build a Riding House and Stables. But instead of employing Holland again, who might have harmonised the neighbouring buildings, he commissioned an architect who built him his stables in Indian style! The main feature of the new building was its high and wonderful dome—and which made the Pavilion inevitably look 'quite collapsed.' As a result, and not very surprisingly, it would not be many years before the Prince was employing a third architect—Nash this time, most famed of all Regency architects—to bring the appearance of the Pavilion into harmony with its stables.



Brunswick Square, Hove

sea—it reproduced the bow windows and the canopied balconies. So did Bedford Square and Regency Square which closely followed. Indeed a canopy can have such charm that it was later developed and became a more important feature than the balcony itself which either did not exist or had been narrowed into insignificance. In Montpellier Villas, built long after the Regency and in 1845, the canopied bow windows give the houses an indescribable settled grace.

In 1802, Holland added new wings to the Pavilion. These were later to disappear, when the Music Room and Banqueting Room replaced them but the year marks a turning point in the history of the Pavilion and for quite another reason. The Prince received a gift of Chinese wall-paper which decided him to re-decorate the whole place in the Chinese fashion. For years there had been a vogue for Chinese art in England. It had led to the design of Chinese Chippendale furniture and, more entrancingly, to the erection of the Pagoda in Kew Gardens in London. But only at the Pavilion was the expression of these Chinese influences to attain such perfection that, in the words of Mr. Clifford Musgrave its historian, it remains 'the greatest monument of chinoiserie



Pavilion and South Gate, Brighton

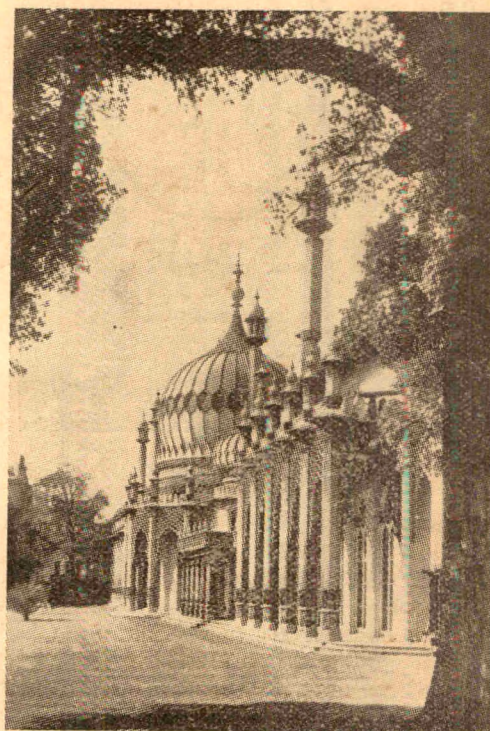
All this headlong plunging into architectural experiment is very typical of the Regency. Classical, Gothic, Chinese, Indian—the contemporary architect would use any style he felt appropriate. A very engaging personality whom the Prince consulted at this time was Humphry Repton. He was both architect and landscape gardener and had been employed in the latter capacity at a villa, at Sezincote in Gloucestershire, which had also been built in the Indian style. The Prince asked him to produce plans for a Pavilion in the Indian manner but financial



difficulties intervened and in the end the commission was given to Nash. However Repton was famous enough in his day and perhaps it is worth giving him a moment. (Readers of Jane Austen will remember that his name crops up in *Mansfield Park* when the 'improvements' at Sotherton are under discussion). The idea behind landscape gardening was to break away from the old formal arrangements of flat planted spaces and confining hedges. The garden was to be viewed as a whole and 'all nature was a garden.' In their eagerness to create these private landscapes the gardeners were often capable of the wildest schemes. Repton has been caricatured by a contemporary and this is supposed to be him speaking: 'Accord me your permission to wave the rod of enchantment over your grounds. The rocks shall be blown up, trees shall be cut down, the wilderness and all its goats shall vanish like mist . . . It was reserved for the exclusive genius of the present times, to invent the noble art of picturesque gardening, which has given, as it were, a new tint to the complexion of nature, and a new outline to the physiognomy of the universe!' What fun they had in the spacious days of the Regency!

In 1811, when he became Regent, the Prince appointed Nash to be his Surveyor-General. He, of course, was the architect of London's Carlton House Terrace, Regent Street and the terraces of Regent's Park. And in 1815, the year of Waterloo, he began work at Brighton. The outcome was the Pavilion as we know it today. Nash must have had extraordinary genius. After building a Banqueting Room and a Music Room at either end of the East Front, adding an Entrance Hall and Long Gallery to the West Front, with a Great Kitchen to the side—at the same time maintaining Holland's original Pavilion intact—he somehow managed to organize the whole of the exterior into its present beautifully balanced, satisfying, unified Indian whole. How proud the Prince must have been of him—and yet in his own time, and almost to our own, it was the habit to dismiss the Pavilion merely as a 'folly.' By 1821, the Pavilion was finally completed and the inhabitants of Brighton were allowed to come in and look round. What did they make of the Chinese interior, of the wall paintings in one of which Lady Conyngham, the last love of the Prince, is depicted as a Chinese bride? Did the older ones amongst them detect a likeness to the youthful Mrs. Fitzherbert, which some have thought was the secret of her attraction? In these notes I have not touched on the unhappy private life of the Prince Regent and his tragic marriage to Mrs. Fitzherbert. The facts are now generally known. Early in the present century the publication of the certificate established once and for all that the marriage took place on 21st December, 1785. (A marriage valid in the sight of God but not legal, since by the Royal Marriages Act—devised by George the Third—no marriage contracted by a member of the royal family could be valid without the King's consent. George would never have agreed to Mrs. Fitzherbert. She was a commoner but worst of all a Papist). Ten years after the marriage the Prince, in order

to settle his debts which amounted to £460,000, agreed to marry the dismal Caroline of Brunswick. And within a year of that marriage he was drawing up his Will—since published—in which he referred to Mrs. Fitzherbert as 'my Maria, my Wife, my Life, my Soul' and directed that 'the picture of my beloved Wife, my Maria Fitzherbert, may be interred with me, suspended round my neck with a ribbon, as I used to wear it when I lived, and placed right upon my heart.' Lady Hertford and Lady Conyngham were to oust Mrs. Fitzherbert. Yet it is all inexplicable. For on his deathbed George the Fourth urged Wellington to make sure that nothing about his person would be disturbed. And when George had died, Wellington, stooping to see what it was that sparkled on his breast, saw that it was a miniature of Mrs. Fitzherbert.



The Royal Pavilion, Brighton

Anyway, Mrs. Fitzherbert is a character that cannot be passed by in considering the history of Brighton. She lived there most of her life and even after the Prince had broken with her. She helped to establish the Roman Catholic Church in Bristol Road—which is a very beautiful little church and possesses, aside from some excellent painting, two remarkable sculptured works. One is the monument to Mrs. Fitzherbert herself. She is depicted as a veiled kneeling figure and on her left hand her three wedding rings—she had been widowed twice before she married the Prince—are clearly shown. The other sculpture is in the baptistery and is a sculptured group of the Baptism of Christ. Both works are by Carew and the Baptism



is generally agreed to be his masterpiece. Carew, incidentally, is responsible for the best part of the Nelson monument in Trafalgar Square—the plaque depicting the death of Nelson.



Adelaide Crescent and Brunswick Terrace, Hove

No notes about Brighton would be complete without some comment on its three most famous ventures in house-building—Lewes Crescent, Brunswick Square and Brunswick Terrace, and Adelaide Crescent. Lewes Crescent, as the Kemp Town estate is generally known, begins in two terraces facing the sea—Arundel and Chichester Terrace—and from these terraces the wings of a crescent—Lewes Crescent—open out into a large square, Sussex

Square. It is a perfectly lovely design. The wings of the crescent seem to be dancing back from the Sea. And in the midst of it is a piece of landscape gardening which has captured a bit of the downs. In this estate all the beauty is in the lay-out. Close to, the houses are splendid but uninteresting. The architects, Wilds and Busby, had a strange task. They designed the facades of the houses and the glorious lay-out. The insides of the houses were left to the choice of the prospective owner. The Kemp Town estate, in its hey-day, had many aristocratic tenants. They included the Duke and Duchess of Fife, King Edward VII, Queen Alexandra, the French King Louis-Philippe, and the Sassoons (who added to its architectural riches their own private mausoleum).

The Kemp Town estate was begun in 1823. In the following year the same architects embarked on Brunswick Town (as it was first called following the precedent of Kemp Town). Brunswick Square is open at the south to the sea where the east side of the square is flanked by Brunswick Terrace. The Terrace is particularly attractive and shows the influence of Nash's Carlton House Terrace. As in that terrace the houses have a soldierly processional appearance. Brunswick Square was meant to be residential but the Terrace was for visitors. The most distinguished of these were Princess Lieven and the Austrian Chancellor, Prince Metternich.

Adelaide Crescent was begun in the reign of William the Fourth and the architect was Decimus Burton who designed the entrance to the park at Hyde Park Corner in London. The idea seems to have been similar to that of Lewes Crescent, but building was slow and hung fire. Only ten houses, on the east side of the square, were built by Burton and those on the west side are considered to be greatly inferior to his work. (It is fitting that Regency architecture should peter out here. Adelaide Crescent is well into Hove which always feels like a bourgeois suburb compared with cosmopolitan Brighton).

And here we must say good-bye to Brighton: A lovely Regency town, set so surprisingly by the sea, and which has given and continues to give health and pleasure to literally millions of people.

London, 29th September, 1950.





# UNITED NATIONS CAMPAIGN FOR HEALTH

By DAVID PERLMAN

## I

HUB-DEEP in jungle muck, a bullock cart strains along a trail through India's Jaipur Hills. Perched in back, bouncing sorely against a drum of the insecticide DDT sits a young Canadian doctor. He is on his way to battle. The enemy: malaria. Its toll, all over the world: 300,000,000 casualties a year, 3,000,000 deaths.

Halfway around the globe, in Staten Island, part of New York City, a laboratory technician opens a cable from Geneva, Switzerland. The message is an order to invent a new weapon against an enemy that has scourged the world for centuries. The enemy: syphilis. Its toll: 50,000,000 cases a year, 2,000,000 deaths, 1,000,000 tainted babies.

A U.S. Air Force plane rests on a runway at Copenhagen, Denmark, its paint still dingy from the Berlin Air Lift. This time it has a new mission, flying vaccine supplies. The enemy: tuberculosis. Its toll: 50,000,000 cases a year, 5,000,000 deaths.

This is death on a fantastic scale, bigger than all the wars in history. This is an enemy to fight. Today the fight is on, waged by 67 countries which have banded together in one of the most startlingly successful projects born of the United Nations—The World Health Organization.

The World Health Organization—its members call it WHO—exists today because the men who built the United Nations knew that peace treaties, economic pacts, and cultural exchanges would mean little as long as four-fifths of the world's people were weakened by disease, a perpetual prey to exploitation. Out of this sort of reasoning came the compact, aggressive organization called WHO, with its headquarters at Geneva, Switzerland. It is compact because it cannot afford to spread itself too thin. WHO has a budget this year of only \$7,500,000, of which about \$2,000,000 comes from the United States, and the rest is prorated among the dues-paying member nations. To keep within this modest figure, it has set up a rigid system of priority projects, confining its major attacks to six fields: malaria, venereal disease, tuberculosis, maternal and child health, environmental sanitation, and nutrition.

Malaria is the greatest enemy of all and number one on the World Health Organization's priority list for action. Already, spectacular successes have been scored. Greece, for example, came out of the last war with nearly 2,000,000 cases of malaria a year among its population of 7,000,000. Whole villages were living on relief because the men, wasting from the disease, could not even trudge from their houses to their fields. Then the Greeks called for help. First came UNRRA—the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. When it was disbanded at the end of 1946, WHO took over.

The experts conferred and swung into action. They decided that only complete eradication of the malaria-carrying mosquito would conquer the disease.

They marshalled a staff: Dr. James M. Vine, 54, a lanky Australian veteran of epidemic fighting in Germany, was chief of the mission. Colonel Daniel E. Wright, 66, one of the world's greatest malaria engineers, was drafted from the U.S. Public Health Service as chief tactician. Vine and Wright drafted 11 doctors, 49 Greek medical officers, and 237 foremen of spraying teams. Each team included a half-dozen local Greek laborers, armed with portable sprayers. Barrel after barrel of DDT power was shipped into Greece—barrels of sure death for the anopheles mosquito.



Every individual in the Arab refugee camps in the Middle East has his clothes disinfected with the insecticide DDT.

With Colonel Wright plotting the campaign on field maps, the spraying teams deployed over every malaria Greek village. They worked rapidly. In each village they moved from house to house, spraying every wall, every corner, every ceiling. In a single year they covered 5,700 villages with a population of 3,500,000 people. Teams worked far into northern Greece, where the civil war against the Communist guerrillas was raging. In Crete a spraying team was literally kidnapped for two weeks by a band of armed Communist guerrillas who came out of the mountains to demand DDT for their own malaria-ridden territory. Later, when Greek Government forces reoccupied the rebel area, because of the guerrillas' use of the insecticide, the troops found healthy villages and a valley ready for the harvest.



Attacking mosquitoes in village homes was not enough for Colonel Wright and his forces. To break the deadly cycle of disease it is necessary to get at the breeding places too. Three Greek Royal Air Force pilots were sent to the United States to learn crop-dusting techniques, and when they returned they taught a whole squadron. Swooping down to within 20 feet of the water level in the swamps, the planes frequently sprayed behind Communist territory, but never a shot was fired at the aircraft with their Red Cross insignia. On more than one occasion WHO planes interrupted pitched battles on the ground to do their job. For a long time, 5,000 Greeks died of malaria each year; in the past 12 months there has not been a single death. And what is more, the incomes of the Greek farmers in formerly malarial areas have doubled because of their increased productivity.

Even more important than this sweeping record is the fact that the Greek Government is continuing its malaria program by itself now, without any outside help. This is the whole idea of the World Health Organization—gather the best experts in the world, the most modern equipment, the newest supplies, and bring them to bear on a single sore spot. Then, while the campaign goes on, train local experts and show the local population how to do the job itself.

The World Health Organization's second most important problem is the white plague, tuberculosis. Here is another striking example of international action. At present in Europe, where tuberculosis takes 500,000 lives a year, more than 50,000,000 children are being tested for tuberculosis and those who are not immune—nearly 20,000,000—are being vaccinated. This is the largest mass immunization campaign ever undertaken in history, and it will grow even larger as the campaign spreads through Africa, the Near East, and the Orient.

It was started by the Scandinavian Red Cross societies soon after the last war, and quickly grew to such scope that the United Nations was called in. The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund provides the vaccine and other supplies—as it does for many of the World Health Organization's projects; WHO scientists set up the vaccine standards and supervise the drive; Scandinavian doctors and nurses do the testing and inoculating.

A typical operation in the campaign starts in Copenhagen, Denmark. Early in the morning, a white-coated worker in the Danish State Serum Institute packs cases of BCG vaccine in dry ice and sends them off to Copenhagen Airport. On the runway stands a U.S. Air Force C-47, one of the flying work horses that performed so valiantly during the Berlin Air Lift, loaned to the United Nations by the U.S. Air Force in Europe. Speed is essential, for the vaccine must be absolutely fresh to provide effective immunization. In a few hours, the plane lands at Warsaw Airport, unloads one case, and takes off again for Prague, Vienna, Belgrade, and Athens.

At the Warsaw Airport, a jeep picks up the case of vaccine and speeds off to the town of Laskarzew, in

central Poland. There, a few days before, a BCG team has set up headquarters. (BCG is a vaccine of "tamed" living bacilli designed to prevent but not to cure tuberculosis through stimulating the body to build its own defenses). They have injected every child in town with tuberculin toxin. Those who have already been infected with tubercle bacilli, and who get a reaction from the toxin, do not need to be vaccinated. They are either immune or are already suffering from tuberculosis. But the others, more than half the total, need the shot of BCG to immunize them.

When the vaccine jeep arrives, the town declares a holiday. School is out for the day, and all the children are lined up in the village square. Doctors and nurses have their needles ready at a long table. The vaccine is unpacked, and the lines of children move quickly. By the end of the day, the task is done. The BCG team packs away its equipment, and that night there is a big party in the town hall. Next morning, the team moves on to another town.

In Poland, nearly 5,000,000 children already have been tested: 2,000,000 have been vaccinated. All over Europe—18,100,000 tests to date, 8,400,000 vaccinations, and the campaign continues. At least 80 per cent of those 8,400,000 youngsters will never suffer from tuberculosis.

In the World Health Organization's files at Geneva are the records of the strange case of a ship, a British cargo steamer, which came under the watchful eye of a unique WHO project, half broadcasting network and half detective agency, the Epidemiological Information Service. With headquarters at Geneva and its main sub-station at Singapore, the Information Service covers the entire globe as it ferrets out the five pestilential diseases covered by international quarantine regulations—typhus, plague, cholera, small-pox, and yellow fever, known as the "treaty diseases." WHO agents keep their watch over ships, ports, planes, and even the columns of Moslem pilgrims winding their way across the Arab states to Mecca.

Not long ago the British steamer arrived in Singapore from Rangoon with a cargo of rice in gunny sacks. Suddenly, a seaman in the crew developed a high fever; the glands in his groin swelled alarmingly. The Singapore Port Health Officer came aboard, and promptly ordered the ship's captain to make steam for the nearby quarantine anchorage. Bombs of deadly cyanide gas were used to fumigate the holds. At the hospital a microscopic smear test from the swollen glands of the sick man showed Pasteurella pestis—the plague germ, the Black Death.

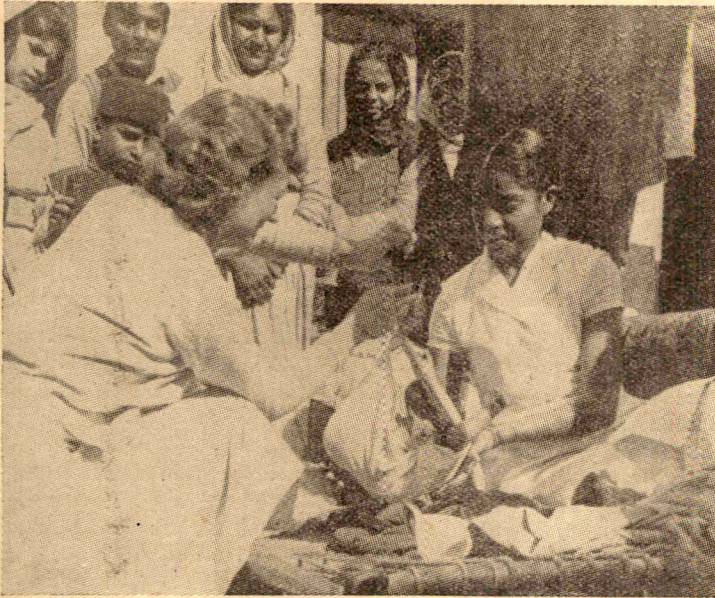
Over the Singapore short-wave radio transmitter flashed the World Health Organization's message in its epidemiological code, broadcasting to all ports and ships within receiving distance. The same message was cabled to Geneva headquarters and to WHO's regional offices in Washington, D.C., and Alexandria, Egypt: "British freighter arrived from Rangoon with plague among crew. Fumigation carried out as necessary. Definite information not



available." Later that night, 10 powerful short-wave transmitters in Geneva were broadcasting the news to port health administrations all over the world. Simultaneously,

now be erected at the source, and Rangoon and Singapore cleared for normal port traffic.

Americans have been very active in combating venereal disease. Hundreds of American communities have embarked on their own venereal disease control projects, and cities like San Francisco are pioneering in concerted drives by psychiatrists, public health authorities, and doctors against syphilis and gonorrhea. Dr. John Cutler, on loan from the U.S. Public Health Service and now a World Health Organization venereal disease team leader in India, is working with an American public health nurse and Dr. Johannes Kwittingen, a Norwegian serologist to teach Indian doctors the simplest methods of diagnosis, penicillin treatment, and preventive action. Dr. Cutler soon realized that in India there were not enough highly skilled technicians to go around in the mobile diagnostic laboratories he sent to tour the countryside of Simla. Instead of taking the time to train the technicians, he decided to look for a method of diagnosis that unskilled workers could use. So he wrote to WHO in Geneva: WHO cabled the U.S. Public Health Service's



In India, a World Health Organisation pediatrics nurse weighs a four-weeks-old baby with the help of a student from the Delhi College of Nursing

WHO's network of 15 local stations from Shanghai to Madagascar beamed the message to their own regions. Ships and planes were re-routed away from the danger spots. That was WHO's radio service in action, saving millions of dollars for shippers around the world, as well as uncounted lives, by prompt information on outbreaks of quarantinable diseases.

But the case of the freighter was not yet finished. In the World Health Organization's Singapore office the experts were trying to spot the source of the disease. Rangoon could not find any plague-carrying rats in the warehouse or on the dock. Then the Epidemiological Information Chief for WHO in Singapore suggested a government entomologist look in the ship's cargo. The entomologist found dead fleas in the rice sacks. Laboratory examination revealed they were rat fleas—the insects that live on rats, carry the plague germ, and by biting humans spread the disease. The rice had come down from a plague-infested area in the interior of Burma, with fleas enmeshed in the sacking. Quarantine barriers could



Children in a Shanghai tuberculosis clinic line up for tuberculin testing prior to D.C.G. inoculation for immunization to tuberculosis

Venereal Disease Research Laboratory in New York, and shortly thereafter a simplified method of slide analysis was forwarded to be used by semi-skilled Indian



technicians in the battle against endemic syphilis.

The World Health Organization's big venereal disease project this year will be a demonstration in international control located in Rotterdam, where for years the problem of infection spread by seamen has taxed the ingenuity of five nations. Rotterdam is not merely an international port; it is the center for tremendously heavy barge traffic along the Rhine River. A German barge sailor can pick up syphilis in Basel, Switzerland, and pass it on to the water fronts of Strasbourg, Antwerp, and Rotterdam, from where it can be carried across every ocean in the world.

The World Health Organization demonstration clinic in Rotterdam will attack every problem of venereal disease control at once. They will take that German sailor, for instance, and give him his first shot of procaine penicillin. Then they will issue him a treatment booklet, printed in Dutch, German, and French, with the date and type of his shot entered. Trained public health workers will interview him to find out who infected him, and whom he himself may have infected, and persuade them to report locally for treatment. When his barge heads up the Rhine, the sailor will carry his treatment booklet with him, and inside its front cover will be a list of other clinics in every Rhine River port where he can report for free treatment.

## II

In China, the disease fighters of the United Nations are represented by a singularly brave and able group of men and women.

The World Health Organization's problems in China have been extremely complicated. Its workers have dealt with a provincial minister of health one day, and the next day he had been deposed. The Communists themselves welcome WHO one day, obstruct it the next. Health services are disorganized and supplies are scarce.

One of the most competent World Health Organization workers in China is Dr. Leo Eloesser, of San Francisco, in the Pacific Coast State of California, one of America's most famous chest surgeons and a former professor at Stanford University Medical School. In China, he has plodded many miles on foot, his medical equipment heaped in a cart, while his mobile laboratory moves to escape bombings. After a lifetime in the elaborately equipped surgical wards of the best hospitals in the United States, Dr. Eloesser has shown Chinese blacksmiths how to forge surgical tools out of old rifle barrels. And instead of trying to teach surgery, he is teaching field sanitation and elementary preventive medicine. Not long ago Dr. Eloesser started a school of medical assistants at a hospital in a mountain village in eastern Shansi Province. The hospital was so isolated high in north China's loess hills that its ambulance service consisted only of four sturdy peasants, who carried the patients in litters up the mountain from the valley communities below. But there were 200 beds, and a class of willing students.

Dr. Eloesser told the students:

"Carrying out health measures is simple. You need not have studied medicine for six years in order

to be able to kill lice, to dig a latrine, to boil your drinking water, to inject a dose of typhoid vaccine, to recognize a hookworm egg; not to spit on the floor nor cough in your babies' faces, and also to teach others to do or not to do these things. These things are simple and very, very useful."

Another American medical worker in China is Ruth Ingram, a World Health Organization public health nurse who rides the old silk caravan routes by truck or camelback, far out in the Gobi Desert, moving from one provincial hospital to another, organizing nurses' training, putting order into the chaos of Chinese hospital administration. A case of small-pox broke out in one region which Miss Ingram visited and she taught the student nurses about vaccination campaigns. She suggested they themselves plan a campaign for the nearby villages.

The students first approached the village elders, showed them how the vaccination needles worked, and converted them to the idea. Then they canvassed every house, exhorting the villagers to come for inoculation. On vaccination day, the villagers appeared in droves. The students set up an assembly line. One group helped the people bare their left arms; another disinfected each arm with alcohol; a third placed drops of virus on the cleansed spots; a fourth scratched the arms with sterile needles. Finally, the rest of the students lectured on fly control, demonstrated how to use a fly swatter, and gave each vaccinated villager the privilege of peering through a microscope at a fly's hind leg. In a few days, the nursing students had given more than 2,500 inoculations in 10 villages. There was no epidemic and only two new cases of small-pox occurred.

From China to New York, the World Health Organization is primarily an operational organization. The stories from the field, of course, show only part of WHO's activities. They do not tell about the WHO fellowship program, which has paid expenses for more than 600 doctors from 32 nations to study latest developments in their specialties in the countries where the greatest advances have taken place. Nor do they tell of the never-ending succession of international conferences where experts gather to unify the world's pharmacopoeias, to set up international standards for serums and vaccines. Nor do they tell of the research and the expert consultants working in maternal and child health, nutrition, and sanitary engineering around the globe.

And yet, though its mission is above politics, the World Health Organization has not entirely escaped the vexing political problems of a split world that wrack the United Nations itself. When the World Health Organization runs into the Russian problem, the situation becomes difficult. The Soviets joined WHO enthusiastically at the very beginning, and it was the Russians, in 1948, who proposed admission of the United States to the organization. All that is changed now. In February 1949, in a cable to WHO Director-General Brock Chisholm, the Soviet Union announced it was withdrawing from membership. Byelorussia and the Ukraine followed suit, then Bulgaria. Dr. Chisholm, an able Canadian public health



expert and a noted psychiatrist, asked the Russians to reconsider and suggested he go to Moscow to talk things over. He has never had a reply.

Even before their withdrawal, the Russians had been attacking the World Health Organization for some time, complaining it was not giving enough attention to the eastern European countries, that its "swollen administrative machinery" was costing the member nations too much money, and that the administration of WHO was overloaded with representatives of the western nations.

The facts are these: The eastern European nations have received more from the World Health Organization in the form of fellowships, demonstration teams, and consultants, than any other group of countries in the world. Of WHO's budget for 1950, less than one-sixth goes for administration; all the rest is operational. Of the 500 men and women on WHO's staff, only 150 are administrative, the rest are operational. Time and again WHO has asked for Soviet scientists to serve on demonstration teams, or to work on planning projects at headquarters; the Russians have ignored the requests. Dr. Chisholm has kept a post open for a Russian as deputy-general for two years; it has never been filled.

Despite these irritations, the World Health Organization is pushing ahead with new projects in the interests of human welfare on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Under WHO auspices an international training center in anesthesiology will soon be established in Prague, where doctors come from all over Europe to learn the newest techniques. The World Health Organization is sponsoring an international training center in virus research in Budapest, and similar training centers in biochemistry and venereal disease in Warsaw. Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Yugoslavia are getting WHO experts to help them rebuild the penicillin plants that were given them by UNRRA and that are now run-down.

Another important WHO project to spread medical knowledge across national borders is the creation of an international medical library at Charles University in Prague. The World Health Organization is spending a substantial sum to add subscriptions to 200 scientific periodicals, and to provide microfilming equipment. Because the library is in Czechoslovakia, it is expected that the Russians will send their medical publications, which are almost impossible to obtain in the West. Then, under WHO auspices, the library can microfilm the journals and

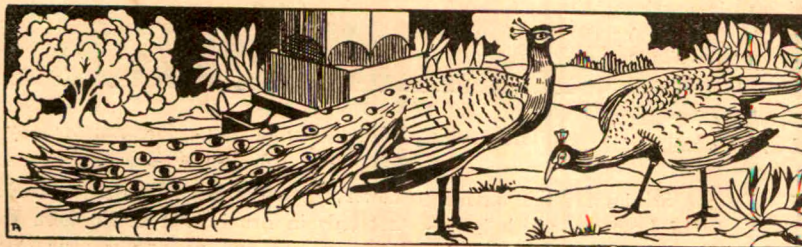
ship copies to anyone interested, anywhere in the world. The result: an all-embracing exchange center for medical information—the first of its kind in history.

There is enthusiastic ferment today in the League of Nations building in Geneva, where the World Health Organization has its headquarters. The organization has succeeded in its limited campaigns already; now it is looking forward to vast new projects that will revolutionize the world economically and socially. Basing its plans on President Truman's Point Four program of technical co-operation with underdeveloped areas, WHO hopes to have extra money to spend this year beyond its regular budget.

Part of this money will be used to finance work in three new "Health Demonstration Areas," located probably in Asia, the Middle East, and South and Central America. In these areas the current idea of individual demonstration teams for specific diseases will be changed. Instead, large-scale teams will launch simultaneous attacks on the problems of disease eradication, nutrition, public health administration, sanitary engineering, health education, nursing, veterinary science, entomology, and mental health. Doctors and scientists from surrounding countries will pour into the areas to work with the WHO teams, learning for themselves how to set up a combined medical operation that will assure an abundant life and contribute to the health and economic progress of the world.

Finally, the World Health Organization has a long-range plan for joint action with the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization in a demonstration that will cover 10,000,000 acres and cost \$10,000,000 over a five-year period. The doctors, plague fighters, and sanitary engineers will work with food-production experts for at least five years to prove that the pessimists are wrong when they say the world cannot possibly grow enough food to feed its expanding population. The experts of the two United Nations agencies will simultaneously wipe out preventable disease and implant the latest methods of scientific farming. They hope to break the age-old vicious circle that has kept millions of human beings in bondage—the circle that runs from disease to untilled land to malnutrition to disease, and from there to hopelessness and exploitation.

—From *Collier's*.





## THE SCILLY ISLES

By W. H. OWENS

Among the most enchanting little islands round the shores of Britain are the Scillies, lying in the Atlantic some thirty miles (48 kilometres) off the Cornish main-

legends. During the Middle Ages some Benedictine monks settled on Tresco, the second largest island, and built an important abbey there. But after the Dissolution of Monasteries in the 16th century, the whole archipelago became Crown property and was leased by the English monarchs to various families.

Nowadays the Scillies are famous for their flower-growing industry. In peacetime most of the 1,800 islanders are hard at work in fields that slope down to the sea's edge gathering as many as a million and a half blooms every day.

While the daffodil harvest lasts, the islands' steamer sails several times a week from St. Mary's harbour, laden from deck to hold with tons of freshly-picked blooms. At Penzance, on the mainland, the flower-boxes are transferred to waiting express trains—"The Flower Specials"—which convey them rapidly to the markets in distant towns and cities. The success of the islands' industry is due largely to the fact that the Scilly climate enables growers to produce early



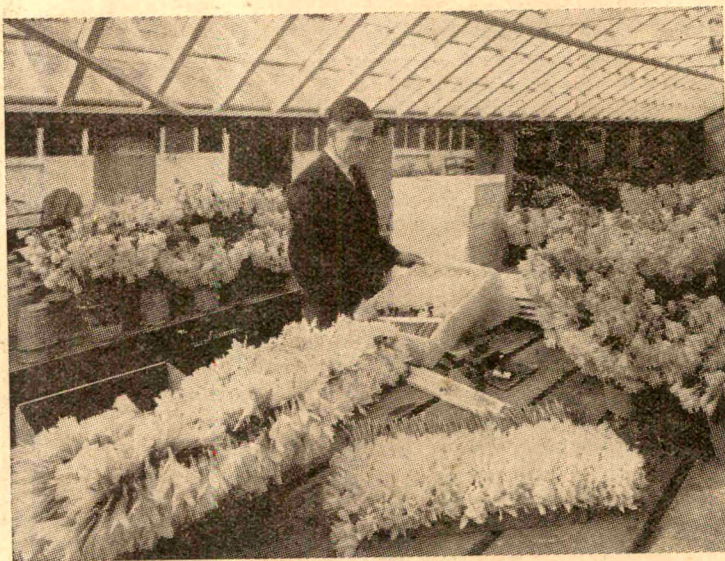
Islanders picking daffodils on a thickly-covered slope. Port Hellick can be seen in the background

land. Here is a semi-tropical paradise, where flowers bloom the whole year round, and various kinds of exotic trees and plants thrive by the open sea beaches.

Influenced by the Atlantic Gulf Stream, these islands enjoy much more sunshine than the rest of Britain. They are most colourful during the winter and early spring, when every available patch of ground is massed with yellow daffodils and the "scilly white" narcissi, making lively contrast against the deep blue of sea and sky.

Altogether there are nearly two hundred separate islands in the Scilly group, but most of them are merely gorse-clad rocks rising in curious shapes from the sea and haunted by seals and wild birds. Only five of the islands are inhabited today; the largest of them, St. Mary's is less than three miles long and about a mile and a half wide.

Tradition has it that the Scillies are the surviving fragments of the sunken land of Lyonesse, which in ancient times stretched far beyond the present boundaries of Cornwall and became the subject of innumerable



The packing of daffodils in boxes for transport by boat from the Scilly Isles to Penzance

flowers for the towns well in advance of any other district, not only in Britain, but in Northern Europe generally.

Bunching and packing is done chiefly by the wives and daughters of the growers in long sheds adjoining the



fields. These women can bunch some thousands of flowers in an hour, yet their handling is so gentle that rarely is a single bloom damaged. A fine sense of colour is required too, because even flowers of the same species are not always of the same shade. Any bloom

western side, might be termed the metropolis of the Scillies. For here are shops, hotels, banks, and growers' offices, all centred round the quaint little harbour. Over-

looking this is the old Star Castle, built in the year 1593 to prevent the islands being used as a base by Spain, then at war with England. This mansion fortress was also the last Royalist stronghold to surrender during the English Civil War.

Among the remarkable sights in the Scilly Isles are the Abbey Gardens on Tresco, separated from St. Mary's by about two miles of water. Set upon rocky terraces that rise steeply from the seashore, these gardens contain what is undoubtedly the finest collection of sub-tropical trees and plants in the United Kingdom, all of them growing in the open air.

Specimens have been gathered here from many parts of the world. They include such varieties as the Mexican Yucca, the Indian Fan Palm, the Burmese Honeysuckle and the Chilean Peuya. There are also Himalayan ginger trees, bananas and citrons, together with a splendid group of Lebanon Cedars, all planted by a former lord of the manor of Tresco.



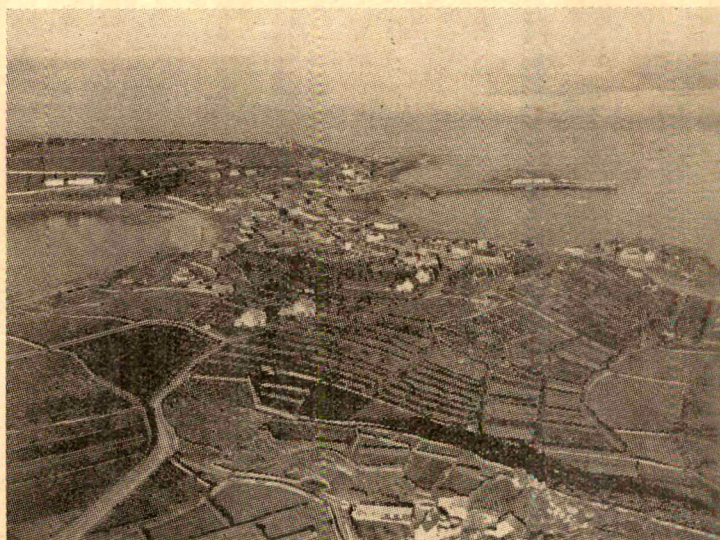
Flower-boxes being unloaded from a boat at the quayside at Penzance, for transport to waiting express trains

which does not match its fellows exactly is cast aside, as are the ones showing signs of early fading.

Flowers, and flowers alone, have made the inhabitants of the Scillies one of the most prosperous and contented little communities in the world. Yet the industry is not much more than seventy years old, and it had quite romantic beginnings.

Nobody thought of cultivating flowers on a commercial scale until about 1870, when Augustus Smith, Lord of Tresco Island, sent a few blooms from his own grounds to the London market. They were packed in an old hat-box. Buyers were astonished to see spring flowers in mid-winter, and this first small consignment gained such a good price that an immediate demand was made for more. From that day neglected fields were ploughed up, the cultivation of flowers became a serious business and the industry has never looked back.

St. Mary's, apart from its extensive flower farms, has a wonderfully varied coastline with bays and coves of white crystal sand between picturesque headlands that jut far out into the Atlantic. Hugh Town, on the



An air view of St. Mary's, the largest island in the Scilly Isles

Beyond Tresco lies St. Martin's Island, whose tiny population of 140 souls, is divided into three "towns"—Higher Town, Lower Town and Middle Town. The remaining inhabited islands are St. Agnes and Bryher, the last named containing the loveliest rock and cliff scenery of them all. The natural colourings of the rocks and



sands, and the shallow blue waters in the long, curving bays and deep inlets, produce some memorable pictures in clear, sunny weather.

Wherever you wander in the Scilly Isles you find flowers; they grow everywhere, not only in the trimly-hedged fields, but even along the rocky seashores near

the edge of the Atlantic breakers. In the outer islands many of the rocky headlands are covered with the pale pink sea-thrift and delicate blue sea-thistle. The enchanting Scillies have been truly called Britain's "Isles of Flowers."

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## ANCIENT INDIA AND THE NEAR EAST

By DR. TAMONASH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA, M.A., Ph.D.

*Calcutta University*

MILLENNIUMS ago, in the almost forgotten period of history, certain races, tribes and peoples migrated to, inhabited, conquered or otherwise established them-

selves in the Near East and thereby implanted their peculiar culture in this part of Asia. They were, to name a few, the Egyptians, the Cretans, the Aegeans, the Greeks, the Babylonians, the Assyrians, the Chaldaeans, the Phrygians, the Hittites, the Mitannis, the Sumerians, the Medes, the Persians and the Indo-Aryans—among many others. All these peoples belonged either to the Semetic or to the Aryan branch of the big family of the human race, commonly known as the Caucasians. The nomenclature in regard to these divisions is now used more properly in linguistic than in ethnic sense which admit of only three types in classifications, and the Near Eastern peoples belonged, at least, to two of them. These three types or divisions are named the Mediterranean, the Nordic and the Alpine, and the peoples of the Near East mostly belonged to the former two, with a certain admixture in blood which was but natural under obvious circumstances of social and political influences.

Geographically, the boundaries of the Near East including the Middle East (South-West Asia) extend up to the river Indus of India to its east and Egypt and the Mediterranean Sea to its west. The Caspian Sea, Caucasus, the Elburz and the Hindukush mountains form its northern boundary while the Arabian Sea, the Red Sea and with them the great Indian Ocean remain as its boundary to the south. In spite of this boundary, Egypt, roughly speaking, though an African land, joined hands with the Near East so closely that for all practical purposes the limits of the Near East are not complete without Egypt.

Ancient India had its eastern boundary first up to the river Indus and then up to the rivers Ganges and the Jamuna while the western boundary of the sub-continent of south-western Asia of which India once formed a part was bounded culturally by the river Nile, thus taking within it a fair slice of Africa. India of those far-off days being a part and parcel of this vast region, the river Indus and the river Nile were the two rivers in the two extremes of east and west of this land. The most important rivers in the interior of this region were the Tigris and the Euphrates.

The period of time to which the early history of the races mentioned herein refers belonged to the Stone

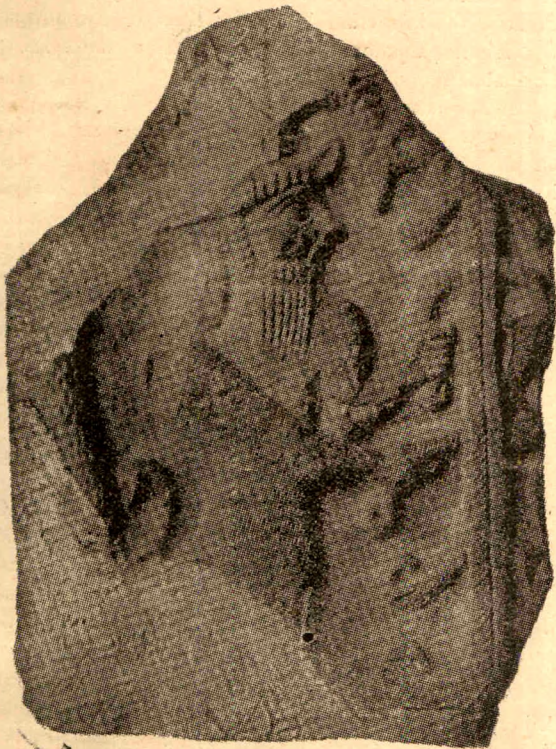


Bas-relief of Cyrus the Great



the Bronze and the Copper Ages, reaching up to the beginning of the Iron Age. Thus, the interesting episodes concerning them and dealt with here all belong to a period long before the birth of Christ. The case of the ancient Egyptians stands first in the list of nations and peoples so far as time-element is concerned, as we find the dawn of civilization first perceptible in Egypt, and then the cases of the Sumerians, the Babylonians, the Hittites, the Mitannians and others may be mentioned.

'Mongols' while some consider them as Aryans (Kretselvmer). But Hall expressed his doubt as regards both these theories and considered the Hittites as forefathers of the present Armenians and closely connected with the Phrygians (of Thrace), the Greeks and the Slavs, at least in language. The Hittites were also Anatolians (Caucasians) and mixed up with the Mitannians (an Aryan race) by marriage ties and adoption of Mitannian names.



Bas-relief representing a deity (Susa)

Racially speaking, the nations that took prominent parts in the drama and built up powerful kingdoms or empires in the Near East were resolvable into two important branches of the Caucasians, viz., the Semitic and the Aryan (Indo-Aryan, Indo-Iranian and the Indo-European). In fact, the early history of the Near East is the history of the conflict between the earlier Semitics and the later Aryans. Of the former the strongest champion was Egypt and of the latter the strongest power was Persia.

Though the Semitic (or Hamitic?) Egyptians were foremost to establish their suzerainty in the Near East, the Aryan Sumerians of Babylonia who ruled there after the Semitics, were the next to be noted along with the Aryan (?) Hittites of Anatolia.

"Who were these Hittites" is even now a problem. Some scholars think that they were at least in part



Bas-relief representing war-captains (Susa)

"From the Anatolian plateau they might look down upon the distant monarchies of Egypt and Babylonia, slumbering in peaceful prosperity provided by the Nile or the Euphrates. With these two peoples, though an occasional bid for empire led at different times to conflict, ended at last by the establishment of diplomatic relations, the Hittites maintained effectively a triangular balance of power in Western Asia for more than a thousand years."—J. Garstang: *The Hittites, Vestiges of a Vanished Empire*.

This scholar also opined that

"From before the first dynasty of Babylon till the fall of Troy (from 2600 B.C. at least until 1200 B.C.) the Hittites remained the bulwark of Europe in Asia."

The Anatolian Hittites lived beyond the Taurus range and never the powerful armies of Egypt and Babylon could penetrate this area known as the Kheta-



land. In fact, the Hittites stemmed in the tide of Semitic invasion of culture and conquest and maintained on the whole their less-developed culture with vengeance.

"The Semitic population stopped at the foothills, just as it does now, the boundary between Arabic and Turkish speech today is the ancient boundary between Semite and Hittite."—Hall: *Ancient History of the Near East*.



A stele showing the victory of the Sumero-Akkadian prince Naram-Sin (C. 2800 B.C.) against his foes (Elamites?)

At one time the Hittite Empire extended from the Aegean Sea right up to the Persian Gulf, so powerful they had become, thus keeping in check even the powerful Egyptian kings, and making the Amorite kings of Syria their vassals. Occasionally, however, there also existed friendship between Egypt and Khatti through peace-treaties and marriages. Thus Rameses II (C. 1266 B.C.) of Egypt married the Hittite princess

Pudukhipa (Egypt-Ueret-maait-Neferu-Ra) who was the daughter of the Hittite king, Khattusil.

Ramesis II and Khattusil, after prolonged warfare, came to a certain understanding and cemented their friendship by a royal marriage. Babylonia had the sympathy of both at the time due to the incursions of Babylonia's rough neighbour, Assyria. Assyria, though afraid of the Khatti kingdom, was often bold enough to create havoc in Babylonia due to its decadence, and after the death of Khattusil even attacked the Khatti kingdom which Assyria eventually conquered. Perhaps the Assyrian king Shalmaneser I conquered the Hittite kingdom of Khatti during the reign of Dudhalia, son of Khattusil.

Ashur-nasir-pal's inscriptions (884-859 B.C.), as preserved in the British Museum, throws much light on the strong military power of Assyria and the ruthless conduct of its ruler Ashur-nasir-pal II (884-859 B.C.).

"His usual procedure after the capture of a hostile city was to burn it and then to mutilate all the grown men-prisoners by cutting off their hands and ears and putting out their eyes; after which they were piled up, in a great heap to perish in torture from sun, flies, their wound, and suffocation; the children, both boys and girls, were all burnt alive at the stake, and the chief was carried off to Assyria to be flayed alive for the king's delectation."—Hall: *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 445.

With the death of Ashurbanipal in 626 B.C., Assyria's star of fortune set, and the Scythian invasion dealt it the first blow. Babylonians revolted and finally the Medes crushed the Assyrians for ever. With the defeat of the Assyrians, their capital city Nineveh was totally destroyed.

The Scythians included among themselves various tribes, such as the Mannai and the Kimmerians. According to a Greek legend, Ashurbanipal (named Sardanapallos by the Greeks) perished in flames.

The first attack of the Medes on Assyria was made by Phraortes in about 634 B.C. which was repulsed. The next attack was made by Kyaxares the Median in about 630 B.C., and Nineveh, her later capital, (the earlier capital of Assyria being Ashur or Assur, modern Kala 'at Sherkat') was besieged. This capital city was temporarily saved by Madyes the Scythian leader, according to Herodotus. But these very Scythians under Madyes, barbarians as they were, swarmed in large numbers later on, all over Asia Minor, Babylonia, Assyria and Syria and ultimately brought about the ruin of Assyria. According to Strabo, Madyes himself was a Kimmerian (a tribe of the Scythians). Herodotus tells us, Madyes was defeated and killed by Kyaxares the Medes. The Median king Uvakshatra (Kyaxares) and the Babylonian king Nabopolassar (Nabu-pal-Usur) combined to take Nineveh after a severe siege in 612 B.C. The whole city was then





destroyed and its king killed with all his family members and retinue.

Previous to the downfall of Assyria, Babylonia, shorn of its former glory and original territory, had been put under the vassalage of the Assyrian monarchy. It was now the proper time for Babylonia to regain some of her former power and prestige. The contending powers that came to the forefront for the mastery over the Near East were Babylonia and Egypt, and the bend of the Euphrates river remained the boundary line between the two. Babylonia under King Nabopalassar (a native of Babylonia) occupied Southern Syria and the Northern Mesopotamia (now Iraq), while the Egyptian Pharaoh Necho (609-593 B.C.) occupied northern Syria by defeating the army of Josiah in the famous battle-field of Megiddo. A small portion of Assyria, which was at this time being ruled by a weak Assyrian king, was the apple of contention for both Babylonia and Egypt. Seven years after the fall of Nineveh, the battle of Carchemish decided the issue in favour of Babylonia, and the remnant of Assyria was incorporated within the former.

Nebuchadrezzar, the son and successor of Nabopalassar, gradually extended the Babylonian frontier up to the boundaries of Egypt by conquering Syria and Phoenicia. Nebuchadrezzar was not only a conqueror

but also a great, perhaps the greatest builder of temples and walls, for which all the kings of this family attained celebrity (See the German excavations of Koldewey). The temples of E. Sagila and E. Zida at Borsippa (Birs) were rebuilt by Nebuchadrezzar, while the sun-temple at E. Babbar, at Sippar, was rebuilt by his son Nabonidus. Spiegel, Gadd, Maspero, Petrie, Cowly, Breasted, De Morgan, Meyer, Sykes, Hall, Daiches, Sayce, Garstang, Prasek, Seiss and Evans are some of the experts and authorities in modern times, who have either written on the subject or carried on excavations in the Near East.

Something must be said here about the Chaldeans.

"The Chaldaean tribes from the Southern shore of the Persian Gulf had also overrun Babylonia and had given her a short-lived dynasty."—Hall, p. 454.

This dynasty though short-lived produced such an able monarch as Nebuchadrezzar. This dynasty always ruled from Babylonia (the name of the country and the capital being the same), and Nabopalassar was even considered by some scholars as originally a native of Babylonia. The Chaldeans always coveted Babylonia and made sporadic attacks on the kingdom at different times and at one time founded a dynasty there, as mentioned above. Among important and



illustrious rulers of Assyria a few may here be named. They were Ashur-nasir-pal II (884-859 B.C.), Tiglath-Pileser I (reigning in 1107 B.C. circ.) and Shalmaneser I (1260 B.C. circ.), Sargon (died in 705 B.C.) and Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.). So may be mentioned the names of the earliest Sumerian rulers of Babylonia

from the evidence of the modern excavations of Al-Ubaid (near Ur), such as, Anni-padda, Utug, Ur-Nina and others. Then, among Semitic rulers of Babylon were Khammurabi (about 2123-2080 B.C.) and Samsu-Iluna (Khammurabi's son) and among Chaldaean rulers of Babylon were Nabopolassar and his son Nebuchadrezzar I among many other illustrious rulers.

Now, let us turn our attention to the Medes again. To the north of Babylonia, the Tigris formed the boundary between the territories of the Medes and the Babylonians. The two kings of Cilicia and Lydia as also the king of Urartu were then ruling independently. Prolonged warfare (591-588 B.C.) between the Medes and the Lydians, at last settled Halys mountain as the boundary between Lydia and Media. The kingdom of Urartu was finally absorbed by the Medians within their dominion at this period and Kyaxares was succeeded by his son Astyages (Ishtuwigu). The latter ruled up to 650 B.C., when his kingdom was overrun and conquered by Cyrus, the Persian.

The Medes and the Persians to which nation Cyrus belonged were cognate peoples. The Persians, as they rose, occupied the Elamite country as the latter moved westward. The older capital of Elam was Pasargadae (Agbatana) and the later capital was Susa which place Cyrus chose as his capital. The older kingdom of the Persians was known as Anshan. Cyrus belonged to the family of Hakhamanish or Achaimenes, the founder of the family, who reigned in the last part



A Persian golden bowl of the Achaemenid period



Scene of a battle between the Elamites and the Assyrians



of the 7th century A.D. The family of Cyrus was, according to Hall, perhaps Aryan by race, allied to the Mitannians and the Kassites, of a thousand years ago. The names of the family-members are known in usual distorted Greek form as Cyrus, which should really be "Kurush", an Indo-Aryan name (cf. "Kuru" of the Mahabharata legend). Thus Cambyses was really "Kambujiya," Ariaramnes was "Ariyarama," Darius was "Darayavaush" and Arsames was "Arshama."

naval battles, ultimately, were decided in favour of Greece, and Persia lost her hold on Greece. The two land-battles of Marathon and Thermopylae and the four naval battles of Artemisium, Salamis, Mycalae and Eurymedon became very famous in history. After Persian wars the Peloponnesian war between Athens and Sparta followed on account of which Persia recouped her power over Greece considerably. Xerxes on his death was succeeded by his son Darius II who was

Cyrus or Cyrus II was a great monarch. After defeating king Astyages of Media, he defeated king Croesus of Lydia to whose aid the Ionian Greeks, the Babylonians and the Egyptians came to fight against the Persian king Cyrus. But it was of no avail. Cyrus then put under submission the Greeks, the Babylonians, the Parthians and a Scythian tribe of Central Asia. After the death of Cyrus, his son Cambyses subjugated Egypt and posed as the Pharaoh. He died in 522 B.C. and having no issue was succeeded by his relation Darius I. On ascending the throne Darius had to face rebellions on all sides, which he quelled one after another with a strong hand. Thus, he put down the revolts of Babylon, of the Caspian steppes and of Egypt as Behistun (Bisitun) tablet discovered by Sir Henry Rawlinson in 1837 shows. He then subjugated Asia Minor and took Samos Island to check the refractory spirit of his Greek subjects and even attacked and punished the Scythians of the Russian steppes, himself leading an expedition there. He also put under subjection Thrace and Macedon. These countries were inimical to the Persian power. After this his Ionian Greek subjects revolted and burnt his fair city of Sardis which caused a prolonged warfare (between Persia and Greece) against the mainland of Greece itself. Simultaneously, Egypt revolted and his first attention was drawn to that country. In the midst of these troubles he died in 485 A.D. Darius I was the most renowned, tactful and ablest monarch of his line. The eastern frontier of his empire included the Punjab in India which he conquered in about 510 B.C. Darius was succeeded by his son Xerxes who was an antithesis to his great father. He was weak-minded and despotic. He tried to carry out the programme of his father and attacked Greece as the piratical nature and repeated revolts of the Greeks were troubling the peace of his empire. This war which is known as the Persian War was harmful to the interest of Persia and Persian prestige. Though the Persians were successful in the first stage of this war and sacked many places including Athens, the



Palace of Xerxes

succeeded by his son Artaxerxes. During the reign of Darius III, the successor of Artaxerxes, Alexander the Great of Macedon invaded the Persian empire and conquered it, the last battle with Darius being fought at Arbela or Gangamela in 331 B.C. Alexander followed his successes up to India to the east, defeated a king of the Punjab (Porus) at the battle of Hydaspes (Jhelum) and finally advanced up to the river Sutlej beyond which his tired troops refused to advance further. So, he had to return sending part of the troops by sea after defeating the Mali tribe and himself reached Susa by land in 325 B.C. He died in Babylon in 323 B.C. It may be observed, the invasion of Alexander gave very little culturally to India while Greece learnt much from this country. As Alexander had no issue, his vast empire was partitioned among his able Generals, and in this manner Selucos received as his share the thrones of Syria and Bactria. He came into collision with the celebrated Maurya Emperor of Magadha, Chandra Gupta. He was utterly defeated and had to make a treaty with the Maurya Emperor. In a later phase, many Indo-Bactrian or Greek rulers occupied various thrones of South-west Asia and culturally some of these came under the Hindu-Buddhist culture of India. One of them was Minander who ruled a part of the Punjab. He became a staunch Buddhist and his religious queries are incorporated in the Buddhist Pali





The Roman emperor Valerian offering his submission to the Persian king Shapur (3rd century A.D.)  
(From a bas-relief at Naksh-i-Rustam)

work known as *Milinda-Panha* (Questions of Minander).

On the background of the above political and cultural contacts of Ancient India with the countries of the South-West Asia one may see that India was practically a part of this region. In ancient time this contact had four phases, viz., (1) Racial, (2) Political, (3) Religious and (4) Commercial.

Racial and political phases have already been dealt with. Now let us deal with the remaining two phases, religious and commercial.

As regards religion, many of the Vedic-Aryan and the Mitannian deities were the same or similar which leads many scholars to consider the former as originally living in Mitanni-land and thus migrating to India. Of course, there is an opposite theory to this showing that the Vedic-Aryans or Indo-Aryans migrated to Mitanni-land from India and there spread their own religion. Thus, the gods Indra, (the god of Lightning), Mitra (the Sun-god), the Nasatyas (the twin physician-gods—Aswins), and Varuna (the god—first of firmament and then of the sea) were once worshipped by both the Mitannis and the Vedic-Aryans. Besides, the mother-goddess 'Ma' was widely worshipped throughout South-West Asia and bore close resemblance to the Greek and Roman goddess Cybele, Rhea (Demeter) and Artemis of Ephesus, "Dyndymene Mother" or "Zinzimene

Mother" or only as the "Mother", and "Ishtar" of Mesopotamia. In the Greek and the Roman coins the goddess "Ma" was represented as standing up on a lion being attended by a male deity Attis. The same goddess is to be seen represented in the Rock-temples of Yasil-Kaya (the Near East)\* and Crete, the goddess of the latter place being discovered by Evans and both reminding the old Indo-Aryan goddess Durga with her consort Siva and the Egyptian deities Isis and Osiris. Many of these deities were also worshipped by the Indo-Iranians. The coins of the Graeco-Scythian kings of Bactria and Kushan kings (Kanishka and Huvishka) of India (first century B.C.) contain the sun-god and the moon-god.

It was Zarathustra (probably 5th or 6th century B.C.) who made some radical changes in the old religion of Iran. But this reformer, nevertheless, retained many of the old deities common to both Indo-Aryan and Indo-Iranian Pantheons, e.g., "Mao" (moon-god), "Vato" (wind-god), Veretragna (Vritragna or Indra, etc., but used the Sanskrit terms *Devas* (Iranian "Daevas") and *Asuras* (Iranian "Ashuras") for gods and demons in quite the opposite sense. The chief god, according to this reformer, is Ahura-Mazda. The reformer is said to be born in a certain stage, from Haoma juice. This Haoma is

\* See Winckler, *M.D.O.G.*, December 1907, regarding excavations of Boghaz Koyi, Uyuk and Yasil-Kaya.



nothing but Soma plant of the Vedic literature. The religious philosophy behind the conceptions of birth and death, heaven and hell, merit and impiety—is practically the same with all the ancient peoples of India and the South-West Asia. Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit) names like Dushrata (Dasharatha) and Munidan prevailed in many parts of the Near East as the names of the Mitanni kings will show.

Ancient India had very close commercial contact with South-West Asia.

In Manu's code (Chap. VIII, 156, 157) there is a clear reference of the oversea activities of the early Indo-Aryans. They would visit many countries on the sea-board of the Mediterranean Sea and all around the Indian Ocean. They would even visit distant isles and countries of the Pacific. Constant oversea trade flowed between India, Babylon, Palestine, Phoenicia, Persia, Arabia, Egypt, China, Indo-China, Indonesia and the eastern sea-board of Africa, not to speak of the inland trade connection of Ancient India, *via* land-routes, with Tibet, Mongolia, Central Asia and many other countries. The Indian ports of Barygaza (Barāoch) on the western sea-board and Tamralipta (Tamluk) on the eastern sea-board (in Bengal) were once world-famous, besides some other Indian ports. The muslin, cotton-cloth and silk-cloth of Bengal had once world-celebrity and were in high demand, specially in Europe. Among ancient Indian exports, besides the above, may be mentioned thread, dyes, indigo, spices, diamonds and pearls. Many Indian words like *kof* (Kapi—Sanskrit) and *thukki*

(Tokei—Tamil), used by the Hebrews (and possibly by others) were of Indian origin.†

In general culture the ancient world owed much to India. It may well be presumed that the ancient Greek philosophy had drawn many ideas from the old Hindu philosophy, and the same may be said regarding some philosophical thoughts of Iran. It is well-known, as recorded by Elphinstone in his *History of India*, that Alexander the Great met an Indian philosopher named Qalanus in Persia. The Cynic philosophy of Greece and the Sufi philosophy of Persia are cases in point. The story of the meeting of the Greek philosopher Diogenes the Cynic with Alexander the Great is too well-known. Sanskrit astronomical ideas and technical terms have many things in common with those of the Chaldaean and Greek astronomical systems. Of course, it has not been settled definitely as to who was the originator and who were the borrowers. Many mathematical works of ancient times passed from India to many countries of the Near East, including Egypt, by way of translations. Similar was the case of the ancient Indian Sanskrit stories *e.g.*, of *Pancha-Tantra* and *Hitopadesa*. The word 'yavana' (from the Ionian Greeks) meaning the Greeks and the word 'yavanika' meaning a veil or a drop-scene, show Ancient India's intimate knowledge of the Greeks, and along with them of many other foreigners. We refrain from multiplying instances further.

† See *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*; Vincent : *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*; and Elphinstone : *History of India*, among others.

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## THE NEED OF A "PROSPERITY INDEX" FOR INDIA

By AMULYAPRASAD CHANDA

A Press report from Delhi, dated the 27th November, 1950, states that the Finance Minister of India indicated in Parliament, "Certain measure of uniformity (in Sales Tax structure) is already being achieved through coming into force of Article 286 of the Constitution." This is very good news for all students of Indian Economics. For, it will now be possible to study scientifically the effects of the economic policies of the Union and States Governments on the people from year to year on the basis of the ratio between the total sales tax earned on certain representative commodities and the total population of the Union or a State, as the case may be.

It would perhaps be good for the purpose if the population of the territory concerned were divided into three groups, the *low income group* (*l*), the *middle income group* (*m*), and the *high income group* (*h*).

So far as the first group is concerned, cotton-cloth seems to be the ideal commodity. Any fluctuations in the income of this group will be reflected in the consumption of cotton-cloth more readily than on food. Therefore,  $S(l)/P=q(l)$ , where  $P$  = total population of the Union, or the State concerned at the end of the selected year,  $S$  = total sales tax for the year on cotton-cloth,  $q$  = quantum, would serve for a formula. In the same way, silk fabrics, razors and razor blades, and cosmetics and scented hair oil may be taken to be representative of the second group in the population from the point of view of elasticity of demand. The formula may be put thus :  $S(m)/P=q(m)$ . In the last case,  $S(h)/P=q(h)$  would do; here the commodities selected are automobiles and jewellery (other than gold).

Obviously, to determine the fluctuations in the

economic condition of the several groups, from year to year, a standard year, say, 1951, will have to be fixed, and, sales-tax fluctuations would have to be compared in terms of the ratio between the quanta for 1951 with those of the year concerned. Naturally, the population figures will have to be brought up-to-date from records of births and deaths all over the

country. The required ratio may be expressed thus :  $q(l)1952/q(l)1951$ ,  $q(m)1952/q(m)1951$ , or  $q(h)1952/q(h)1951$ . It will unmistakably indicate to what extent the several groups among the people had benefited by the policies of the Governments concerned during the period under review.

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## ART IN INDIA A Retrospect and Prospect

By P. RAJESWARA RAO, Advocate

At the outset it is necessary to note that Art in India passed through three phases. In the Vedic age it was confined to the celestial region and divine beings. Then the subject of art consisted of Brahma, Narasimham and Nataraja. The radiance of Rama and lustre of Krishna, the beauty of Lakshmi and of Saraswati formed the subject of art. It was then that the Gandharvas and Kinnaras feasted our ears with divine music. To the uninitiated of the West, Indian art has little or no meaning. It is impossible to understand Indian art without understanding the whole culture and historical tradition of which it is the direct expression. It is useless to treat art as an isolated phenomenon apart from life of the people who have made it.

In the Buddhistic period Art came down from heaven to the earth but it was not enslaved to man. Curiously there is no statue or picture of Asoka who strove his utmost to propagate Buddhism. It was then the kings that adored art, but art never sought royal patronage.

In the third stage, which began with the Moghul period, art began to cater to human pleasure.

In India, art is the statement of racial experience and serves the purpose of life or at any rate did so in the past. Thus art and life are root and branch. It has always been produced in response to a demand. It developed as a specific need and dispelled the illusion that it is the privilege of the few or that art is only the productions we see in the museums and art galleries. It was because the system of caste originally combined in itself duty and pleasure, compulsion and freedom, that arts and crafts flourished. Under this great scheme of life, ability and skill were acquired through patient practice directed towards a definite end, whether this end were aesthetical, ethical or useful. The craftsmen had also an assured status in the form of a life contract, more strictly it was an hereditary office. He was trained from childhood as his father's disciple and followed

his father's calling as a matter of course. He was a member of the guild and such guilds were recognised and protected by law. His domain was never invaded by amateurs. The craftsman was inspired with "reverence for quality, with a fear of offending God by striking a hammer-stroke or a sweep of the plane and with a blessed dread lest Viswakarma, the Lord of the Arts, should be offended by infidelity to his methods."

According to Bhagavad Gita, it is by intense devotion to his own vocation that every man attains his own perfection. The possession of an art is a vocation and a responsibility under the caste system, wherein nature and nurture co-operated. Referring to the caste system, Dr. Coomaraswami maintained that

"It is the nearest approach that has yet been made towards a society where there shall be no attempt to realise a competitive equality but where all interests are regarded as identical."

To those who admit the variety of age in human souls, this must appear to be the only true communism. It was a scientific system of social service according to the inborn qualities of the individual, *birth being a convenient but not an essential concomitant*. It was the antithesis of plutocracy and one was respected not for what he had but for what he was. One cannot suddenly alter his subconscious heritage. We cannot put our souls in uniform. Freedom consists in making the best of what we have—our parentage, physical capacity and mental gifts. Evidently,

"The institution of caste illustrates the spirit of comprehensive synthesis characteristic of the Hindu mind with its faith in the collaboration of races and the co-operation of cultures,"

as Dr. S. Radhakrishnan epigrammatically put it. Though it developed later into an instrument of oppression and intolerance and tended to perpetuate inequality, originally it was the outcome of tolerance and trust. In Indian crafts individuality did not degenerate into eccentricity but was schooled by social utility. It never fell into artificiality.

While every art embodies the eternal, it is also characteristic of the soil in which it is born and derives sustenance. We find each race evolving its own art according to its own possibilities. Each phase of civilization has produced its own form of art and it is largely from the monuments of bygone generations that we are able to construct the history of man. Indian art derives its basic character from certain ideals associated with the philosophic outlook and religion of the people. India sought to depict the reality of spirit in the various forms of art, through sound, colour, form and particularly symbolism. The symbolism of Indian culture is an attempt at translating spirit into matter, at giving material expression to a firm vision of the spirit. In short, Indian art is the art of impression and interpretation rather than of representation and semblance. Sri Aurobindo summarised the meaning of Indian art thus in a language that cannot be bettered :

"All Indian art is a throwing out of self-vision formed by going within to find out the secret significance of form and appearance, a discovery of the subject in one's deeper self of the material and natural shape to express the psychic truth of it with the greatest possible purity and power of outline and the greatest possible concentrated rhythmic unity of significance in all the parts of an indivisible artistic whole."

A characteristic feature of the Indian religious life is the socialisation of its arts. In India, it is not the museums and the drawing-rooms that are the repositories of art. Art is reflected in every walk of life, at every step. In the West art is personal and aristocratic. But in India, it has always been impersonal and democratic. It is the art instinct in the Indian people that makes them love their clay pots, their brass utensils and their *lotas* and *chembus* which are extremely artistic commodities and not unlovely and unshapely as the tin mug and the enamelled dish which the educated Indian prefers today. Clothes of fine texture, in endless varieties of colour, tasteful patterns and designs, the delicacy and minuteness of workmanship of ornaments, all these testify to the remarkable artistic feeling which the rich and the poor, the educated and the illiterate share and enjoy in India. It made the life of the nation and the life of the individual full of beauty in the cottage as well as in the palace. When civilization has made of life a business, it should be remembered that life was once an art. When culture is the privilege of bookworms it should be remembered that it was once a part of life itself, not something achieved in stolen moments of relief.

Unfortunately, Indian art has been too long misunderstood through such dull examples as the Banaras brass work which still gathers dust in English country houses. No one possessing a serious knowledge of Indian jewellery could speak of "the massive proportions and primitive character of Indian jewellery."

Such jewellery is seen in museums only where anthropologists collect whatever is primitive and barbarous to the exclusion of what is refined and delicate. The goldsmith of southern India or the enameller of Jai-pur has much more to teach than to learn in a school of art.

We had the world-famous dyeing and printing art of Masulipatam. Connoisseurs say that our old indigenous dyes cannot be matched by anything in the world for their permanence, brightness and beauty. The powdered lime designs extensively displayed in houses and streets on festive occasions, the turmeric, the vermilion, sandal paste, colouring aids, *pansupari* and the like, are the positive proofs, if any is necessary, of the artistic bent of mind and aesthetic sentiment prevailing among Indians. It is the natural expression and not an extraneous embellishment of life. In its richest form it is available to and appreciated by the poorest. It is the common heritage of the people and not a monopoly of the privileged few. Though excellent in quality it is remarkably cheap, since it is a cottage industry. India endeavoured to live rather than accumulate the means of living. The ideal aimed at was to refine the wants, to increase sensitiveness rather than multiply wants and blunt the finer instincts. The Government Public Works Department from which indigenous styles of architecture have been rigorously excluded has crushed out the artistic sentiment of the people and deprived Indian artists of their livelihood.

Art is neither a luxury nor a superstition but a way of life. It sweetens life and labour. It is wonderfully of this world and as our eyes grow used to its conventions we become delightfully aware of a generous and healthy love of life in all its form. When life becomes unbearable art can make it pleasant. The purpose of art in beguiling the tedium of labour is seen also in the songs which are still sung while pounding rice, pulling or rowing the country boats and also during the transplantation and reaping of the paddy plants. India is a land of teeming villages whose population are wedded to poverty and misery but having their simple feast of poetry and music which truly reflect their art. Folk-dance, music, drama or folk-lore is a natural mode of artistic response to the environment.

Thus art in India is not a forgotten memory but a living tradition. It has not altogether gone to the museum as a relic of the past. Even the Hindu temple is a ritual diagram on metaphysical foundation which in turn has cosmological and magical implications, and the various gods and goddesses enter into the squares in which the plan is laid out. The various substances of which the temple is built (brick, stone, lime, plaster) carry different symbolic connotations.

It is no wonder that sometimes its purpose is misunderstood and motives are questioned. One current criticism against art in India is that at times it is

pressed into service for indecent and immoral purposes. The obscene images on the temples and romantic allusions in songs are condemned by conventional puritans and moralists. But it is necessary to note that an artist is not always a moral teacher and morals change according to times. The morality of a work of art does not depend upon its subject, but only upon the way that subject is treated aesthetically and otherwise. How can we, for example, ascribe morality or immorality to the fact of nakedness? It is the handiwork of God so long as one looks upon the same with frank delight admiring equally the beauty of a woman with that of birds and flowers, content to behold without possessing. Morality and immorality cannot be predicated of any physical objects but only of movements of the will. For example, we cannot call a gun moral when it is used to kill a rushing lion and immoral when a man is shot at.

Art is beyond space and time. The art of love that leads to recreation and procreation has an important place in life. Its taboo and neglect leads to disastrous consequences. The *Kama Sutra* of Vatsyayana still stands unrivalled as a commentary on sexual science. These *sutras* in extenso are sculptured on the sun temple at Konarak in Orissa. In this connection the following explanation of Dr. Coomaraswami is revealing:

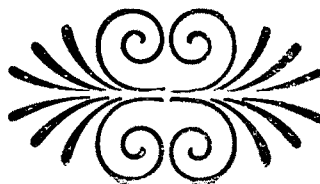
"In nearly all Indian art there runs a vein of deep sex-mysticism. Not merely are female forms felt to be equally appropriate with the males to adumbrate the majesty of the over-soul, but the interplay of all psychic and sexual forces is felt in itself to be religious. Here is no thought that passion is degrading, but a frank recognition of the close analogy between amorous and religious ecstacy. It is thus that the imager speaking always for the race rather than of personal idiosyncrasies set side by side on his cathedral walls the *yogi* and the *apsara*, the saint and the ideal courtesan; accepting life as he saw it, he interpreted all its phenomena with perfect catholicity of vision. Such figures and indeed all the sculptural embroidery of Indian temples are confined to the exterior walls of the shrine, which is absolutely plain within. Such is the veil of nature's empirical life, enshrining one, not contradicted or identified into variety."

At Konarak, the sculptors paid their homage to the beauty of the female form in all the glory of its seductive charms and in an infinite variety of poses and moods. This temple standing alone in a great

sandy waste, both architecturally and in details of its sculpture, is one of the noblest monuments of Indian mediæval art contemporary with the finest period of European architecture. The carvings there symbolise the fertilising and creative power of the sun. It is a hymn of life, a frank and exquisite glorification of creative forces in the universe. From the point of view of art they reveal a commendable mastery of human anatomy and bodily form in different poses and movements on the part of those ancient sculptors. The myth that Indian craftsmen were and are poor in their knowledge of anatomy stands exposed in these carvings. Thus art transcends the narrow rigors of conventional morality.

Like Hinduism, Indian art is a movement and not a position, a process and not a result, a growing tradition and not a fixed revelation. It has high spiritual qualities which entitle her to a front rank in the realm of art. It is essentially a means of *union*. The frontiers erected by politicians tend to break down whenever works of art have become freely visible. Among artists themselves there is a growing understanding of different techniques and much cosmopolitan appreciation. Udayshankar is right in prophesying that we are rapidly reaching a stage in which we will see Conga steps in Bharatanatyam, Cossack and Russian folk movements in Kathakali, Jaztap dancing in Kathak and Hawaiian Hula dancing in Manipuri. Though violin is a foreign instrument, it is found to be most suited to accompany a vocalist in a concert. All the Gamas and Brigas of the vocalist can be reproduced on it with effect. Even Veena, Flute and Gotuvaidyam have certain limitations for accompaniment. That is why violin has come to occupy a permanent place in India.

Art reflects the heart of a nation. Its beat should be rhythmic and regular. The faith and the vision to apprehend the intrinsic worth of the artistic heritage is also essential. It is necessary to reflect on, feel and caress aesthetics, region by region, period by period and piece by piece. There is need to galvanise and electrify Indian art in such a way that the perfection already attained may be preserved while adding new perfections gathered from our study of the aesthetics of other countries. When a living Indian art arises out of the wreck of the past and the struggle of the present a new tradition will be evolved and a new vision will find expression.







# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

## ENGLISH

**THE SULTANATE OF DELHI:** By Ashirvadi Lal Srivastava, Agra College. Published by Shiva Lal Agarwala and Co. Ltd., Agra. 1960. Royal Octavo. Pp. 560. Price Rs. 10.

Dr. Ashirvadi Lal's latest production *The Sultanate of Delhi* forms a welcome addition to his earlier scholarly works dealing with the history of the Nawabs of Oudh, with this difference that while the Oudh Nawabs cover a very recent period, viz., the 18th century, of the history of India, the Sultanate goes back to those dim early days, which can be fittingly described as the dark ages of our country's past, and which roughly extend over the five hundred years following the invasion of Muhummud of Ghazni, that is from 1000 to 1500 A.C. In abridging the story of these five hundred years in his *Sultanate*, the author does not claim to have offered any fresh contribution of original research, but gives a masterly summary in a short compass of all the salient features and up-to-date life-stories of the many eminent personalities, who so materially changed the traditional tenor of India's past. It passes in review all the various dynasties beginning with the Sultans of Ghazni and ending with the Lodis, all bristling with eminent figures of valour, sagacity and statesmanship in varied degrees.

While the rapid Muslim conquest of India has been explained by many a worthy scholar as being due to the fanatical zeal of the Muslims and the apathy of the Hindu masses, no finality has yet been reached in point of complete research of all available evidence. Reading through the eloquent accounts of Muslim writers presented by our author, one easily notices the utter absence of sources of Indian origin, such as those which can be available in Sanskrit and the Prakrit languages, then current in India. So far as South India is concerned, a distinct advance has been achieved by many a worker on this side. What scholars like N. Venkataramanyya have accomplished (see his admirable thesis entitled *Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, Madras University, 1942), has not so far been in evidence as regards North India. The period is certainly replete with an enormous mass of literature in Sanskrit works and local inscriptions, published or unpublished. A persistent and systematic effort does not seem to have been made to secure all available evidence existing in the North Indian languages scattered over vast regions from the Indus to the Narmada and on to the Bay of Bengal. The Persian writers, however worthy and sincere they may be, give only a one-sided picture which cannot be tested without reference to other sources. Indeed, research has greatly suffered for want of scholars and students who combine proficiency both in Persian and Sanskrit. For an accurate version of our past history, we must have workers who know both these languages

and local dialects of North India as well. Notwithstanding this grave defect, for which the author is in no way responsible, the *Sultanate of Delhi* is indeed a valuable reference book both for specialists and general readers and a decided advance on Stanley Lane-Poole's *Medieval India*, which appeared nearly half a century ago, a period during which historical research has made enormous progress in all its branches. Another special feature of the *Sultanate* is the dozen illustrative maps laboriously worked out, the absence of which had so long been a great impediment to proper study on the part of students, who had to grope in the dark in this darkest of all periods. A critical bibliography is given at the end; and each chapter mentions books and authorities for special reading. Thus the history of these five centuries has been practically reconstructed in this handy volume. The most admirable part of the whole performance, which has immediate reference to our present needs, is doubtless the author's lucid discussion of the nature of the Islamic State contained in the concluding chapters XVI to XVIII. The Sultanate was a theocracy and not a secular state. It did not recognize any other religion than its own, although the overwhelmingly vast majority of its population was non-Muslim. The bitter antagonism of the two forms the main structure of India's history of that period and continues to baffle statesmanship even today on account of the creation of Pakistan, bringing in its train fresh problems involving world-wide convulsions. The background of this consummation is pithily illustrated in the *Sultanate*, which has appeared not a moment too soon.

A few mistakes of dates will puzzle the reader and need correction, e.g., p. 118, read 1206 for 1506; p. 263 and p. 277, read 1320 for 1325; p. 384, read 1461 for 1447; p. 404, read 1336 for 1346; p. 407, read 1505 for 1555.

G. S. SARDESAI

**ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE:** By J. T. Parikh, Surat, 1949. Pp. 255. Price Rs. 3.

This little work has been prepared by the author in accordance with the history syllabus prescribed for First Year Arts Classes of the Universities of Bombay and Poona. In some respects it may claim to have fulfilled its object. Written in a simple style, it deals not only with political history but also with social, economic and religious conditions as well as the state of art and literature during the successive centuries. But the title "Beginnings of Hindu Power" applied to the period from 250 B.C. to 200 (read 320) A.D. (pp. 198f) is incomprehensible, while the other title "Decline of Hindu Power" given to the period following Harsha's death (p. 249) is inaccurate. Some of the topics dealt with by the author such as the difference between culture and civilisation (pp. 1-2) and social

psychology of *varnasramavyavastha* (pp. 86-90) are too difficult for those for whom the work is intended. The book as a whole suffers from a want of proportion, nearly half of it being devoted to the Rigvedic and Brhmanical (sic.) periods, while the period from 600-1000 A.D. is dismissed in about 10 pages. The term Araryan for non-Aryan (pp. 36-37, 66, 82 etc.) is unusual. There are occasional slips of composition, e.g., 'resulted into' (pp. 36, 37), 'culminating into' (p. 107). In some cases popular tales are quoted as sober facts, as in the story of Chandragupta's being Commander-in-Chief of Nanda's army and making an attempt against his life (pp. 173-74), or of Asoka's building 84,000 stupas (p. 178). In other cases the author's statements are contrary to fact, e.g., when he says that Asoka sent missionaries to "Tibet, Malaya and Sumatra" (p. 177) and that "Hindu colonists established (sic.) in Burma, Malaya, Java, Sumatra and Combodia" during the 400 years intervening between Harsha's accession and the Muslim conquest of Kanauj (p. 251). The complete absence of maps as well as dynastic and other tables is very much to be regretted.

U. N. GHOSHAL

MAN IN INDIA: By Prof. Minendra Nath Basu. Datta Borooah Bros. and Co., Nalbari, Assam. 1950. Pp. 60. Price ten annas.

The booklet contains a summary of our present knowledge about the racial constitution of the Indian people. As such, it will prove useful for students of Anthropology. A glossary of technical terms would perhaps have made the book more useful for lay readers.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

SARDAR PATEL ON INDIAN PROBLEMS: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Old Secretariat, Delhi. 1949. Pp. 117. Price Rs. 3-8.

THE BEGINNING OF THE END: By Harekrushna Mahatab, Premier, Orissa. Published by Book Company, College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 197. Price not mentioned.

The first book consists of reports of 35 speeches of Sardar Patel, some of these in summary, delivered by him between November 1947 to January 26, 1948. There are three statements—one made on July 5, 1947; the second on June 26, and the third on June 29, 1948. The first forty-two pages are devoted to the subject of the States—their present condition and future; the pages up to 72 are devoted to communal matters; the next nine pages to Industry and Labour; from pages 81 to 117 the topics discussed are Miscellaneous. These speeches and statements will enable readers to understand certain of the problems that have made Bharat what she is today. The States' problem, of their integration and consolidation inside one Republic, has been all but solved in spite of the mischief indicated for them in the Cabinet Mission's plan of April 12, 1946. About 99 per cent of the States' rulers have been pensioned off; their peoples have been given a chance to work out their own destiny. It is too early even now, after about two years of this liquidation of ancient traditions, how the members of the princely families and the peoples will shape themselves. The former being so few may fade out of the picture, the latter counted in millions, about 90 millions, have to show themselves equal to the new opportunities opened out before them. They must agree to pass through a process of re-education, whether it will be long or short will depend wholly on them. Both they and their rulers must avoid the policy of getting results quickly; the neglect of centuries is not made

up in years. This Sardar Patel presses home with characteristic clarity.

Shree Harekrushna Mahatab's book deals exclusively with the States' problem, specially with the Orissa States. The dispersal of Oriyas under so many administrations had held up almost all progress in that province. Now that historic wrong has been righted, all of us can look forward to glorious days for them; in view of this stand-point the past has a value as a warning only. We should know it; Sri Harekrushna's book helps us in this. It also shows that not all British officials were die-hards; they were victims of policy made higher up in the interests of exploitation by an alien State. The Appendix prints certain declarations of policy that should be kept in mind always by the people concerned.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

I. L. O. PUBLICATIONS: 1. *Coal Mines Committee 1949: Vocational Retraining of Disabled Miners*; 2. *The Protection of Young Workers Employed Underground in Coal Mines*; 3. *General Report: Metal Trades Committee*; 4. *Record of the Second Session 1947*; 5. *Inland Transport Committee 1949: Technical Methods of Selections of Workers for the Inland Transport Industry*; *Asian Regional Conference, January 1950*; 6. *Provision of Facilities for the Promotion of Workers' Welfare*; 7. *Agricultural Wages and Incomes of Primary Products*; 8. *Organisation of Manpower*; 9. *Seafarers' Conditions in India and Pakistan*; 10. *Vocational Training of Adults in Belgium*; 11. *International Labour Conference 1949*; 12. *Migration for Employment Report XI (I), Migration for Employment Report XI (II)*.

The International Labour Office, Geneva, is publishing books on various subjects, and its reports are veritable mines of information. It is unfortunate that our scholars and journalists do not pay much attention to these volumes. To illustrate our point, we shall quote a few passages from *Housing and Employment* which show how rent and assessment are inter-connected; and how rent is more or less inflexible.

"Property taxes are fundamentally a survival from a different sort of economy, and act as a hindrance in the development of better housing standards. The burden of such taxes is severe."

"For the United States as a whole, the average monthly tax instalment represents about 33 per cent of the average monthly loan payment" to own the house.

"Rents, like costs of land, of construction, of mortgages and of property taxes, are thus likely to be relatively inflexible, and changes in them to lag behind and be dependent on changes in the general level of activity; moreover, all these costs are likely to be more flexible in respect of changes upwards than of changes downwards."

In framing the Rent Control Acts, our legislators may with profit read such publications. We need not say more.

J. M. DATTA

THE WHOLE WORLD IS MY NEIGHBOUR: By E. De Meuldar S.J. Published by J. Van Meerlo, Proost and Co. Ltd., Turnhout, Belgium. Available in India at Catholic Ashram, Hazaribagh, Bihar. Pp. 229. Price 8s. 6d.

The book under review is a propagandist and polemical work. Its author is a Belgian Jesuit, who has been carrying on proselytising mission in India for over 22 years last at Hazaribagh. The book is a study

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of his post-war tour round the world. It is adorned by a number of portraits and statements of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Poet Rabindranath, Sardar Patel and other eminent savants of India. An Introduction in French by Father Pierre Charles is also given in it. One of the seven chapters of the book is entitled "Mother India." In this chapter the author appreciates the greatness of India and esteems her as his second motherland. But his inner motive is nothing but to win over India to Christ. He quotes the tributes of Keshub Chandra Sen, Upadhyaya Brahmabandhav and other Indian reformers to show that India badly needs Christianisation. He goes in vain to the extent of dreaming of a Catholic India and thinking that India will be far better by becoming Christian. In page 136 he remarks, "The outcasts and untouchables of India will find complete satisfaction and new hope in the worship of the gracious and attractive Mother of Jesus and in the ceremonial and artistic richness of Catholicism in place of the terrifying Kail." The author's ulterior motive of Christianising India is exposed through these silly observations. In page 188, the anti-Hindu author makes very uncharitable remarks against the Ramakrishna Mission monks preaching Hinduism in Hollywood as follows: "The philosophical treasures of Hindu Thought are not made of the over-sexed, monistic, westernised brami actually for sale in Hollywood. That sort of Neo-Hinduism smacks too much of Mill, Spencer, Comte and others like Aldous Huxley and Somerset Maugham." If the West can send missionaries to India to preach Christianity, cannot Free India depute preachers to spread Hindu Thought in the West? Why does Mr. De Meuldar become intolerant and upset when he sees the success of Hindu missionaries in America? Does it not prove that Christian missionaries are disguised enemies of India and Christianity as preached by them is more political and commercial than religious? We make bold to assert that Christians have to learn more from Hinduism than the Hindus have to learn from Christianity. If the author has failed to understand this by living in India over two decades, his sojourn in India and study of Indian thought have been utterly futile. It is better for him to leave India and return home. In page 190, the author quotes and supports this fanatic statement of Fr. Johannes, the author of *To Christ through Vedanta*, "Vedanta offers the sight of a heap of loose limbs . . . But in the Catholicism of St. Thomas we have an organic whole. It is one harmony in which the different Vedantic systems find their proper setting and their discordance disappears." From this Mr. De Meuldar jumps to the foolish conclusion that "Jesus Christ is the Crown of Sanatan Dharma!" These two remarks of Fr. Johannes and Mr. De Meuldar make it crystal-clear that their study of Hinduism is doubtlessly shallow and biased. Let Mr. De Meuldar ponder over what Paul Deussen, the German authority on Vedanta has said: "It possesses a significance, far reaching beyond the Upanishads, their time and country. Nay, we may claim for it an inestimable value for the whole race of mankind. One thing we may assert with confidence: Whatever new and unwonted paths the philosophy of the future may strike out, the principle (of Vedanta) will remain permanently unshaken and from this no deviation will take place." If the Christian missionaries of the West become like their die-hard politicians so short-sighted and conservative then Christianity is surely doomed in the Indian Republic.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

**THE WARDHA SCHEME :** By K. L. Shrimali, Ph.D. Published by Vidya Bhawan Society, Udaipur. First edition. 1949. Pages 308. Price Rs. 5.

Mahatma Gandhi was a practical visionary and devoted himself not only to the elimination of British rule from India but also to the rearing up and further development of India's own culture broadbased on ideal democracy and economic prosperity. He was not a mere political iconoclast but a builder of a Nation bewildered in a halo of artificial life. Mahatmaji gave serious and persistent thoughts to the problem of India's regeneration. Basic or New Education was propounded by him as a means to attain his objectives. To him it was the "spearhead of a silent social revolution." As the scheme differs in many respects from the educational system in existence, a great stir was created amongst educationists in India as soon as it was brought to light. The Plan has been assailed from many quarters and praised from many more. When the bickerings end, it will be seen that the Scheme has come to stay. In the book under review Dr. Shrimali has brought to bear the whole wealth of Gandhian literature and thrown a flood of light upon the Wardha Scheme of education from the different aspects from which the originator of the plan had viewed it. The learned author has narrated the background which necessitated the formulation of the plan, analysed the plan itself, discussed its relation with cottage industries and has shown how the New Education is in perfect conformity with Gandhiji's philosophy of life—social, political and economic. The book provides a complete picture of Basic Education in its theoretical aspects: it is a genuine contribution to educational literature distinguished for thoroughness of treatment, logical analysis of views and lucidity of style. There is little left about the academic exposition of the scheme. Only a few chapters showing the results of the Scheme in the touch-stone of practical operation in different States in India would doubly enhance its merits. The get-up and printing are excellent.

NARAYAN C. CHANDA

**INDIA'S LANGUAGE PROBLEM :** By K. Appadurai, M.A., L.T., Visharad, (Hindi). Tamil India Publications, Arunachala Achari Street, Madras 5, Price Rs. 2-8.

The aim of the book is to make out a case for Tamil as the common language of India. The learned author seeks to point out the merits of Tamil which is supposed to be the 'typical central language of India,' in contrast to what he considers to be the drawbacks of the languages. He goes so far as to suggest that Tamil is the 'basic Indian language' and that 'the antiquity of all Indian languages and their refinement is directly in proportion to their contact with Tamil or Dravidian and in inverse proportion to their contact with Sanskrit' (p. 129). It has been hinted that the proposal for the adoption of Hindi as the common language of India has been at the root of the division of India and its final adoption may lead to a further division between the South and the North of India. It seems the book was written on the eve of the passing of the Indian constitution which accepts Hindi as the national language of India. Advocates of some other languages also came forward with similar pleas for their own tongues. Vituperations against Hindi and its supporters were loud and numerous. But impartial rational people saw through the hollowness of the demonstrations. It is high time that real lovers

of the various languages and literatures of India should concentrate their efforts on the enrichment and popularisation of their respective regional languages so that these may win the spontaneous respect of the intelligentsia and carve out honourable and glorious positions for themselves on the ground of intrinsic merit which cannot be ignored for long.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

**BHARAT (India):** By R. S. Babasaheb Deshpande. Published by Swadhyaya-Mandal, Killa-Paradi, Dt. Surat. Price Rs. 2.

This is a compilation of extracts from the speeches and writings of foreigners on India. Its perusal will convince the reader that India evolved a culture unique in many respects. The compiler has taken great pains in selecting the extracts. His labour is laudable and useful too. We stand today at the cross-roads of our history. The old order is assailed on all fronts. The modern iconoclast would however do well to go through *Bharat* and similar literature before he launches on his career of indiscriminate denotation and destruction of the past. A nation's present and future cannot be totally divorced from its past. Babasaheb Deshpande has rendered a distinct national service by drawing our attention to the glory that was Hind. A word of caution, however, seems to be necessary. We must not rest on our oars and exhaust our energies in extolling the past. We have to strain every nerve to equal, nay, to excel the achievements of our great forbears, who are no more.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

#### BENGALI

**KAUTILIYA ARTHASASTRA (Part I):** Translated into Bengali by Dr. Radhagovinda Basak. General Printers and Publishers Ltd., Calcutta. 1960. Pp. 265. Price Rs. 6.

Among the milestones marking the astonishing advance of the Sanskrit renaissance in the early years of this century may be mentioned the recovery in quick succession of a number of lost works of first-rate importance, viz., the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya (1909), the dramas of Bhasa (1910), the *Saundaranandakavya* and the fragmentary *Sariputra-prakarana* drama of Asvaghosha (1910-11). The first of these works was hailed from the time of its appearance as a unique record of Ancient India's contribution to the Art of Government. It has been thrice edited by Indian and German scholars and has been translated into English and German, while the literature that has grown around its problems and contents has been extensive. A much desired Bengali translation of this work was attempted by the late Pandit Asoke Nath Sastri, but was given up after publication of a few chapters. To Dr. Radhagovinda Basak we are indebted for its first complete Bengali translation, of which Part I is now placed before the public. It would be difficult to mention any one more qualified for this task than Dr. Basak. To a sound knowledge of classical literature in all its branches and the technique of Sanskrit inscriptions, he adds the gift of a facile Bengali style which makes his writings attractive even to the general reader. Of the difficulties of his task the author himself is fully conscious, for, as he tells us in his Foreword, the readings are not always above suspicion owing to the paucity of the manuscript material, while the archaic style and abounding technical terms often contribute to the obscurity of the text. On this ground he modestly craves the indulgence of his readers by quoting in part (somewhat incongruously), the famous lines of the poet Bhavabhuti in the Introduction to

his *Malati-Madhava* drama. The author has shown good sense in attempting not a literary translation which would have been unreadable, but one interpreting the sense. In the result his work is a marvel of lucidity combined with scholarly accuracy of a high order. To enhance the usefulness of this work, we would, however, suggest the addition, in the second part, of a full list of difficult words with their explanations on the lines of Dr. F. W. Thomas' similar list of words in Bana's *Harsha-dharmata*. Such an addition, taking account of the already-known explanations of Indian and German scholars, will not only be of great value to students of the *Arthashastra*, but will also enrich the literature of Sanskrit lexicography.

In the Preface the author gives us a running analysis of the contents of the work and then deals with a few problems relating to its date and authorship. He rightly rejects the view of the late Mm. Ganapati Sastri substituting (somewhat arbitrarily) the *gotra*-name Kautilya for the well-known Kautilya as the title or designation of the author. He also gives good grounds for rejecting the late date (1st century A.D. or even later) ascribed to this work by some Indian and European scholars. His own view, suggested with true scholarly caution, is that it was really written (as the orthodox tradition asserts) in the 4th century B.C. by Chandragupta Maurya's great minister.

From the foregoing remarks it is evident that Dr. Basak's work is an outstanding contribution to Bengali literature in recent years. Together with Pandit Jogendranath Tarka-Sankhya-Vedantatirtha's recently published work *Prachin Bharater Dandaniti* (Science of Polity in Ancient India), it will rank for many years to come as the most authoritative exposition of the subject existing in the Bengali language. We await the publication of the concluding part of Dr. Basak's work with great interest.

U. N. GHOSHAL

#### HINDI

**ARTHASASTRA SHABDA-KOSHA:** By Acharya Raghuvira and Bhagavatasharana Adhviya and Pannalal Balduwa. Published by Govindaram Seksaria Artha-Sahitya Prakashana Mandala, Wardha, C. P. Pp. 230. Price Rs. 4.

A very useful Dictionary of Economic Terms, marked by originality and all-comprehensiveness of connotation. It is true it will be a long time before these terms become common currency in the country, but they have laid the foundations of fundamental indigenous terminology, evolved with a scientific turn of mind and overall insight. The authors have done great pioneering work for which they deserve the sincere congratulations of all patriots as well as pundits.

G. M.

#### GUJARATI

**BHAGWAN RUSHABH DEV:** By Jayabhikkhu. Published by the Yashovijaya Jain Granthmala, Bhavnagar. 1947. Illustrated cover. Pp. 365. Price Rs. 4-8.

Jayabhikkhu has about ten notable works to his credit, related to mythology, (Jain) social topics, and historical lore. He writes well and impressively. His imagination is rich, and he describes facts and feelings in an attractive way. Of the two towering personalities of the Jain Sangh, Bhagwan Rushabh Dev was one, the other being Shri Mahavir. The story of Rushabh Dev's life and glorious lead to society is, though well-known, told in the pages in such a romantic and at the same time realistic way, that the reader is not tired of reading it.

K. M. J.



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# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## George Bernard Shaw

K. G. Menon writes in *The Indian Review*:

"The young beggar is getting quite outrageous. I left him this morning roaring and heaving like a bull." So wrote Shaw Senior to his wife about young George Bernard, then one year old. For years thereafter, barring a brief period of mediocrity in youth and middle age, the youngster continued consistently to be outrageous, tantamount to terrible shocking the world with epigrams, paradoxes and poses and provoking everyone with outbursts from pulpit, platform, stage and the press. And just as he lived, volcanic energy erupting unpredictably, so he died when we were least prepared for it and after recovering from two surgical operations that might have killed a younger man.

On his ancestry, Shaw himself has enlightened us. His mother—Elizabeth Lucinda Gurly—"was the daughter of a country gentleman, and was brought up with ruthless strictness to be a paragon of all lady-like virtues and accomplishments." Not knowing what marriage meant and having to choose between a tyrannical aunt and an irate father with a second wife, she preferred an impecunious and elderly husband in George Carr Shaw, squint-eyed drunkard, two degrees removed from an Irish baronet. The third child and first son of this union was George Bernard. He had little schooling and was soon office boy and clerk in a Dublin firm. But Shaw was not meant for a musty office and escaped to London where, through a long apprenticeship of failure as pamphleteer, public speaker and novelist, he was sustained by his mother, who taught music. An accidental meeting with William Archer projected him into his new career as art critic, whereafter and especially as critic of music and drama, a new star was born. This Star, G.B.S., was according to Shaw, "one of the most successful of my fictions . . . . G.B.S. bores me, except when he is saying something that needs saying and can best be said in the G.B.S. manner. G.B.S. is a humbug." We cannot help agreeing, but when he says, "G.B.S. is not a real person; he is a legend created by myself: a pose, a reputation. The real Shaw is not a bit like him," we reserve judgment, as the two pictures seem as different as Augustus John's portraits and Rodin's bust. For, into the composition of that complex personality went conflicting ingredients that produced the brew of a witch's cauldron that Shakespeare never dreamt of. It made Shaw doubt his own sanity, while his periodical public pronouncements left his listeners gaping with equal uncertainty. One of his weakest vanities is the comparison between himself and Shakespeare. Duffin, Frank Harris and other biographers allege that Shaw declared his plays to be better than Shakespeare's. Shaw has denied the allegation, but has certainly said that during his days as dramatic critic, he postulated certain requirements for successful plays and proceeded to excel in them in *unprecedented* fashion. "My plays are no more economic treatises than Shakespeare's," he says in his self-sketches, and "all my plays were written (not) as economic essays, (but) as plays of life, character and human destiny, like those of Shakespeare or Euripides." Shaw is therefore not averse to comparison with Shakes-

peare. He is also proud of the socialism of his plays, the plays of ideas he created—with all the earnestness of the morality plays of old—against the bleak background of 19th century classical melodrama. Against the pedestal on which these plays are set up, "It is useless to talk of Shakespeare's depth now" continued Shaw, "There is nothing left but his Music. Our Bard is knocked out of time. There is not a feature left in his face."

In defence of Shaw, it must be admitted that, in many ways, Shawian drama is unique. "My governess taught me my alphabet," Shaw admitted, "but nobody taught me to write plays, which were denounced as no plays, until they made so much money that the fashion changed and I was hailed as successor to Shakespeare." But the process of successful play-writing was tedious and lengthy. Archer, Ibsen-inspired, tempted Shaw to collaborate in providing the dialogue for a conventional plot. The attempt was still-born, but when Grein started the Independent Theatre, on the pretext that "there were, in England, hundreds of dramatic masterpieces unacted by the commercial theatres," Shaw "produced the necessary evidence" by building on his previous abortive effort into a three act play. The effort failed, but convinced Shaw (on his own evidence) that he was "a born master of the theatre." "It made a sensation out of all proportion to its own merits or even demerits and at once I became infamous as a dramatist. I had not achieved a success, but had provoked an uproar and the sensation was so agreeable that I resolved to carry on." He therefore pegged away at it, criticised mercilessly the old type "well-made" play, threw into the scrap-heap the problem-crisis-denouement structure and shocked critics and audiences with virile social satire, socialistic philosophy and intriguing and amusing dialogue or even monologue. The comparative failure of the early plays only inspired Shaw to greater effort, until his association with the Court Theatre in 1904 established a vogue for him that has not been paralleled in this century.

Shaw has claimed that the aim of his plays is to make people think. In this task, he succeeded admirably. With an originality and daring unsurpassed even in an adventurer, he turned the stage into a platform and pulpit for "sermonising" his fast growing audience on the widest variety of subjects, covering love, marriage, domestic felicity, science, creative evolution, social evils, religion, politics, and economics. Hence hostile critics complain that Shaw's success—such as it is—is ephemeral and that plays (pleasant or unpleasant) dealing with slum-landlordism, suffragettes, prostitution or jealousy will not endure and are, in Ruskin's phraseology, mere "books of the hour." But Shaw has produced so many plays that even if a few perish and even if readers fail to be attracted by racy dialogue or matters of the moment, who can deny the lasting qualities of his classical comedies, *You Never Can Tell* and *Arms and the Man* and of his historical plays, *Caesar* and *Cleopatra* and *Saint Joan*?

Right through his writings and even when he caricatures himself, he distinguishes in his heroes two personalities, one invested with the halo of divinity or the curse of criminality and the other, the debunked hero or criminal, who is human and true to nature and none

the less, to be venerated or abhorred because tradition and reality are different. This debunking of popular versions—inverted melodrama, as Bentley calls it—attracted attention as much by its originality as by its moral that divine or super-human attributes—as in the case of St. Joan—are not indispensable or even necessary for a country girl to be a heroine.

But even these tricks were soon out of fashion with Shaw. Once he had established himself as a play-wright, he ceased consciously to write plays in the accepted sense and wrote just as he pleased, with the supreme knowledge that a 'made' man could sell anything. All his favourite themes; even his crazy ideas, for some of which he has left all his property, were ventilated. Thus he publicised his cherished views on phonetics in *Pygmalion*, creative evolution in *Man and Superman*, politics in *John Bull's Other Island* and *Androcles and the Lion*, parents and children in *Misalliance* and the medical profession in the *Doctor's Dilemma*.

The plays soon became inadequate media for the dissemination of Shaw's views. Hence the Prefaces. They have often little or no connection with the plays they preface. Here he was in his element, shorn of all pretense (unless deliberate) and not circumscribed by the requirements of the stage. Here he displayed with proselytising zeal the numerous range of ideas with which he sought to energeise the masses out of their inertia. He set himself up as ostentatiously churlish and censorious, spouting unpalatable truths and half-truths, championing lost and weak causes and inviting the disapprobation due to a disagreeable personality and earning Oscar Wilde's rebuke, "He has not an enemy in the world; and none of his friends like him." And yet he surprised the stranger by his amiability and friendliness. As he says of himself, "No truthful contemporary portrait can ignore either this extraordinary power of exciting furious hostility, or the entire absence of any obvious ground for it. It has been said that Shaw irritates people by always standing on his head and calling black white and white black. But only simpletons either offer or accept this account. Men do not win a reputation like Shaw's by perversity and tom-foolery. What is really puzzling is that Shaw irritates us intensely by standing on his feet and telling us that black is black and white is white, whilst we please ourselves by professing what everyone knows to be false." Nor is it true that Shaw disliked to be liked or disliked fellow beings. "My life belongs to the community and I find it a life-long privilege to do everything for the community," a confession totally incompatible with the external bravado in Shaw and revealing unexpected tenderness and concern for humanity.

Shaw's politics and political economy were shaped by Henry George and Karl Marx, but distinctive like all his other creeds and faiths. His brand of Socialism—Fabianism—was a way of life rather than a school of thought and was developed with the assistance of Sydney Webb, Leigh Joynes and Sydney Olivier. And for twenty-seven years he dominated the Fabian Society and helped to keep its flag flying, when other Socialist parties were rent with schisms and splits. For this achievement, Shaw claims, with mock-modesty, that "one Irish element in its management" was responsible!

On Shaw's brand of Irish wit and humour, it is unnecessary to dilate. There is none knowing the English language who is not familiar with sufficient Shavian explosions to keep any company merry. He gave it hard, but often took it back hard. Rejecting an invitation for lunch from Lady Randolph Churchill, he protested, "I will not come. What have I done to provoke such an attack upon my well-known habits?" But he had caught a tartar, for Lady Churchill replied, "I know nothing about your habits, but I hope they are not quite as bad as your manners." Proposing the toast of dramatic critics

at a public dinner, Shaw proudly proclaimed that he was a critic himself, whereupon Max Beerbohm, who replied, retorted, "I was once at a school where the master used always to say, 'Remember, boys, I am one of yourselves'." Another well known story, where Shaw does not come off so badly, is about Isadora Duncan, who wanted a child with her beauty and Shaw's brains, and was rebuked with the reply that if, by a Mendelian mistake, the child inherited her brains and his looks, it would be a monster! Symbolic of the cutting edge to Shaw is the story he himself created that an "Indian prince's favourite wife was banqueting with him, when she caught fire and was burnt to ashes before she could be extinguished. The prince took in the situation at once and faced it. 'Sweep up your missus,' he said to his weeping staff, 'and bring in the roast pheasant'." That prince was an oriental Shaw! Many of these stories were given currency by Shaw himself, probably with an eye on whimsical self-advertisement. And realising this, he wants Frank Harris to have said that "there is nothing interesting to be said about Shaw that he had not already said about himself!"

No two critical appraisals of Shaw are likely to agree on most points because he was an incorrigible and continuous actor and the sham and real Shaws are difficult to distinguish. This was really the tragedy of Shaw. He put up a facade of levity and buffoonery to attract attention, but when he wanted to be taken seriously, he continued to elicit laughter. The very vehemence of his outbursts made him look capricious and unreliable. "Our laws make law impossible," he said, "our liberty destroys all freedom, our property is organized robbery. Our morality is an impudent hypocrisy, our wisdom is administered by inexperienced or mal-experienced dupes. Our power is wielded by cowards and weaklings and our honour is false in all its points." Such wholesale condemnation of everything that makes life worthwhile, without the suggestion of any alternative, the idea even that God is a finite force that has not realised itself, that Science is overdone and should be relegated to its proper place, that longevity is proportionate to the number of times one masticates vegetarian food and in fine, that life is life only for supermen of Shaw's type here and hereafter, do not conduce to universal popularity or understanding. Was it frustration at being so misunderstood and criticised that impelled him to write this epitaph for *The Evening News* :

Hic Jacet  
BERNARD SHAW  
Who the devil was he ?

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## Nepal

*The New Review* observes :

The trouble-spot nearest to India is Nepal. The case is complex. There are at least four political entities at work. There is, first, the Rana clique headed by the conservative and ruthless Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief, who, true to the 100-year old Rana tradition, opposes reforms. There is another Rana group which favours democratic evolution and has a vague alliance with the Nepali nationalist movement. The King represents a third force sympathetic to reforms and democracy, this third force stands between the Rana Prime Minister and the Rana dissidents. The fourth force is the nationalist movement represented by the Nepali Nationalist Congress; the Nepal Democratic Congress and the Peasants' Party; these parties are in touch with Indian parties and do not close their doors to the eighty Rana families. They want the King as constitutional ruler and an elected parliament. The Prime Minister means to keep the autocratic powers his ancestors secured a hundred years ago, making and unmaking puppet kings, appointing after a personal interview each and every official (minister, district governor and village chowkidar), purging army and administration when suitable, and ruling on the postulate that a wealthy prime minister means a wealthy country.

Tension is endemic at Khatmandu; in early November it burst out. The King escaped from his palace to the Indian embassy, with the Crown Prince and the Crown Prince's eldest son; the Prime Minister pegged the dynasty down by two notches and put a three-year-old baby Prince on the throne. Nepali Congress forces, relying on their sten-guns more than on the non-violence of the brave, came out in open rebellion. Where these forces came from, nobody is supposed to know. When Sri Nehru heard that the Sri Sri Sri Minister was nasty to the Sri Sri Sri Sri Sri King, he offered the ruler republican hospitality in New Delhi. The sovereignty of Nepal was proclaimed anew, the dispute declared internal and the frontier was closed with red tape.

The early successes of the Congress volunteers did not last long and their advance was turned back at Birganj. Apparently their move did not meet with general support in the country itself as it was ill-prepared.

## Korea

*The same Review* observes :

In early November Chinese troops rushed across the Manchurian frontier and launched a vicious flank attack on the U.N. forces who were pursuing the remnants of the North Korean armies. There was an ugly moment of dismay; the U.N. forces succeeded in breaking off the combat and fell back. Had the Chinese attack come a little later and been launched more vigorously, the U.N. armies would have suffered a severe defeat. But the U.N. local commander was nimble enough and his logistics sufficiently elastic to allow a fairly orderly retreat and an early realignment across the neck of North Korea. Soon the front-line was made continuous and the advance resumed with caution.

What was the motive behind this unexpected move of Red China? Was it to protect the Yalu dams and high-power stations with ground troops, though U.N. bombers could destroy them from the air? Was it an irresistible impulse of Chinese communism which overflowed into North Korea, Indo-China and Tibet and had to be contained by orders from Moscow? Was it violent blackmail to force Red China's entry into the

Security Council? The answer rests with Peking and with Moscow, and is likely never to ooze out.

The incident did not provoke a general conflagration. Which shows that no nation and no bloc wanted war at the moment. The respite is welcome, though ominous signs of preparation for a world showdown are visible a little everywhere.

## Goa Groans Under Portuguese Repression

Free India cannot tolerate the continued occupation of a portion of her territory by a foreign country. Kumari Mukul Mukherjee writes in *Indian Affairs* :

The Portuguese Prime Minister, Dr. Antonio Salazar declared recently that, without intending provocation, Portugal had every intention of keeping her Asian colonies under the Portuguese flag. The Portuguese Government have even declined to discuss with the Government of India the future of their three possessions in India. From this it is clear that the Portuguese have taken a decision to oppose the freedom of the Goan people. This stand will inevitably bring defeat upon them. In this age of democracy this unreasonable attitude of the Portuguese cannot be maintained for a long time. The Portuguese may temporarily succeed in terrifying the Goans and wiping out their movement for independence, but they can never succeed in putting out the flame of freedom and patriotism from the hearts and minds of the Goan people who are today paying the price of slavery.

Goa, with an area of 1,469 sq. miles is the most important of the Portuguese possessions in India, the others being Daman and Diu.

It is situated on the south-west coast of India and bounded by the Western Ghats in the east and the Arabian Sea in the west. Before the advent of the Portuguese, Goa was an independent kingdom ruled by the Kadambas. It was then a very flourishing country. Subsequently it was overrun by the Mohammedans. They were, however, compelled to evacuate the country in 1370, having been defeated by Vidyaranya Madhav, whose successors ruled Goa for about a hundred years. In 1470, Goa was conquered by Mahmud Gawan, the General of Muhammad II, the thirteenth Bahmani Sultan of the Deccan, who incorporated it into the dominion of his sovereign. Goa was subject to the Adil Shah dynasty reigning at Bijapur about the time when Vasco da Gama landed at Calicut in 1498. This dynasty retained possession until February 1510, when Goa was conquered by Alfonso de Albuquerque. He met with some opposition in the initial stages but finally managed to establish Portuguese rule in the country.

When the Portuguese conquered Goa it was still a flourishing centre of commerce and was known as Golden Goa. Today, alas, Golden Goa is no more! In the place of a prosperous centre of trade, there is now a conglomeration of small towns and villages steeped in misery and hardship with no attempt at striving for betterment. Goa consists of eleven districts with the capital at Panjim. Despite Nature's abundant gifts, the people are in the grip of dire poverty. The fine natural harbour, manganese mines and teak forests are undeveloped. Primitive methods of fishing and farming constitute the livelihood of the masses. Out of a population of 6 lakhs, one-sixth goes

out of Goa to various parts of India or to Portuguese East Africa to seek employment. The stream of Goans coming into India continues to increase and it can rightly be said that denied the remittances of her people abroad, Goa would die.

In every way Goa is dependent upon the Indian Union. Rice, sugar, wheat, vegetables, coal, wood, building materials, petrol and fertilizers come from Indian territory. The ships and railways which serve Goa are Indian. Without the co-operation of the Indian Government, Goa would be frozen completely. Such is the lack of economic activity within this potentially rich area.

Politically the people of Goa live under a rigid dictatorship.

The administration is carried on by the Governor-General and a Cabinet whose function is purely advisory. The Governor-General exercises supreme authority over the Council and is empowered to veto any of the Council's enactments. He is directly responsible to the Home Government through the Minister for Colonies. Civil liberties do not exist at all and there is no right of free speech or assembly. The press is so completely gagged that even the name of Smt. Vijayalakshmi, India's Ambassador to the U.S.A. is not allowed to be mentioned in any news item. To say *Jai Hind* is a criminal offence. Consequently the newspapers in Goa are not worth reading. They bear the bold impress of the censor's red pencil. Public activity is nil as no public meetings are allowed to be held and no speeches are allowed to be delivered without being pre-censored. There is only one political party, the Uniao Nacional, to which the Government belong and no other party is allowed to function.

The fascist rulers of Goa do not understand the meaning of public opinion. Their word is law and the voice of the people is their most dreaded enemy. The Portuguese rulers, therefore, do not feel any prick of conscience to loudly proclaim to the world in this twentieth century that Goa is an integral part of Portugal and that it will always remain Portuguese, a claim more ridiculous than which it is difficult to find in the annals of world history.

A democratic method of deciding the future of Goa would, therefore, be foreign to Portuguese traditions.

However, even if a plebiscite is held it is bound to be a farce. The result would be definitely in favour of the Portuguese, not because the people desire the continuation of Portuguese rule, but because ballot boxes in Goa possess a strange capacity of altering the decisions recorded on the ballot papers. It also often happens that whenever elections are held in Goa—and they are a rare luxury there—many voters find that their votes have already been cast even before they arrived at the polling booths. Under these circumstances, Goans may be excused if they sound a bit undemocratic when they express themselves against the idea of a plebiscite to decide their political future.

The second alternative, therefore, through which Goans can fulfil their aspirations, is a popular movement. But an unarmed struggle against an enemy, not only armed to the teeth but brutal beyond description, does not offer any prospect of success. Happenings in Goa during recent years have amply proved this.

Public memory is not so short as to forget what happened when Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, the Indian Socialist leader, had initiated what was called the

'civil liberties movement' which gradually developed a full-fledged "quit Goa" campaign. The whole of Goa echoed with *Jai Hind* and other nationalist slogans. Goans defied the laws restricting their liberties and boldly faced the consequences. Many of the Goan emigrants returned to Goa to participate in the *satyagraha* movement and Goans outside Goa gave their moral support. The Portuguese were alarmed at this sudden spurt of activity on the part of the otherwise docile Goans and the Government acted with brutal thoroughness. The leaders of the movement like Tristao da Cunha Braganca and Dr. Jose Inacio Loyola and the *satyagrahis* who were peacefully demonstrating were arrested, court-martialled and arbitrarily sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and exile. Many of these pioneers were mercilessly beaten and subjected to most inhuman treatment. Later on, on the attainment of independence by India, Goan nationalists again attempted to bring their political claims to the attention of the Portuguese by means of *satyagraha*. This time also the result was violent action on the part of the local authorities. Leaders of the movement were taken into custody and are still serving long terms of imprisonment in Goa and Lisbon ranging from eight to fifteen years.

Civil liberties, already non-existent, were virtually eliminated and Goa groaned under the pressure of terrible repression.

The Portuguese did not stop at that. They reinforced the military forces with Negro and White troops, and mechanised equipments of warfare still continue to pour into Goa. The Portuguese of course maintain that the troops are being brought for the defence of Goa. This might have been plausible but may we ask the Portuguese why they never thought of defending Goa during the Second World War and got this idea only when the civil liberties movement started?

Portugal has adopted recently some cheap devices to hoodwink the Goans. She has offered autonomy for the Portuguese possessions in India. But the Goans do not want to receive 'some facilities.' They are demanding and will demand complete withdrawal of the Portuguese from Goa. Unfortunately there are still some people with vested interests who pay heed to the sweetly-worded and cleverly-phrased despatches of the Portuguese Government and dance to their tune. They presume that if Goa is absorbed in the Indian Republic they will be bossed over, to use the most common expression. May we remind them that India is a secular State and that every citizen, irrespective of his caste, colour or creed has equal opportunities to rise in life and enjoy all the good things that India can offer to her people? The Constitution of the Republic of India guarantees all this.

As is usual with all imperialist powers the Portuguese often raise the bogey of 'religion in danger.' They say if the Goans join their destinies with those of their brethren in India, their religion would be in danger. May we point out to them that India has millions of Christians who are following their faith freely without any hindrance whatsoever? Do they not know that India was the first nation to have a Catholic priest, in the person of Fr. Jerome D'Souza, as one of her representatives in the highest Council of the Nations—the U. N. O.?

The problem of Goa is of vital importance as much to the Indian people as it is to Goans themselves.


For, in the context of India's sovereign independence today, the continued occupation of a portion of her territory by a foreign nation is an anomaly. The Government of India have, on many occasions, emphasized that India cannot and will not tolerate any foreign pockets in her territory. Goa is a place of great strategic importance and it can no longer be allowed to remain under foreign domination without detriment to the stability and security of India. It is urgently necessary therefore that it should be speedily restored to her politically to whom it belongs naturally: Goa must come back to India. And it will come back, whatever the Portuguese might say.

### Nobel Prize for Ralph Bunche

*The Calcutta Review* writes editorially :

The award of the Nobel Peace Prize this year to Ralph Bunche not only brings into further prominence a personality already prominent in public eye but focusses the attention of the world on the progress made by a group of American people during less than one hundred years. It was not till 1863 that first steps were taken by Abraham Lincoln for the liberation of the Negro slaves of the white Americans. The Proclamation was issued only as a war measure by the President in his capacity of Commander in Chief. When the Civil War started, Lincoln was not an abolitionist. He was out only to save the Union which the Southern secessionists threatened to disrupt. It was in fact by way of achieving this object that he issued the Proclamation. Thereafter when the war ended and peace returned more constitutional steps were


taken not only for the abolition of slavery but for the conferment of citizenship rights on the liberated slaves. Law notwithstanding, tradition died hard in the United States as in other countries and inspite of theoretical equality in the eye of law, the Negroes have suffered grievously during the last eight decades and a half from differential treatment. But all the same they have made enormous progress in civilisation and culture. In this regard thanks are due both to private and to Government efforts. It is true that the Government has not looked after the Negro citizens in the same way as it has looked after the whites. But all the same there is no denying the fact that much was done for the education and uplift of the former slaves and their descendants. Private efforts also have been made on a creditable scale. In this connection the name of Booker T. Washington comes uppermost in our mind. Himself a former slave, he was a prince among men and has left his memory enshrined in the famous Tuskegee Institute in the deep south. To-day there is not a single field in which the members of this American group have not shown their merit. In art and literature, science and law, they have given evidence of great ability. In the conduct of public administration, in fighting a war and in tackling the problems of peace they have shown equal genius. Ralph Bunche who is a former Professor of Political Science has already impressed his personality upon the activities of the United Nations. He is only forty-five now and has many years before him to devote to the service of humanity. We have no doubt that the increase of his own stature will mean the increase of the stature of the much wronged community he represents.





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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## China and Korea

Dr. Chen Yao-Sheng delivered the following lecture on China and Korea at the Chinese Institute, London, as published in *The Asiatic Review*, October 1950:

Chinese Colonists first settled in Korea before the Chou dynasty thousands of years ago. They emigrated north-eastwards from the Yellow River Basin into Manchuria and Northern Korea, both of which areas are geographically close to the Yellow River Basin, and the colony which they formed in North Korea became part of China, one of the nine provinces of China. Organized colonization into these regions, however, did not take place until the Chou dynasty (1258-1122 B.C.), when Chi-tse, a prince of the previous dynasty, refused to become a subject of the new ruling house and migrated with his followers into the country east of the Liao River. He founded a state known as Chao-hsin which extended over the region now known as North Korea.

With the downfall of the Chou dynasty the whole of China was divided up into many small states of varying sizes and in the 12th century before Christ there were no less than 1,800 such states. As the nation grew these states tended to absorb one another to such an extent that, by the time of Confucius, (550 B.C.) only 160 existed and in Mencius' time these were further reduced to eight, one of which was Chao-hsin. Unification of the states was further carried out during the Chin Dynasty (253-207, B.C.)—a century after Mencius—by Chin-Sh-Wang-Ti, the first Emperor, who brought this about by extending his influence beyond the boundaries of the old states and, at this time, acquired the allegiance of Chao-hsin.

China was again divided into many states when the Chin Dynasty fell and it was not until the reign of Wu-ti (140-87 B.C.) in the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 221) that China was reunited and attention was again directed to Chao-hsin. By that time the descendants of Chi-tse had long been displaced by another ruling house—the house of Wei's. The latter had fled into Chao-hsin from the old territory of the feudal state of Yen after taking part in an unsuccessful revolt against the Han dynasty. The Han forces invaded Chao-hsin by land and sea, disposed of the Wei's, and turned the country into two prefectures known as Lo-Lang and Yuan-tu. Long before the establishment of these prefectures Chinese immigration had already reached the south-east part of the Korean peninsula. This part of Korea was colonized by Chinese refugees, who emigrated across the sea when the Chin Dynasty fell, and later by the Chi's who migrated there after they were expelled from Chao-hsin. The two prefectures of Korea which were incorporated into Chinese territory in the Han Dynasty existed throughout several ensuing dynasties. During the Han, Later Han, and Wei periods, no change was made, but in the T'sin period (A.D. 265-313) the southern part of Lo-Lang became a new prefecture called Tai-Fang.

During the period in Chinese History known as the Barbarian Rebellions (A.D. 317-439) China was overrun by Nomadic tribes from the north-east called Wu-huang and Hsien-pei, and from the west by tribes called Hsiung-nu. At the outset, South Manchuria and North Korea fell into the hands of the Mu-jungs, a branch of

the Hsien-pei tribe, and with the resources of these regions at their disposal, they began to descend upon the Yellow River Basin. They remained in China proper almost until the end of the Rebellions but their position in South Manchuria and North Korea became precarious. From the start a Manchurian tribe known as the Kao-ku-li, who occupied territory adjacent to that occupied by the Hsien-pei tribe in south Manchuria, had set covetous eyes on the three prefectures and had attempted, on several occasions, to occupy these regions. They were driven back on several occasions but eventually succeeded in occupying the three prefectures of Lo-Lang, Yuan-tu and Tai-fang by taking advantage of a conflict between two of the Hsien-pei tribes, the Mu-jungs and the Tobas, and founded a kingdom which they named Kao-ku-li or Kao-li. The Tobas were not so interested in that part of the country as the Mu-jungs and, had they had the intention to intervene, it was difficult for them to do so as they were otherwise fully occupied in a struggle against other Barbarian tribes in the Yellow River Basin. Consequently, the Kao-ku-li's were able to retain control of their kingdom and were further able to annex two other prefectures in the north. Liao-tung and Chang-li.

During this time the southern part of the Korean peninsula had already reached a high degree of civilization through Chinese colonization. The people, following the example of the Kao-ku-li, established two separate kingdoms—Pei-chi, on the west coast of the peninsula, and Hsin-lo, on the east coast. These two new kingdoms, together with that established by Kao-ku-li in the north, paid their respects to the Chinese ruling dynasties and applied for official recognition. As an instance the Ruler of Kao-li obtained official recognition of the Southern Dynasty (A.D. 420-539) and the title "Commander-in-Chief of the Forces of Yin-chao, King of Kao-li and Perpetual Duke of Lo-Lang." In this way, Chinese influence was extended over this region, not by conquest, but by voluntary homage by local chieftains who received in return appointments as hereditary governors to rule over their own people. Thus, the foundation of the system of suzerainty was laid.

These kingdoms soon became more independent, especially at times when China herself was torn with internal strife and during the Sui Dynasty (A.D. 581-618) Kao-li made preparations to attack China. Wen-ti (A.D. 581-604), first Sui Emperor, was offended by this disloyal

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act but being a man of moderate nature, confined himself merely to sending the King of Kao-li a personal letter of remonstrance. This, however, did not have the desired effect and China had to resort to force. This task fell to the successor of Wen-ti who was not competent to carry it out and not only failed to enforce the suzerain claim but also discredited China in the eyes of other kingdoms whose attitude towards the suzerainty was also becoming intolerable to China.

In the first years of the Tang Dynasty (A.D. 618-907) no serious measures were taken by China against the provocative actions of Kao-li as she was then engaged with the Tu Chueh nomads who had again got out of control, but towards the close of the reign of Tai-tsung (A.D. 627-649) and the beginning of the reign of Kao-tsung (A.D. 650-683) Chinese rule was re-established throughout the land and her attention was directed eastwards. At this time, Hsin-lo appealed to the Tang Dynasty for protection against attack from Kao-li and Pai-chi and China readily despatched forces to her aid. Pei-chi was conquered in A.D. 660 and Kao-li underwent the same fate eight years later. Following China's traditional policy regarding the enforcement of suzerain claims the Tang Dynasty refrained from annexing these kingdoms and accordingly, when peace was restored in Pei-chi, a son of the deposed King was created "Prince of Tai-fang" and the kingdom was restored to him. Similarly Kao-li was restored to her deposed King in A.D. 677 and in 687 the deposed King's grandson was created "Prince of Chao-shin." Furthermore, in 699, an uncle of the young prince was appointed "Protector-General of An-tung."

After the fall of the Tang Dynasty the descendants of Hsien-pei nomads living on the Cherin steppes and known as the Chi-tans began to move southwards. In 924 they conquered Jehol, South Manchuria and North Korea and in 946 reached the Yellow River Basin where they established a Dynasty known as Liao (A.D. 907-1119). Meanwhile, under the leadership of Wang Kien, Kao-li annexed Hsin-lo, conquered Pei-chi and in 936, unified the whole Korean peninsula. Suzerainty with China was resumed and homage was paid to the ruling dynasty in China.

Since the Tang Dynasty enforced China's suzerainty the peninsula was left much to itself either because its right to a separate existence was recognized or because there was no one strong enough to question it. When Kubla-Khan became Emperor of the Yuan Dynasty (1260-1368) the suzerainty exercised by China towards Kao-li was different to that exercised by previous dynasties. Actually Kao-li was no different from the other provinces of China except that she had a king.

When Hung-Wu-Ti (1368-1398) overthrew the Yuan Dynasty and became the first Emperor of the Ming Dynasty, he changed the policy of the Yuans. Instead of maintaining former provincial government rule in Korea he merely announced to the King of Korea the fact of his accession to the Chinese throne and left the ruling of the country entirely to its king. Thus, a new harmonious

relation between China and her vassal state was established.

In 1392, the House of Wang, which had been ruling Korea, was overthrown by a new ruler named Li-Cha-g-Kwei who applied to the Ming Court for recognition and a new designation for his kingdom. His request was readily granted and his kingdom had conferred upon it the old name of Chao-hsin and throughout the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) Chao-hsin never neglected her duties to the suzerainty. In consequence, when she was invaded by Japan at the end of the 16th Century, the Ming Dynasty readily came to her rescue and when the latter was in conflict with the Manchus at the beginning of the 17th Century, Chao-hsin gave her support.

After the Manchus conquered China and established the Ching Dynasty (1644-1911) no departure was made from the policy of the Ming Dynasty towards Chao-hsin, and the good relations long established between China and that vassal kingdom were continued until the Japanese war of 1894-5.

Having given you a general account of China's historical relations with Korea, I will now endeavour to outline her more recent relations with that country. The Sino-Japanese war (1894) not only changed the destiny of Korea, but also affected China's future as well as international relations in the Far East, hence this period of history is very important. It is necessary therefore, for me to give you a more detailed description.

(To be continued)

### Harold J. Laski: A Preliminary Analysis

In the *Political Science Quarterly*, September 1950, Carrol Hawkins attempts at a critical analysis of Laski's ideas of liberal socialism and exposes his failure to solve the eternal problem of reconciling liberty and authority by joining liberalism to Marxism:

To all who are concerned with the scope and function of political authority the ideas of Harold Joseph Laski are of signal importance. Over the course of his lifetime Laski's ideas reflected in many respects the strength and weakness both of those who strive to maintain liberty as the main end of democratic government, and of those who see in equality the fountainhead of democracy which is secured largely through state action. Beginning his public career as an extreme critic of the state, Laski had been for many years prior to his death an outstanding spokesman for collectivism. This vigorous personality was one of the most controversial figures in the academic and political world of the twentieth century.

Here I wish to point out one significant result of Laski's treatment of the old and continuing problem of liberty versus authority in the particular circumstances of the twentieth century in which the problem is posed. For all his freely recognized scholarly contributions, his many services in the cause of democracy, his life-long devotion to equality, Harold Laski to some degree always failed



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the liberal democrat. In particular I desire to call attention to the several unfortunate results of Laski's failure during the years after he accepted Marxism.

Laski's socialism before he accepted Marxism originated in a moral indignation against injustice. As a liberal socialist he was undogmatic in his views, fiercely devoted to the interest of all dissenters and to the free examination and choice of all beliefs, and hopeful for the successful negotiation of differences through parliamentary methods. His view of Marxism and of Soviet communism was one of intelligent skepticism. Concerned with understanding, rather than denunciation, he brilliantly illuminated the appeal of the Marxist-Leninist faith while calling attention to its errors. He rejected Marxism as incompatible with democracy.

This devotion to liberalism and straightforwardness with regard to communism is often absent after Laski turned to Marxism. Despairing of the adequacy of liberalism and liberal institutions to secure that equality which he eagerly sought for the plain man, he attempted to marry liberalism to Marxism. Arguments that capitalists will not accept the peaceful victory of socialism, that it will be necessary to suspend traditional constitutional processes to secure a socialist victory, that parliamentarism can no longer work in our day, that capitalists in a democracy will turn to the Fascists to protect property interests against a successful socialist appeal to public opinion, are repeatedly put forth. Indeed liberalism historically is viewed as an end product of capitalism. In contrast to his liberal socialist views of previous years Laski, on occasion, served as an apologist for the monolithic state party of the Soviet Union. Periodically, too, he substituted adoration of the "Soviet Idea" for scholarly examination of communism.

Yet, despite instances of his clearly fatal compromise of liberalism, Laski was regarded by many liberal democrats as a democratic socialist.

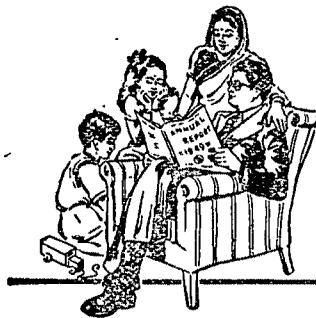
Laski's brilliant exposes of Communists' totalitarian morality and their conspiratorial tactics and organization, his unflinching sacrifice and devotion to the British Labor party, and his inspiring prose in praise of democratic socialism illustrate his liberal side. Incongruously at the same time there appear assertions of the great promise of democracy under Stalin, and also criticism of the British Labor party and the "Fabian way," of the philosophy of liberalism itself, and of the formal institutions of democracy in what can be described as

"neo-Marxist-Leninist" terms. Stirring pleas for equality and vigorous and helpful socialist criticism of democratic institutions were frequently accompanied by a rather shocking disregard of the significance of the vital atmosphere in which the formal techniques of democracy operate.

Under the influence of Marxism, liberalism becomes little more than the excrescence of capitalism. Identifying liberalism as the political expression of capitalism, Laski argued repeatedly that when this political philosophy could no longer serve the ends of capitalism it would be rejected by the owning class. The business groups could not accept changes which might result from the transfer of liberalism to all classes. For, in Laski's words, liberalism is "the philosophy of a business civilization."

Having identified liberalism with capitalism Laski further argued that the twentieth-century man had to choose between liberalism and socialism.

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In the years after the war, despite evidence to the contrary, Laski religiously and periodically re-intoned the Marxist belief that liberalism is the social philosophy of a middle class and will be permitted to serve only that class's interests. The successes of the Labor party and the New and Fair Deal programs in Great Britain and America, respectively, did not change his continuing pessimistic prediction of capitalist counter-revolution, where a serious attempt is made to use liberalism against the interest of the owning class. Continually warning against conservative sabotage of the program of the "welfare state," Laski after the war also argued that the capitalists had little to fear from the way in which the governments were expediting the mandates supported by the workers in Britain and America.

The belief in counter-revolution led Laski to argue that frustrated capitalism would seek to revive fascism and plunge the world into another war. In *Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time*, written during World War II, he had argued that if socialism did not come to Britain during the war the likelihood was that after the war British and American capitalists would push the world into a new holocaust against the Soviet Union. During the last years of his life Laski felt that the greatest potential threat to peace was the danger represented in an imperialist America, influenced by the demands of capitalists seeking to preserve a dying economic order. What emerged from the sharps and flats, assertions and qualifications was substantially this: *At bottom*, despite all her admirable qualities, the United States is the greatest potential danger to world peace. *At bottom*, despite all her sins which Laski often was at pains to enumerate, the Soviet Union, if there is no war, points the way to a new and better world order. For with Marxist Laski, capitalist America must be the potential force of reaction; and with Marxist Laski, the Soviet Union has

been frequently identified as the leader of the progressive revolutionary forces let loose in the world as the result of two world wars.

Laski's Marxist analysis that American imperialist capitalism is the greatest potential source of a third world war neglects to recognize sufficiently at least two facts. In the first place American capitalists are but one significant interest group influencing the policies of the capitalist democracy of the United States, while only one group, the State Party hierarchy, does control the policies of the Russian state. In the second place Laski's description omits the influence of the major shift of world communism toward an aggressive new line which took place in the spring of 1945 under the dictate of Russia disrupting the wartime co-operation and initiating the cold war between former allies.

In perspective Laski's political thought over the years is an expression of a continuous effort at reconciling liberty and authority. The way in which he presented his ideas, however, made that reconciliation impossible. In his earliest years he tried to build a theory of government upon what was really a theory of anarchy. The need for adequate and responsible authority lost out to his emphasis upon group liberty. Later, as a democratic socialist and pluralist, he tried in vain to reconcile a theory of positive government with a theory of extreme individualism. Here, in his anxiety to show that his socialism rested upon an abiding respect for freedom, he insisted upon an extreme individualism which really created an insoluble dilemma. As a Marxist, still in many ways an individualist, Laski attempted to join liberalism to Marxism. It has been the special task of this paper to indicate the unfortunate results which attended this effort. Ironically, in a quest for equality which would further extend freedom for all, Laski often permitted the very substance of freedom to be lost in his zeal for state

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planning. Especially in his curiously contradictory views of Stalinist communism did freedom lose out to absolutism.

Laski believed most earnestly that the central problem of politics is the problem of authority versus liberty. In his different attempts to solve that ever-continuing problem one may find the particular natures of the theorist's failure to constitutional government. From a chronic fear of the state as an all-absorptive unity Laski eventually went to the other extreme in his rationalizations for the positive state. But few men in our day gave themselves so completely to the struggle to solve the perennial dilemma, which in these times is mainly reflected in the relationship of liberalism to collectivism. One may also hazard the guess that few men in this century will provide so stimulating a challenge to thought upon this problem.

### Food Crisis in India

The vagaries of the monsoon, India's annual "gamble in rain," have cost her dearly this year. In contrast to the heavy losses of life and property caused by floods in northern India, including the Valley of Kashmir, deficient rainfall in the Deccan and some other parts in the South has created drought conditions over a wide area, leading to grave shortages of food.

One result of these catastrophes is that India has had to increase her imports of food grains this year from an estimated requirement of 1,500,000 tons. In spite of this, scarcity conditions prevail in certain states, notably Bihar and Madras, where the crop failure has been worst. The Central Government is now having to rush additional supplies of food to these states.

It is thus evident that the program of self-sufficiency in food supplies by the end of 1951, to which the Government of India was committed, has been totally dislocated.

Surveying the position in each state and starting from the north-east corner of India, one notes that Assam has been hardest hit because the earthquake of August 15 upset river levels and caused floods extending over some 10,000 square miles. Assam is normally a surplus area, but it is now estimated that about 100,000 tons of rice was lost in the floods and the expected surplus has vanished. In its place the Central Government has been forced to send supplies to the stricken areas.

In the adjacent state of East Bengal (Pakistan), as well as in West Bengal, rainfall has been excessive and a good deal of damage has been done to the autumn paddy crop. Whereas East Bengal is self-sufficient in rice, West Bengal is a deficit area, and more than 200,000 tons of wheat has been allotted to it by New Delhi this year. The movement of some 4 million refugees, both Hindu and Moslem, between the two Bengals has disorganized agricultural operations, and the outlook in West Bengal is far from good.

In Bihar the rains have been excessive in some parts but deficient in others. The overflow of the Kosi river damaged the major part of the maize crop amounting to perhaps 200,000 tons. As maize is the staple food of the population in north Bihar this has caused acute shortage. Bihar usually has a slight deficit in foodstuffs and this deficit is now increased; here again New Delhi is rushing supplies of wheat to the hard-hit population.

Madras is experiencing its third successive year of drought and according to the latest reports is in a bad way. Last year it had to depend upon New Delhi for an allocation of 250,000 tons of wheat and rice and this will have to be increased this year. The same applies to Mysore State, which is also a deficit area. Hyderabad State has likewise suffered from drought and has been allotted another 65,000 tons of food grains by the Central Government.

Bombay has had a partial drought. It is a heavy

deficit area at the best of times and this year it has been allotted 550,000 tons of food grains, which quantity will have to be increased.

The only areas of India which appear to be doing fairly well are the states of Madhya Pradesh and Madhya Bharat (formerly known as the Central Provinces and the Central India states), which have had adequate rainfall and which are normally surplus areas.

Farther north in Uttar Pradesh (formerly known as the United Provinces) rainfall is again excessive and there have been some floods. Last year Uttar Pradesh was self-sufficient in foodstuffs.

Finally in the state of East Punjab the monsoon has been heavier than usual, but in spite of some flooding the state is expected to have a small surplus crop.

In terms of human sufferings the floods in northern India may not have as grave repercussions as the drought in southern India, where in spite of rigorous rationing many people are reduced to living on six ounces of food grains a day (600 calories), which is not enough to sustain human life. Malnutrition and deficiency diseases must follow unless the Government of India is able to obtain more food supplies from abroad.

In this crisis the people of India naturally think of countries with large surpluses of food and their thoughts turn to the United States where huge food grain surpluses exist.

For almost a year, since Prime Minister Nehru's visit to the United States, talks between the governments of India and the United States have been held for the purpose of enabling India to buy United States surplus wheat, at concession prices and extended credits, but one obstacle or other has come in the way of these negotiations.

Now that serious famine conditions are feared in large parts of India, independent observers feel that nothing will do more good to the cause of the western democracies than for the United States to overcome hesitation, red tape, and preoccupation with other matters and give priority to India's urgent food requirements.—*India To-day.*

### India — Bharat

The Indian Constitution which came into force on January 26, 1950 states in its first article that "India, that is Bharat, shall be . . .," thus embodying the request of those who wanted the name of India changed into Bharat as well as the wish of those who wanted the old name to remain.

*Bharat*, so called after the Bharatas, the Aryan invaders of India, is the term used for "India" in the Sanskrit-derived vernaculars and is hallowed by tradition. Those favoring the retention of *India*, however, were able to show conclusively that the name *India* is based on even older a tradition, that of the pre-Aryan indigenous population in whose language *Sid* (or later as nasalized, *Sind*) meant "flow" and was applied to the mighty river now known as the *Indus*, and to the large region made fertile by this river. The Rigveda, reflecting the Aryan struggle for supremacy, speaks of the country as the *Sapta Sindhavah*, the "seven Sinds," and thus quite naturally adopts the ancient name of the land occupied, while calling the state founded in *Sind* by the invaders: *Bharat*. The Perso-Aryans had difficulties in pronouncing the initial S in *Sind*. Thus *Sind* in the spoken language became *Hind*. On its way westward by way of Persia and Greece to Rome, *Hind* lost the aspirated first letter and became *Inda*, softened later to *India*.

Thus *India*, apart from being more representative in the Dravidian South, is definitely several thousand years older than *Bharat* which has been allied to it—though in a subordinate position—in the Indian Constitution.—*India To-day.*



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# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### A.-I. C. C.

Within three years, to the date, of the passing of the Father of the Nation, the crisis that he foresaw on the eve of his *Mahaprasthan*, has come to the affairs of the Congress. Gandhiji advised the dissolution of the Congress, so that it may not be utilized as an artificial barrier against worthy outsiders and likewise as an unmoral means for the advancement of those who are within the pale. The A.-I. C. C. is now facing the crisis, but where is the Sage that can find a solution to this particular dilemma?

The A.-I. C. C. has concluded its session at Ahmedabad. Two important resolutions have been passed. In one resolution, the A.-I. C. C. has accepted the reintroduction of paid primary membership of the Congress and fixed Re. 1 as the annual fee against the former fee of four annas. The second resolution called upon Congressmen to make every effort to come together "so that they may have the opportunity for co-operative effort and the organisation would become as broadbased as possible." The resolution emphasised that the door of the Congress should be opened even to those who have left it and Congressmen should not only engage in active co-operation among themselves but should also seek the co-operation of others. The following is the full text of the resolution :

"In view of the grave situation that the country has to face, both internally and externally, the A.-I. C. C. is of opinion that there should be the largest measure of unity and co-operation among all sections of the people and every effort should be made to encourage united effort in facing our major problems. In particular, it is necessary for Congressmen, to put aside their differences and co-operate for the larger causes which the Congress represents.

"The A.-I. C. C. has noted with regret that certain tendencies are at work which must inevitably

weaken and partly disrupt this great national organisation. While it is natural that, on the attainment of independence, different approaches should be made to our social and economic problems, the immediate problems are such that there should and can be co-operative approach within the larger ambit of Congress policy. This policy has been laid down in successive Congress resolutions and more especially in the Nasik resolutions, in regard to social, economic, communal and international affairs.

"That general policy, in so far as it related to social and economic matters, has to be translated into more specific terms, having regard to the nation's resources and priorities and the urgent problems that confront us in the immediate present. It must, therefore, have both a long-term objective and a short-term plan designed to achieve social justice and to make the country self-reliant and dependent on its own strength and resources.

"It must be based on an increasing productivity both in land and industry, leading to a progressive advance in the well-being of the masses of the country. This will necessarily involve a measure of privation and austerity to begin with and this will have to be endured, so that the basis for future progress may be laid, but the burden should be equitably distributed and must be cast as far as possible, on those most capable of bearing it. In the circumstances of India today, it is the responsibility of the State to take the lead in the reorganisation and development of land and industry. Such a lead can only be fruitful if it is efficiently organised and receives widespread public co-operation. This calls for the utilization of the enthusiasm, free time and other resources of the people on a voluntary basis and a nation-wide scale.

"The immediate tasks of the Congressmen are to help in solving the food problem, in securing a large increase in production by cottage and small-scale industries and in combating social evils, such as black-marketing and various forms of corruption, both in the administration and in public, which have grown up and which degrade public morals and come in the way of progress. For Congressmen there is the urgent additional task of purifying the Congress organisation.

tion, making it an efficient instrument for carrying out these tasks, and bringing back something of that spirit and will to work and suffer for a cause which enabled the Congress to achieve independence.

"Social and economic programme, so conceived should receive the approval of large masses of our people, even though there might be many varieties of opinion among them, and open out opportunities for large-scale co-operative effort to release it. The Congress itself has during its long history sheltered varieties of opinion but has at the same time succeeded in having a large measure of harmonious working.

"Those varieties of opinion, provided they do not run counter to its basic principles and objectives, may still continue within its fold but in a time of crisis, as today, nothing should be done on partisan lines which may be injurious to the larger interests of the Congress and of the country. The formation of special groups within the Congress, either on the part of a majority or a minority is thus to be deprecated, as they tend to create hostile factions and disrupt the organisation.

"In the great task ahead, every effort should be made to bring all Congressmen together, so that they may have the opportunity for co-operative effort and the organisation should become as broad-based as possible. The door of the Congress should be open even to those who have left it, and Congressmen should not only engage in active co-operation among themselves but should also seek the co-operation of others.

"The A.-I. C. C. directs the Working Committee and all P.C.C.'s to work with this larger outlook, so as to diminish and overcome the tendencies which weaken the organisation, and to make the Congress an efficient instrument in the nation's service."

Intervening in the debate on the question of primary membership, Sri Nehru made an open attack on Congressmen and deplored their deviation from ideals.

He said that democracy could not be purchased with a membership fee of annas two, or four, or with one rupee. If the sort of speeches which had been made in support of the four-anna membership were to guide them, the Prime Minister added, the interests of some other party, and not of the Congress, would be advanced. Sri Nehru said:

"Some people have forgotten the basic principles of the Congress and have identified the organisation with the cap, khadi and four-anna membership. Alongside this misconception, they have developed the hope that they will be elected to some body. To what depths have we fallen."

Sri Nehru declared that much had been said on the subject of the primary membership and a large number of amendments had also been put forward. He did not understand the "shopkeeper's mentality" which had been brought to bear upon the question of fixing the amount of the primary membership fee. He expressed his complete identification with the Working Committee's proposal on the matter, which had been put forward after mature and careful consideration. Sri Nehru added:

"After hearing certain members, it has become necessary for us to consider what exactly we mean by the Congress and what are the basic principles for which it stands. Is the Congress a house in which we

should live along with our friends and relatives and pass it on to our successors when we pass off the stage? Certainly not.

"The Congress is a weapon, a sword, whose sharp edge should be used to destroy evil. With it we cut the chains of our bondage, and with it also we must uproot all that is bad. Or, perhaps, the Congress is a motor car or a train which speeds on to its appointed goal and always carries us further on our path."

It was up to Congressmen themselves, Sri Nehru pointed out, to choose whether the Congress was a house, a weapon, a train or a motor car. "It must be clear to all," he declared, "that the Congress is the means through which we advance the interests of the country and its people. These are ordinary things, but evidently we have forgotten them. If the Congress cannot live up to its ideals and fulfil its tasks and its destiny, it must be destroyed. Then it shall be your duty and my duty to destroy it, and to forge ahead with some other weapon." Sri Nehru said:

"Sri Algurai Shastri says that the cap, the flag and the four-anna membership constitute the fundamentals of the Congress. We have been wearing this cap for the last 30 years, and certainly we have respect for it. But what is more important than the cap itself is the head which it covers. Sri Algurai can have his cap, but I want my head and the brains which go with it."

We may say that the Congress has passed through two phases and is now in its third stage where complete disintegration stares it on the face. During the early period of national struggle, the white cap and the white *khaddar* had stood as the symbols of honesty, integrity and sacrifice. Throughout the length and breadth of the country, Congressmen commanded the greatest and highest respect. The whole country followed them blindly because each and every person in the country was convinced that no Congressman had any axe to grind or any objective beyond the liberation and advancement of his country and its peoples. Office acceptance brought in the second phase. Ambitious persons of doubtful honesty who followed the Congress from a safe but profitable distance, began to flock round the organisation. In the interest of "working the constitution" many of them were admitted into the Congress fold. The germ of dishonesty and opportunity was sown. In the third phase, today we find only a logical development of the second phase. The Congress is today crowded with men who have some kind of personal or other gain as his goal of life. The few men with integrity that are still left find the organisation too rotten for them. The white cap and white *khaddar* today are symbols of nepotism, dishonesty, hypocrisy and corruption. The very emblems that were objects of love and respect only ten years ago are now publicly ridiculed.

Sri Nehru has diagnosed the disease, but has prescribed a futile remedy. He has appealed for unity but has failed to define its objective. He has chastised false Congressmen but has failed to purge the Congress of

them. He should have asked for solid support for the eradication of corruption and malpractice in and out of office and power to deal with blackmarketing and official corruption. We can cite the Bihar Blackmarketing Bill as a case of official futility. It was passed by the Bihar Legislature but the President, instead of assenting to this much-belated laudable measure, has returned it for reconsideration with the idea that it is unnecessary. The President is a top-ranking Congressman, and as such he cannot escape his personal responsibility for this lukewarm attitude towards blackmarketing. Mr. Mahatab's loudly advertised Anti-Blackmarketing Ordinance has been put in cold storage as was expected.

The power to do infinite good to the people did come into the hands of Congressmen. The entire country waited on tiptoe and wanted them to translate their professions into actions. The Karachi Charter has been cast to the four winds. The objective of the Congress today has come down to the beautifully vague catch-phrase—development of a co-operative commonwealth. Shameless scramble for office, power, permit and license are now the only activities of Congressmen both inside and outside the administration. Impoverished people are getting still further impoverished, standard of public life is getting lower and lower everyday, frustration and distrust of administration is writ large on every face. The Congress is now looked down upon, by the people as an organisation of sanctimonious hypocrites. Personal meanness has expanded into provincial jealousies. Sri Nehru has personal knowledge of it all. Under such conditions the unity resolution will be a meaningless farce.

Unscrupulous Congress leaders have established a hegemony for their particular coteries in every public office. Nepotism and favouritism are the guiding principles in all appointments and awards. Greed and corruption has become rampant and the efficiency of all administrative departments has sunk to bottomless depths, as the inevitable consequence. Unless the Congress is rid of these foul vermin that are infesting it, the country will have to break with the Congress. There is no alternative.

### *Dr. Prasad's Republic Day Message*

President Rajendra Prasad broadcast the following message from the Delhi Station of the A.I.R. on the eve of the first anniversary of the Indian Republic :

"Just one year has elapsed since India became a Sovereign Democratic Republic and the Constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly came into force. It is worth while taking stock of what has been achieved and wherein we have failed.

"The early part of the year was disfigured by communal tension and ugly incidents occurred in East Bengal leading to a large exodus of Hindus from East to West Bengal. These were followed by similar incidents and

exodus of Muslims from West to East Bengal. A pact was arrived at between our Prime Minister and the Prime Minister of Pakistan as a result of which the situation has gradually improved and a large number of the emigrants have gone back to their original homes. It is to be hoped that confidence will be created so that a repetition of such incidents may become impossible. Minorities must be assured of safe and honourable existence, and given opportunities like others to grow and develop and become contented and loyal citizens of the State to which they belong.

"Side by side with the communal pact, there was also a trade pact with Pakistan which enabled trade between India and Pakistan to flow freely partially. It is to be regretted that on account of the failure to reach an agreement on the question of exchange ratio, trade relation is not yet established on a footing of profit to both parties and each has had to look to distant countries for the supply of some of its requirements and the disposal of some of its surplus goods which could have been done nearer home.

"Disputes with Pakistan continue on some matters which are vital. The Security Council of the United Nations had appointed Sir Owen Dixon as a mediator for bringing about a settlement of the Kashmir question. He spent some months in this country but unfortunately his efforts failed. Recent talks in London have led to no better results. We have always been prepared to let the people of Kashmir decide freely what they want, but we cannot be expected and are not prepared to abdicate our legal right or shirk our moral duty to the people of Kashmir pending that decision.

"The question of evacuee property is of vital importance to us but we have not been able as yet to secure a settlement with the result that our work of rehabilitating millions of people has become impossible of satisfactory accomplishment.

"Apart from our disputes with Pakistan our relations with other Asian Governments have been most friendly and cordial. So also with countries further abroad. We hold and believe that armed conflict and war solve no existing problems but create new ones and with the progress in the invention of destructive weapons now achieved, a war spells ruin and devastation on an unprecedented scale and threatens the extinction of modern civilization.

"With that conviction our Prime Minister has used all the prestige of his great personality and the goodwill of this country to limit the scope and extent of conflict. The deep wounds of the last world war have not yet been healed even in countries which are supposed to have won it—not to speak of those that lost it. We can only hope and pray that humanity will be spared another disaster. The greater and stronger a country, the heavier is its responsibility to do all it can to avoid and avert the disaster.

"Although we are a Republic, we have decided to remain in the Commonwealth and we have maintained the friendliest relations with Great Britain and other members



of the Commonwealth based on a recognition of one another's complete independence and a mutual understanding of one another's interests and duty. Our regret is that no progress has been possible in securing for people of Indian origin born and settled in South Africa a position as citizens of that country consistent with self-respect and requirements of civilized life.

"Coming nearer home we can take credit for having done whatever was possible within our resources in rehabilitating those who had been forced to leave their hearth and home and properties and estates and to emigrate to India from Pakistan. There were at the end of November, 1950, more than 3 lakhs of persons on dole in relief camps. More than 8 lakhs of displaced families from Pakistan have been allotted land for cultivation. Roofed accommodation in urban areas alone has been secured for more than 21 lakhs of displaced persons either in evacuee houses or in barracks, Government quarters etc., or in newly-built houses.

"Small loans have been given to more than 140 thousand people, the total amount being more than Rs. 9 crores. Big loans have been given to displaced industrialists and business men numbering 5,000. The total amount being nearly Rs. 5 crores. Employment has been secured by the Employment Exchanges for more than 1½ lakhs of persons. Altogether Government expenditure on displaced persons during the financial years of 1947-48 to 1950-51 is estimated at Rs. 98½ crores. The displaced persons have suffered great privations with patience and dignity and have been trying to restart life and stand on their own legs as best as they can. With all our efforts, however, the work of rehabilitation is yet far from being complete, and considering its tremendousness which was added to considerably in West Bengal in the early part of the year. It could not be expected to be. All that I can say is that the Union and State Governments are keen and anxious to do whatever is possible and with the experience that has been gained the work is being tackled with greater effectiveness and speed.

"The financial and economic position of the country has been constantly engaging the attention of our Ministers. It is to be regretted that on account of financial stringency, we are not able to undertake constructive work on as large a scale as we would wish to. Some large projects which are expected to yield great results by controlling floods and providing irrigation and electric energy on a large scale leading to industrial development have registered satisfactory progress. Our only regret is that we are not able to undertake more such works and to spend as much over those already in hand as one would like to. In other directions also greater progress would have been achieved if more finance were available and money market had not been as tight as it has been. Production has not kept pace with requirements.

"This has been so especially in the matter of food largely on account of causes beyond our control. We have had a series of natural calamities which have damaged our crops on an extensive scale. We have diffi-

cult and anxious times and need all the foresight, resourcefulness and sacrifice our people are capable of to tide over them. We are trying to have larger imports that we have ever done hitherto, but it is not so much these imports and their proper and equitable distribution—essential as these are—that will really solve the problem.

"It is the will and resourcefulness and determination of the people that will enable us to see things through. The year opened with a large balance of trade against us, but when once we decided to put it right and set to work, we have succeeded in wiping it out. So God willing shall we do with the food problem.

"Our Constitution has come into force, but we are still passing through a period of transition and are being governed by certain transitory provisions laid down by it. This will continue till we have General Elections under the Constitution. Preparations are being made for them, but the work is so vast involving more than 170 million voters and more than 3,500 seats to be filled up that it has not been possible to complete them. It is hoped that we shall be able to hold them in November-December next.

"The work of consolidation of what Indian States before assimilating them to what used to be Indian provinces has gone on successfully and under the Constitution they have as honoured a place and as useful a part to play as any other unit of the country. The burden of this work as also of maintaining law and order in the country was borne by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, whose passing away at this critical time in our history, has dealt a stunning blow to us and created a void which cannot be filled up. His farsight, matchless powers of persuasion and organisation, a realistic appreciation of the situation and firmness and determination have brought under one Federal Constitution and one Central administration a larger part of the country than has ever happened in its long and chequered history.

"Our work as a free nation has just begun. We are confronted with difficulties within and the horizon is overcast with dark clouds without. We have to gird up our loins and face them. God helps those who help themselves. Let us deserve God's help."

### *Sri Nehru's Press Conference in London*

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, commenting on the recent talks on the Kashmir problem, said: "We had fairly full talks and explored various aspects. Some matters were clarified, but it was not possible then to come to any final agreement."

Mr. Nehru was talking to more than 200 reporters representing newspapers of all nations at a news conference at India House on January 16. "But remember," he went on, "that we have gone a great deal towards agreement already. Many basic facts have been thrashed out in the past, and we agreed to those basic approaches. We all agree it is for the people of Kashmir to decide about their future internally or externally. That is obvious even without our agree-

ment. No country is going to hold on to Kashmir against the will of Kashmir."

Discussing the position as it existed at the moment, he said that one must remember the limitations of the Government of India. "That is to say, we cannot interfere in the internal management. We can advise and help them in various ways, but our chief function, under the terms of the agreement, is the defence of Kashmir against external invasion.

"Of course we can go back upon it and denounce that and say 'we will not defend you in future,' but we cannot interfere internally except by advice, and, therefore, any real agreement must come from the people of Kashmir or their representatives, and not be imposed upon them by us or anyone else. Great difficulties had arisen during the past three-and-a-half years—the invasion, the fighting and so on. If the question had been raised at, or just after, Partition, the position would have been accepted all round whether it was liked or not. Now tremendous difficulties had arisen, and passions had been aroused."

It must be borne in mind, Mr. Nehru added, that no steps should be taken which might perhaps create difficulties in a "somewhat excitable position"—not only difficulties in Kashmir but in regard to the relations of India and Pakistan with each other.

Mr. Nehru said that on Kashmir there was a basic difference of approach between Pakistan and India. Pakistan approached the problem rather on the religious plane. India did not accept that approach. Once they accepted the approach that nationality should go by religion, it would have far-reaching consequences. India have never accepted that approach as the right one. If nationality went by religion then about forty million Muslims still in India and fifteen million Hindus still in Pakistan would become second-class citizens, half-aliens. They could never feel any sense of security. India had a multitude of religions, many of which had ceased to exist in Europe thousands of years ago. India could only be carried on as a secular State, giving freedom to all religions, not making a preference of any one.

The Indian Prime Minister observed that Kashmir brought up this problem: were they to treat Kashmir on a religious basis or on an economic or political plane? Those problems existed long before Pakistan or the United Nations came into the picture. "India says that this matter should be treated on a political and economic plane," Mr. Nehru said. "If the question of religion is brought into the Kashmir problem, it would have its repercussions among the minorities in India and Pakistan. We have to be cautious about any step we take because there is a danger of upsetting the equilibrium which has already been established. We want a stable settlement—not an enforced settlement. The final decision must come from the people of

Kashmir and secondly from India and Pakistan. Any other settlement would give rise to a lot of trouble."

Speaking on Korea, Mr. Nehru said that while the entry of the People's Government of China into the United Nations had been discussed, something much bigger had been recognised, and that was that New China was a great power, to be dealt with on terms of equality by the other great powers. "That is bigger than the entry into the United Nations," he said. "The basic fact is that in the last two or three years a great new power has arisen in the Far East, thereby upsetting the previous equilibrium there. The fact of non-recognition has made no difference to China, and many of the difficulties which have arisen are due to the non-recognition of facts."

Many complications had arisen because China was not recognised, Mr. Nehru continued. By adopting the principles of the three-man committee, the U. N. had recognised that China was one of the great powers to be dealt with in deciding Far Eastern questions.

Mr. Nehru said: "Everybody agrees that Korea should be a unified and independent country, but it is not a local settlement that should be aimed at in the Far East but the ending of the worldwide tension that exists, and a world settlement of the greater problems. I am quite certain that no question on Korea will be settled without the consent of China. It affects China more than any other power. We must remember that most of the invasions of China in the past have occurred through Korea and the other powers cannot settle it without bringing China into the picture."

Asked his opinion of the continued U. S. support for the Chiang Kai-shek regime, Mr. Nehru said that he considered this policy was "unrealistic," since it meant the non-recognition of the People's Government of China.

The real threat to the position of the U. N. would be if it ceased to represent such a large part of the people of the world. The recognition of China is more or less a symbolic act; non-recognition becomes an insult and an irritation. In effect, recognition becomes a gesture of peace.

Asked whether he considered the invasion of Tibet as a threat to India, he said: "We do not consider it a military threat to India at all. It is not a thing we have liked—the way it is taking place—because it does bring in certain rather new factors which may cause trouble. While Tibet has been considered under the suzerainty of the Chinese, we consider it should be an autonomous country, and we have expressed ourselves in that way. But for the rest we do not propose to interfere—indeed we cannot."

Asked if he thought that the 2,000-year-old friendship between India and China would form a counterweight against Soviet influence in South-East Asia, Mr. Nehru said that all friendships were "stabilizing factors," so long as those friendships were not aimed

at lack of friendship with others. In the 1,500 years of the history of South-East Asia, all the South-East Asian countries had been greatly influenced by India and China, archaeologically, culturally, politically, etc.—both had left their impression.

### *Pakistan Premier's London Conference*

Talking for over an hour on January 16, the Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, put forward his country's case.

He told them that his journey to London had not been a waste of time because, so far as the Commonwealth Prime Ministers were concerned, they had all made a genuine effort to help find a solution to the Kashmir problem—"the Commonwealth Prime Ministers have made every effort in this matter and their suggestions regarding the use of Commonwealth forces was a very practical one."

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that the reason he had not arrived in time for the beginning of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference was not because he was non-co-operative. "I do not believe in non-co-operation," said the Prime Minister. "I believe in co-operation between all the peoples of the world, but I felt that the Prime Ministers of the countries assembled in London should devote some of their time to the vital problem of Kashmir."

"It is not just a problem between India and Pakistan, but one that should concern all the peace-loving peoples of the world. The solution of the Kashmir problem is vital to the peace of the world. In the East today you have only two stable countries—I am not casting aspersions or minimizing the importance of other countries in the East—but so long as the Kashmir dispute lasts, neither Pakistan nor India can make any contribution to the preservation of peace in Asia."

"It was because of that conviction that I felt I would not be able to make any contribution to the Prime Ministers' conference unless they were prepared to apply their wisdom to finding a solution," Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan went on. "I was, indeed, grateful to the Prime Ministers when they agreed to discuss the matter with Mr. Nehru and myself and to help us in this matter."

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that everyone had agreed that the question of Kashmir's future should be decided by means of a free plebiscite. It must be the people of Kashmir themselves who decide their own fate, said the Pakistan Prime Minister, and there is no dispute so far as to how the solution shall be made by the free will of the people.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan described some of the background events that led up to the Kashmir dispute, and the resolutions made by the United Nations Commission which called for three stages in carrying out the agreement—(i) cease-fire, (ii) demili-

tarization, and (iii) a plebiscite. The first part of the resolution was carried out just over two years ago, said the Pakistan Premier, but we got stuck on the second part, and the Prime Ministers applied their minds to the problem of what could be done in breaking the deadlock.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that altogether the Commonwealth Prime Ministers spent about seven hours in discussing the Kashmir problem. It was suggested that some of the Commonwealth countries could provide forces to be stationed in Kashmir for its security, and the countries concerned even offered to pay for the maintenance of such a force, which was to be withdrawn from Kashmir as soon as the plebiscite was over.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan pointed out that another proposal made was that one force of Indian and Pakistani troops might be formed during this period, and a third proposal that the plebiscite administrator, Admiral Nimitz, should have the authority to raise a local force from among the people of Kashmir itself, and all other forces, regular and irregular, should be disbanded or withdrawn.

Stressing that they wanted a peaceful solution, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan went on: "Now the only hope that one can have for a peaceful solution is in the Security Council. The matter is before them now, and I hope and pray, for the sake of the peace of the world, that the Security Council will move with greater vigour and speed in this matter than it has been doing in the past. I am not exaggerating when I say that peace in Asia—and not only in Asia but in the world—depends on a satisfactory resolution and a just solution to this Kashmir problem, and so long as this deadlock lasts, there is always a grave threat to the peace of the world."

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's statement was followed by a lively discussion on the question of a plebiscite, withdrawal of troops and possible partition of Kashmir (to which, the Pakistan Prime Minister said, both he and Mr. Nehru were opposed). He added that he was quite prepared to entrust the whole business of a plebiscite to any three men of integrity, and concluded that he had full confidence in the robust commonsense of the people of Pakistan.

### *Nehru's Reply to Pak Prime Minister*

In a statement commenting on the remarks made by the Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru said :

"I understand that the Pakistan Prime Minister discussed the Kashmir question at some length at a Press Conference today in the course of which he referred, in some detail, to the private talks that took place at his request, between some of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers on the subject.

"I am surprised to see an account of what he is reported to have said at this Press Conference which, I am assured on good authority, is authentic.



I have been asked to comment on this. All that I have to say is that it is not usual to disclose private conversations. I may say that this was well understood in regard to these conversations also. This is a rule which everyone should respect.

"I might add that some of the statements in the report are not correct and some of the suggestions made are fantastic. India is anxious to settle the Kashmir question peacefully and is ready now, as ever, to let the people of Kashmir decide their future. She has already withdrawn part of her troops from Kashmir and is prepared to continue to do so if Pakistan withdraws her troops as well as the irregular forces.

*"India cannot accept the position that Pakistan, an aggressor in Kashmir, should have the same right to retain in or to share in the administration of Kashmir as India."*

"India has repeatedly offered to work out with the United Nations' reasonable safeguards to enable the people of Kashmir to express their will and is always ready to do so."

The general impression in Commonwealth circles, until Mr. Liaquat Ali reported the talks as complete failure, was that some of the proposals at least would be considered further. Political observers in London were puzzled, in the first place at Mr. Liaquat Ali's decision to break the well-understood convention not to reveal the details of the informal talks and in the second place, his announcement, contrary to all expectations, that all the proposals had been finally rejected. Neutral observers close to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers commented that none of the proposals reached the stage of detailed examination by the Prime Ministers. They said that the first day's discussions on Kashmir were confined to the clarification by the Indian and Pakistan Prime Ministers of their respective stands on Kashmir. It was during the second day's talks that the Australian Prime Minister Mr. Menzies suggested that the deadlock over demilitarisation of Kashmir might be broken by a Commonwealth force supplied by some of the Commonwealth countries, notably Australia and New Zealand. The immediate Indian reaction to this was that public opinion in India would not tolerate any foreign troops again on Indian soil in any form for any period. Apart from this, stationing of foreign troops in a strategic place like Kashmir could give rise to fear outside that a Western military base was being built up under the guise of policing Kashmir. It is understood that in view of this objection the Prime Ministers did not wish to pursue this suggestion further. The second suggestion then came up that joint force, Indian and Pakistan troops, might be formed for this purpose. Indian reaction to this suggestion was equally categorical. India considers Pakistan as aggressor in Kashmir and the association of Pakistan troops jointly with Indian troops for the maintenance of internal security all over Kashmir would be an extreme submission to aggression. Further, it was pointed out that this kind of joint working had been tried earlier on the borders

and it only led to constant friction. It was at the third meeting at chequers that the third proposal of allowing the plebiscite administration to raise a force from among the people of Kashmir was made. These neutral observers said that it was their impression that India did not reject this proposal offhand. India's view on this suggestion was that it involved the consent and co-operation of the Kashmir Government, which was autonomous as far as internal security was concerned. As a State which had acceded to the Indian Union, the Indian Government was responsible for the defence and security of Kashmir. The Indian Government had no authority to delegate this function to any other force without the agreement of the Kashmir administration. These sources said that the impression given to the Prime Ministers was that Mr. Nehru would consult his Cabinet and the Kashmir Government further on this suggestion, and they expressed themselves puzzled by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's categorical statement that this suggestion was accepted by him and rejected by Mr. Nehru.

The effect on Pakistan of Mr. Liaquat Ali's manouvings has been depressing. The section of Pakistan Press which only three weeks ago came out with screaming headlines describing their Prime Minister's "success," now seem to be hard put to it to interpret the failure. Having been instrumental in raising high hopes in Pakistani minds over the result of London discussions, they are now vainly trying to divert their attention to Lake Success. Public resentment, however, at what is described as "Liaquat's stunt" is growing. The *Nawai-waqat*, a prominent Urdu daily of Lahore, has openly charged the Pakistan Prime Minister with having tried to play with the sentiments of his people. It commented that Pakistan had been made to pay a fantastic price for what is nothing less than a farce in the visit of London of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan.

### *Sri Nehru's Conference at Paris*

Sri Nehru speaking at the Press Conference, reviewed the steps taken towards a settlement of the Kashmir problem. The main argument, he said, was centred on conditions which should govern a plebiscite.

"Why should we supersede the existing local Government in Kashmir in favour of an aggressor, or withdraw our forces completely, leaving Kashmir open to another possible invasion?" he said.

"If the popular Government tells us to go away, we will go away.

"I do not know whether any of you read the Pakistan Press, because that Press is full of incitement to war, and not ordinary war but Holy War—*Jehad*.

"We have told them this is not an atmosphere conducive to peaceful settlement. This is a political or economic problem for the people of Kashmir to decide—not a religious problem. It is not a Hindu and Muslim problem. The conflict in Kashmir is between

some Muslims and other Muslims between progressive bodies and reactionary bodies. We are on the side of the progressive party. Even so, we have said, 'Let the people of Kashmir decide'."

Sri Nehru made these replies to reporters' questions:

Q: "After commentary of the Chinese radio to the recent United Nations plan, do you still think a satisfactory solution is possible?"

A: "I am sorry I have not seen the commentary. I cannot say without seeing it. Anyhow, I would rather wait for an official reply than a reply on a radio commentary."

Q: "What is your appraisal of the Far Eastern situation, particularly with regard to limiting the conflict in Korea?"

A: "My reply can be a long-distance or a short-term one. It is obvious that since this last war, very big changes have taken place in the whole of Asia. They have affected the whole balance of power or equilibrium of forces in Asia. Various factors have come into play. New countries have become independent, like India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Indonesia and Burma and then there has been this great change in China. The first thing to appreciate is that these big changes have taken place in Asia and notably in China which make it essential for everyone to understand the new situation and not judge it by the past."

He described the Chinese People's Government as "a new Power which is stable and should be recognised as such." He added, "That is a fact, and fact is no less a fact because some people refuse to recognise it as such."

"What is the basis of a settlement in Korea?"

"You can hardly have any stable settlement whether by war or peace without the concurrence or acquiescence of those countries round about. It is not an easy matter today to force a settlement without the concurrence of neighbouring countries."

"What do you think of United States' acceptance of the possibility of Four-Power talks including Communist China?"

"I think certain definite progress has been made in the direction."

"Should China be named as aggressor if she rejects the latest peace proposals?"

"I think any step taken which make it frightfully difficult to have negotiation in future is a dangerous step because then we bolt and bar the door to a peaceful settlement."

"China made it perfectly clear that if the 38th Parallel was crossed, she would consider the United Nations forces as aggressors."

"China made this clear before the Parallel was crossed. You will remember that China has frequently in the past been invaded from Korea and this fact was fairly well known to various Governments."

"Do you think Peking wants a peaceful solution?"

"I know what the Peking Government has said. They have put great stress on Formosa."

"What about the situation in Tibet?"

"The situation for some time has been more or less static. No advance of the Chinese armies has taken place."

"What about a Japanese Peace Treaty?"

"It is always a dangerous thing to delay a step which has to be taken—the sooner taken the greater the chances of it being successful. It is obvious there is going to be a peace treaty with Japan. It is obvious that the Japanese are a people with a great capacity to recover and a people who cannot be kept in subjection for long. So it is better to treat them as such and give them the freedom to go ahead on their own lines. Asia is interested, it would be a good thing to have common peace treaty with all the interested countries. Otherwise, I suppose the time will come when individual countries will have peace treaties with Japan."

"What do you think of the plan to rearm Japan?"

"I don't know whether you will think that what I am going to say is practical or not. I think there is a provision in the Japanese constitution—the new constitution—that Japan will not rearm."

"This constitution has been passed, I believe, largely at the instance of Gen. MacArthur."

"I believe from the point of view of Japan and for the Far East it would be a good thing to stick to this provision."

In reply to another question on Japanese rearmament, Sri Nehru said, "I think it would be conducive to peace in the Far East if there was no rearmament of Japan. If Japan becomes an independent country and if tensions and a war situation exist, I have little doubt that whether you give permission or not Japan will rearm—if not publicly, in other ways."

"Do you think a durable peace with Japan can be made without China and Russia?"

"No, if there is no peace between China, Russia and Japan there is prospective trouble there."

"Any comment on the recognition of Bao Dai?"

"So far as India is concerned, we have not recognised any party in Indo-China and we have no intention of doing so."

Q: "You will not recognise Bao Dai, you will not recognise Ho Chi Minh. What solution do you think will be reached?"

A: "That is a big question and I have no doubt that the only ultimate solution is independence of Indo-China with the people of Indo-China deciding their fate."

"What is the feeling of the people of India towards the war in Vietnam and will you raise this question in talks with French Premier Rene Pleven?"

"I have no intention of raising this matter myself."

I have enough complicated problems to face—I don't see why we should add to them."

"What about the Dutch-Indonesian problem over New Guinea?"

"It should be decided peacefully. The decision should largely depend on the good of New Guinea, not on the good of other countries, whatever that might be."

"What do you think of German rearmament?"

"Generally speaking, I dislike rearmament anywhere, I recognise of course that one cannot be idealistic about these matters and no Government can take great risks.

"I am not a pacifist. If I was, I would not keep an army in India, though in spite of this world crisis, we have reduced our Army and are reducing it still further, because we want to reduce military expenditure and use the money for social purposes instead.

"It is obvious that rearmament in Germany is a thing which may have very far-reaching repercussions and one has to think things out. One has to balance many factors. Rearmament of Germany is considered no doubt because Western powers are afraid of the strength of Eastern powers in Europe and of possible aggression.

"The surest guarantee would be to try to relieve the present tensions that exist and make the chances of war remote."

On World Government, Sri Nehru said: "There are very great difficulties in the way and at present it is not something I can see emerging anywhere. It is not something which can be brought about artificially—it has to grow."

Later, referring to rearmament, Sri Nehru said: "No Government can take great risks about its security. It has to prepare for contingencies."

He denied that India had sent any Note to Peking.

"We have been in constant touch with our Ambassador in Peking, keeping him informed of developments and he has kept in touch with the Peking Government. There has been no formal or informal Note to Peking from us."

On India's role as mediator and his own part in helping towards a solution of international problems, Sri Nehru said: "I did at one time send a private message to Marshal Stalin on the one hand and another to Mr. Dean Acheson in regard to Korea. I felt it might do some good. Apart from that I have made no proposals, but we have had a certain responsibility cast upon us by the fact that we are one of the very few countries who have diplomatic relations with China.

"We have become a window to the rest of the world in regard to China. But I am not posing as a mediator or arbitrator."

## Bali Desecrated

Every one knows with what active sympathy the Government and people of India have been following from its very start the recent struggle of the Indonesians for emancipation from the bonds of colonial rule. In this India has been only discharging her duty to the people with whom her cultural connexions extended for nearly 1500 years in the past. These cultural influences are still preserved in the garden-island of Bali lying immediately to the east of Java where the social and religious life of the people still bears an unmistakably Indian stamp. It was not very long ago that a great French scholar, the late Prof. Sylvain Levi brought out a collection of Sanskrit texts from Bali representing the ancient Indian literature from the Vedas to the Tantras. It is with great concern that we have just received from a reliable source very disquieting reports of the conditions of insecurity of life and property prevailing in the island. We have no doubt that it is only necessary to draw the attention of the friendly government of the Indonesian Republic to that matter straight in the island, should our report turn out to be correct. We would earnestly request the Government of India to move in the matter through its diplomatic channels. The case is urgent and brooks no delay. In our own country we have seen to what length mob-passions can go, if left unchecked by the forces of authority.

Among the smaller islands of the Malay Archipelago Bali is the best known, as in happier, pre-war times it used to be visited by tourists, especially from Australia and the U.S.A.

Extremely picturesque by its palm-sheltered villages and quaintly decorated temples, it attracted many artists from various countries who revealed the beauty of Bali in sketches and water-colours. Scholarly interest is focussed in the remarkable fact that Bali and its twin, Lombok, are the only islands of the Archipelago which up to the present have retained a curious form of Hinduism together with social institutions originating in ancient India. In Java and Sumatra where Buddhism and Hinduism once flourished, these religions succumbed to Islam, leaving many magnificent sanctuaries as eloquent witnesses of their former ascendancy.

Alarming tidings have recently come about the present disturbed condition of this Happy Island. Javanese terrorists belonging to the Republican army have set up a committee of four local men as rulers of Bali under their protection. This worthy quaternity consists of the administrator of the Kirtya Foundation, an agricultural guard, a schoolmaster and a clerk, who owe their present position solely to their pro-Javanese propensities. They have deposed the legal head of the administration of the Island (Kepala Daera) and removed most of the *pungawas* or hereditary district officers. The Javanese soldiery have taken up their



quarters in schools, dak bungalows and offices of the Forestry, agricultural and other Government departments. In the name of liberty these so-called nationalists commit all kinds of outrages; murder and plunder are daily occurrences.

It is impossible to decide how far the activity of the dissolute solidery is due to distinct orders of their superiors or to their own initiative. It may be questioned whether the real power in the Indonesian Republic is not wielded by the Muslim soldiers and their captains who prefer the free and easy life of marauders to the peaceful pursuits of citizens and peasants.

It should however be remembered that the practice followed by the Javanese troops in whose grip Eali is now writhing is in perfect accordance with an *edict* issued by the Djogya Government as far back as 1948, prescribing that each *daerah* must be governed by a set of their partisans.

### Air Accidents

Two very serious air accidents have recently taken place in West Bengal. In one of them four lives were lost and in the other three. The later one took place on December 17 last. Fire was noticed on an Airways India Dakota near Tangail in Pakistan when the plane was flying to Gauhati at an altitude of 7,000 ft. Nitric acid was being carried in a wooden packing case under label of photographic materials. Fire-extinguisher was applied. Instead of stopping the fire, it generated noxious fumes which soon filled the plane causing asphyxia to the crew and passengers. The pilot landed the plane on a dry river-bed with no injury to the persons on board. All of them were semi-asphyxiated. The Calcutta Head office was informed of this accident by wireless but they showed extreme callousness in sending any medical aid. The place of accident was within one and a half hour's flying distance from Calcutta. By that evening, one passenger was dead. The first officer expired in the night. Radio operator died next morning. Another passenger was dead by the afternoon. Strangely enough, no news was sent to the relatives of the two members of the crew. Had they been timely informed, efforts could have been made to bring them to Calcutta to give them proper medical aid. It is apprehended that the carbon tetrachloride of the Fire-extinguisher generated phosgene gas or liberated chlorine, both of which are poisons. The carefree callousness shown by the Airways India office in this case may be called criminal.

In the first case, which took place about a month earlier, a freighter air-craft crashed against the Himalayas in Bhutan (several miles north of Hasimara), resulting in the death of all three members of the crew, including Capt. Bearcraft. The air-craft flew head on against the hills and crashed, resulting in 3 deaths. The story circulated in Calcutta, after the accident,

was that all the members of the crew fell asleep and so the air-craft went on and on and struck against the hills.

It is impossible to believe that all 3 members of the crew simultaneously fell asleep in a running plane as if they were on a suicide trip. It must be remembered that Capt. Bearcraft was one of the best pilots in India. It is rumoured that contraband chloroform had been booked on this plane under false inventory.

Instances of booking of dangerous drugs and chemicals by plane had been earlier reported.

In September last bleaching powder was being carried in an Airways (India) plane bound for Gauhati. The pilot in charge of the plane had to return immediately after take-off, because of suffocation of the crew caused by fumes arising from the chemical.

Sometime near about the same date, a Calcutta firm was sending iodine crystals to Dacca in an Airways (India) plane. The bottles containing the crystals burst in the Aerodrome (probably, due to bad handling of the freight by the Company's porters). This caused detention of the air-craft.

The Port Health Officer, after these two incidents, reported the matter to the Controller of Aeronautical Inspection, Calcutta Air-port, Dum Dum. The C.A.I. replied to the Port Health Officer that necessary warning had been issued to all Airline Companies in a circular letter.

The consignee of the packing case which emitted the fumes on the Dakota leading to its forced landing on December 17 was the *Assam Tribune* of Gauhati. Our information is that this firm had been warned previously for getting supplies of inflammable material under false declaration.

It is absolutely clear that both these accidents had taken place due to the fact that the companies concerned had failed to heed the caution contained in the circular letter of the Controller of Aeronautical Inspection. He had made it clear in his circular that carrying of chemicals like Bleaching Powder, Iodine Crystals, Ammonia, Sulphuric Acid, etc., was forbidden under the Indian Air-craft Rules. The Director-General of Aviation must now come forward to investigate into these cases and satisfy public anxiety. Air travel should not be made hazardous through unscrupulous and illegal practices of greedy companies.

### Food

The food position in India is going from bad to worse. For once the Government have taken a very bold step by imposing a 25 per cent cut and for this they deserve to be congratulated. But this cut is localised in statutory ration areas alone. We know of rural areas where people are taking 20 to 30 ounces of food a day. Large quantities of food will be released for procurement if people in these areas could be induced to

content themselves with at least a 16-ounce diet in the interest of the nation at large. Serious efforts are being made to get food from the U.S.A. The negotiations with that country, however, are still in a fluid state. Meanwhile, attempts should also be made to secure Russian wheat. The rice deal with China has not as yet matured into certainty. Sri Nehru deserves the nation's congratulation in his declaration that no political strings will be attached to the food that India will import. Wastage of food in storage as well as transit is still very high. Serious steps should be taken to reduce wastage to the barest minimum. Arrangements should be made to introduce strict supervision of the work of the procuring and storing agents, which leave much to be desired. No false hopes of whatever description should be held out. The people must be frankly told the real situation so that they might take timely steps to face difficulties.

### *U.S.A. Technique of Help*

The criticism of the *Bombay Chronicle* passed on the "disposal" of surplus in foodgrains or manufactured goods in the country should be an eye-opener to the makers of the Republic's policy with regard to their much-boosted "Point Four Plan" of help to less-developed countries in Asia and Africa. The criticism appeared on December 15, 1950. It should enable them to understand the psychology of bitterness that has been spreading against the "American Way" of life.

"The U. S. refusal to give a large enough price concession to India to enable her to buy 750,000 tons of 'milo' to stave off famine raises again the propriety of destroying food-grains to keep up the price-level. According to an established practice in the United States, all surplus food-grains are bought by the Department of Agriculture to assure fair prices to farmers. The Department of Agriculture is required by law to sell surpluses as close to market price as possible, otherwise dispose it off in any way they please in order to make space for the next year's surplus. It is reported that mountain heaps of wheat, 'milo' and corn are burnt, dumped into the sea or just allowed to rot. This is in addition to food-grains fed to pigs and cattle. Similar destruction of food-grains is reported from other surplus countries. In normal times such a practice may be justifiable in certain people's eyes but to refuse famine-stricken countries at a concession rate surplus food-grains which are otherwise going to be destroyed, sounds inhuman. No high sounding economic theories can justify such an act. One fails to understand how giving away a portion of food-grains from a huge surplus to feed starving millions can upset market rates or hit the U. S. farmers? Such a transaction can be made independently without disturbing the world grain market. We repeat a suggestion made earlier that an inter-

national organisation like the U. N. should collect all surplus food-grains from their member countries and supply it to famine-stricken areas either at a concession or even free for the sake of suffering humanity. What better token can one have of the U. N. deal of peace and world brotherhood? Surplus countries like the United States ought to take a lead in the matter. Instead of looking at it from the narrow national point of view, the U. S. ought to make its surplus food-grains available to scarcity-ridden countries. What better gesture can they show to the non-Communist world?"

### *"British" Commonwealth Policy Independent of U.S.A.'s*

We do not know details of the discussion that took place in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference during the second and third weeks of January, 1951. We have for some time past been noticing a mounting spirit of criticism of U.S.A.'s handling of world affairs in almost every politically conscious country in the two hemispheres. And we would not be far wrong if we suggest that British politicians have been striving with all their might to build up a policy independent of U.S.A. pretensions and ambitions. The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' latest conference had been, we believe, an attempt in this line. The following, cabled from London on December 30 last throws a certain light on this particular development.

"The *New Statesman and Nation* in a front page editorial devoted to an assessment of the Far Eastern situation yesterday condemned the 'gook complex' of American leaders.

"The editorial declared that the first wave of protest against 'the time of acceptance' of the American military programme (particularly that part of it which involved Britain as America's advanced base in Europe) led to Mr. Attlee's visit to Washington.

"It would be a pity if Mr. Truman and his colleagues are now persuaded that no protest from England can ever go farther than this. Beneath the surface the volume of protest continues to grow. The labour movement is today driven by the Government's too ready acceptance of American domination."

It added, "What we need now is an independent statement of British views about a world settlement. It should be drawn up in concert with Mr. Nehru and perhaps with other Commonwealth leaders and it should set out constructive proposals which Britain is ready to bring to the proposed 'four-power' discussions with the Soviet Union.

"We should surely bargain in the matter of the Far East with the bluntest reiteration of the policy already laid down by the Allies in Cairo and Potsdam on favour of the return of Formosa to the Chinese Government.

"This is now the crux on which a cease-fire turns. The British are already committed to support Peking for membership of the Security Council and the U. N. programme includes the evacuation of all foreign troops from Korea which is the third Chinese demand. If we do not want to be treated as 'gooks' we must follow the Chinese in not behaving like them."

### *Cominform Military Might*

*Press Trust of India and Reuter* cabled from Belgrade on December 28 last the following news :

"Marshal Tito told Parliament today, that nearly 700,000 troops, apart from Red Army units, were under arms in the Cominform countries bordering on Yugoslavia.

He gave detailed figures to show that Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria had violated their peace treaties by increasing the size of their armed forces to 165,000, 301,000, 195,000 respectively.

The maximum strengths allowed by the peace treaties were 70,000, 138,000 and 65,500 respectively.

Albania had increased her forces correspondingly but she was not prevented from doing so by any treaty.

Because of these developments Yugoslavia had been forced to increase her military expenditure to 29,100,000,000 dinars in 1951 (about 200 million sterling) an increase of about 300,000,000 dinars (about 1,500,000 sterling) on the previous year.

Marshal Tito gave details of 1,397 frontier incidents, which the Cominform countries had operated along Yugoslavia's frontier since July 1948.

"We are consistently against every form of aggression, no matter if it comes from capitalist or socialist countries. We need peace more than anything else but not peace at any price."

For about 48 months the world has been kept busy with guessing when the Cominform countries would jump on Yugoslavia. That these neighbouring States have been able to restrain themselves is a proof that they are fully conscious of the dangerous possibilities of the situation. The abuses hurled at one another have, therefore, been accepted as letting off gas, giving an outlet to more explosive activities. The world is thankful for the respite. For, it feels that a day passed in peace is a day gained for peace.

### *The Malayan Tangle*

Since the retirement of Japanese troops from Malaya, the returning British have been finding it increasingly difficult to re-establish their power over the Archipelago in the Indian Ocean. The "5,000 Communists" are said to be at the back of all the turmoil in the country, and the general public being at best lukewarm towards the British regime, the British have been forced to rely on the power of the military to solve a problem which is political, as there is a feeling of resentment against an "External Authority" that during a hundred years and more have mainly been a handmaid of British finance-capital.

A study, summarized from the *Hindustan Standard*, of the ideological and socio-economic groups in Malaya, gives an idea of this jig-saw puzzle. Of the total population of Malaya, inclusive of Singapore, the Chinese number over 3,000,000. The Malaya population is slightly less than the Chinese population. The total number of Indians is estimated at 600,000. The population division clearly reveals the entrenched position of the Chinese community and this explains why the Federal authorities are making assiduous efforts to integrate democracy in the country by utilizing the Chinese populace.

The gradual ascendancy of MCA as the mouthpiece of Chinese democratic politics in the peninsula has undoubtedly isolated the Commies, who are mostly Chinese. Only a few Malaya and Indians have gone over to the Red front. Likewise the activities of UMNO have made the Malay population more or less view the Red guerilla resistance as a "purely Chinese affair." But the presence of militant Malaya nationalism, considered leftist in outlook, is the danger point. It would not be astonishing if it veers round to a policy of positive sympathy for the Reds to oppose UMNO and the Federal authorities. In order to prevent such an unholy link-up both the Federal authorities and UMNO are now engaged in reducing the power of leftist nationalism.

Of late UMNO has increased its following among the Malays and encouraged by the Government it has become the radiating centre of "stop the Commies" efforts and Anglo-Malaya political co-operation. On the other hand, MCA is steadily expanding its field of activities. To date its total membership has reached 170,000. It is expected that the membership will mount to 200,000 within three to four weeks. Moreover, the chambers of commerce of different communities—European, Chinese and Indian—as well as the planters' association and the mining interests are supporting all official measures concerning suppression of "Communist banditry."

A new plan has been set in motion by the new Commander-in-Chief. The enforcement of the Briggs Plan shows the determination of the Federal Government to hasten the termination of the protracted Red guerilla warfare. Under the plan, manpower will be used selectively to provide recruits for the security forces, particularly the police force. The plan does not intend to conscript masses of the population as "such action is not considered necessary." The draftees will be required to perform services for a longer period than three years or the duration of the emergency whichever is less.

The plan provides for the direction of labour and the control of workers, but it is intended to keep this power in reserve for the time being. In the police and military forces only persons between the ages of 17 to 45 will be induced. The new man-power conscription move amounts to a selective commandeering of civilian services to put an end to Red disturbances.

The plan also provides for collective punishments,



but it is contemplated that these will be imposed in well-defined and comparatively small areas where the inhabitants have clearly failed to do their duty either by not preventing the commission of crimes when they could or by failing to assist the police in discovering the miscreants. However no collective punishment will be imposed until a proper magisterial inquiry has established that there has been a real and culpable failure of the kind indicated.

### *Burma Republic's Third Year*

Our Burman neighbours celebrated the 3rd year of their life as independent Republicans on January 4 last with due pomp and ceremony. Our felicitations are offered on the occasion.

The year has been one of struggle and strain, the chief of these being the Karen revolt and the Communist group's armed insurrection. The Karen revolt is easy to understand. They demand on behalf of about 30 lakhs Karen an "autonomous" State. But it is difficult to understand how they propose to consolidate their 30 lakhs dispersed throughout Burma. The Karen revolt would have melted away long ago if it had not received encouragement and help from British groups, civil and military, with long experience of Burma acquired from residence in the country during British regime. U.S.A. people—very few—have also been found helping the revolt. After the death of Saw Ba U. Gyi, an outstanding Karen leader, once a member of the Thakin Nu Cabinet, the revolt appears to have lost its momentum and popular appeal.

The Communist attempt to disrupt Burma's economy is also easy to understand. But the fratricidal strife between the White Band and Red Band is not easy to unravel.

A brief newspaper survey of the insurgent groups will not be out of place in order to have a better perspective of Burma's political pattern. So far as the two major groups, namely, the White P.V.O's and the K.N.D.O's are concerned, much of the danger from them, a year ago, has now dwindled though their existence still constitutes a danger to the country and the people. After the death of their leader the late Saw Ba U Gyi, much of the fighting spirit has been knocked out of the K.N.D.O's. About sixty per cent of the White P.V.O's have returned to the Government fold and about twenty per cent more of them are expected to take advantage of the Amnesty, yet twenty per cent, ensconced in their jungle hide-outs, continue their resistance against the Government. However, it is hoped that the Peace Missions sent out by what are called the repentant P.V.O's will be able to bring in this recalcitrant group.

The M.N.D.O's who formed a minor insurgent group, according to one of their leaders, have undertaken to give up their resistance and to co-operate with the Government after Independence Day. Thus we are left with one main insurgent group, namely, the Communists who are divided into two parties, the White and the Red. The White

Communist dubbed "Stalinist" by the Foreign press for their particular brand of communism of a milder type, are led by Thakin Than Tun and are widely dispersed all over the country. They seem to be well-equipped, well-supplied and very much active. The Red Flag Communists who are termed the "Trotskyists" are led by Thakin Soe.

The Red Flag Organisation was an offshoot of the Burma Communist Party, though personal rivalry between the two leaders had begun with the inception of the Communist party itself. In Thakin Soe's views, the Communist party being meant for a struggle was only for those who believed in a struggle. On the other hand, Thakin Than Tun maintained that politics is a game where diplomacy has a place alongside the struggle. Differences of opinion between these two leaders culminated in a split in the Communist Party in March 1948 when Thakin Soe issued a manifesto accusing Thakin Than Tun and his then Lieutenant Thakin Thein Pe of compromising with the imperialists and opportunists. It was further suggested by Thakin Soe that the majority members of the Communist Party should be composed of those of his followers. This was, of course, unacceptable to Thakin Than Tun, and Thakin Soe and his followers left the party to form the Red Flag Organisation. The usual recriminations and personal slander were indulged in by both the leaders, culminating in the Red Flags resolving to exterminate the White Flags, the rivalry being so acute as to place this resolve above Thakin Soe's objective of fighting against the imperialist and the liquidation of the A.F.P.F.L.

Thakin Than Tun, leader of the White Flag Communists, was the first Secretary-General of the A.F.P.F.L. His primary objective then was to turn the A.F.P.F.L. into a Communist front. His first acute disappointment was when the A.F.P.F.L. formed the Provisional Parliament under the leadership of Bogoyoke Aung San. It was then that with the co-operation of its chief Lieutenant, Goshal alias Thakin Ba Tin, an Indian born and educated in Burma and a member of the Communist Party of India, he made endeavours to wrest the leadership of the A.F.P.F.L. by various means resulting in widespread strikes and agrarian agitation. With the expulsion of the Communist Party from the A.F.P.F.L., Thakin Than Tun went underground and up to the time of writing he continues to be a very real danger to the future of the country. A year ago Thakin Than Tun's White Flag Communists dominated the entire area upward from Toungoo until they were dispersed by a Government offensive.

The White P.V.O.'s or the People's Volunteer Organisation was an offshoot of the Liberation Army and the Burma Defence Army of the Japanese days and lastly the Patriotic Forces which drove out the Japanese Fascists from Burma.

While the A.F.P.F.L. and the Communists led by Thakin Than Tun were wrangling over different issues, the P.V.O.'s as mediators did not hide their sympathy for the Communist cause. With the failure of their

mediation efforts the P.V.O.'s went underground in July 1948. Even among the P.V.O.'s a split occurred on June 12, 1948, as a direct result of Thakin Nu's 14-Point Programme advocating "Leftist Unity." The Yellow Band supported Thakin Nu's plan while the White Band was prepared to support their own. The A.F.P.F.L. Supreme Council held a meeting on July 1 and 2, 1948, where, after a heated debate, Thakin Nu's Plan was adopted and ratified, while the P.V.O. Plan was turned down by an overwhelming majority of votes. Refusing to accept this decision, the White Band P.V.O.'s continued to convince the country of the practicability and utility of their plan. The A.F.P.F.L. resolutely tried to bring round the P.V.O.'s to its views. It had even offered to transfer power to the P.V.O.'s should they undertake to carry out the programme prescribed by the A.F.P.F.L. Refusing this offer, the P.V.O.'s ultimately went underground.

Thakin Than Tun is reported recently to have surrendered. And the prospects of comparative peace in Burma appear to have brightened.

The much used "ludu" which means the mass of the people has been treated to various political stunts and changes which, apparently, had taken them by surprise. It is imperative that, if the "ludu" are to keep their heads above the stagnant waters of Burmese politics, they should gain a clearer perspective of all that is going on in the political arena, and that they should not be swayed by ideological differences of which they are ignorant.

The Burma Peasants and Workers' Party which had been formed by the members of the Socialist Party who walked out of it is meant to be a party for the general mass of the people and its outlook, undoubtedly, will be influenced by Marxism as its guiding ideology.

This picture of Burma may be taken as fairly representative of conditions in the country. And hopes entertained by outside friends that Thakin Nu's Government is on the way to re-establish control over the whole country is nearer realization now than at any other time after 1945.

### *South Africa's Dangerous Policy*

Addressing the Congress of the Convention, a federal body of African organizations in the Union of South Africa, Mr. W. T. Tsotsi, President of the All-African Convention, envisaged on December 17 last a war—a war between European colonizers and colonials, between exploiters and the exploited:

"It is a war in which the millions of Asia and Africa, who have for generations been groaning under the yoke of foreign domination and oppression, are at least rising to throw off their shackles and come into their own."

The All-African Convention "was part of a vast world army which had pledged itself in the name of Democracy and peace to fight tyranny and oppression."

Africans should avoid isolated clashes and conserve their forces for a concerted struggle.

For non-Europeans, South Africa was always a Nazi or Fascist State characterised by the Herrenvolk

(master people) ideology, with ruthless suppression of human rights and different systems of laws for the ruling and subject races. The coming into power of the Nationalist Party of Dr. Malan has emphasised the Fascist nature of the South African State.

Both the Government and the Opposition were "heavy with the wine of racial superiority," and sooner or later nemesis would overtake them, Tsotsi warned.

Non-Europeans were the only group in South Africa capable of defending Democracy. Because they were denied the constitutional means of fighting Fascism a dangerous situation existed.

### *Transforming Yugoslavia*

Mr. R. N. Brailsford, the noted British publicist and consistent friend of India, has written an article on Yugoslavia that has appeared in the January 14 issue of the *People* (weekly) of Delhi. It is an attempt to assess the success of the measures which the ruling authorities of this Federation of States have been making to repair the war damages and improve the material and mental improvement of the people. Five-Year Plans have been the order of the day. But "a revolt is in progress against every form of bureaucratic centralization" and Marshal Tito has been forced to declare that there "will be no second Five-Year Plan."

Mr. Brailsford passed two months in Yugoslavia and has had opportunity to observe how the people have fought against the conditions created by a "thirsty summer" from February to the end of October, 1950. But with "the imaginative audacity" that had enabled them to fight the Hitler hordes, Tito's "young men" set to use their "assets" to the best purpose. The "more prosperous peasants were . . . discontented and half-hearted." And Marshal Tito had to declare that the area under cultivation was last spring still 1,75,000 acres "below the pre-war level."

But this is not the whole story; there was a brighter side, and it showed itself in Macedonia, the most neglected of the areas of the new Federation. The description of the transformation of Macedonia is worth reproduction which we do below:

"For my eyes, the happiest novelties in Macedonian life were its *zadrugas*. I use that name because neither co-operative nor collective farm is an exact translation. A *zadruga* meant originally a big patriarchal family farmhouse, in which three generations lived, tilling their common fields under the grandfather's direction. A few of these survivals of an older world still existed when first I knew Macedonia. The modern *zadruga* differs from the Russian collective farm in two respects. It is a voluntary creation formed on the initiative of the peasants themselves, and it is managed, not by a director nominated from above, but by a committee and a president elected by its members. The peasants throw their land and cattle into the common stock and work in teams known as "brigades." The produce is divided according to the number of working days each member has to his credit. Small plots of land are,

however, assigned to each family for its private use, and it may keep its own poultry and pigs. The Republic helps the *zadruga* with credits free of interest and repayable by instalments over thirty years. With such aid it builds its byres and granaries and has the first claim to such machinery as may be available. Chosen members are sent periodically to take courses in scientific agriculture. Methods of farming have been revolutionised by new rotations, the use of fodder crops and silos. I had no difficulty in believing the claim of a *zadruga* near Bitolia, that in four years it has increased production by 60 per cent. The peasants would show us the new houses they are now able to build. In the old days, as they put it, they "used to sleep on the floor, now they have beds." The older *zadrugas* have reserves of grain that will tide them over the drought. But there is something more than a gain in efficiency and material prosperity. Always in the handsome central building, beside the committee room and the cashier's office, there is a "Home of Culture," with a theatre, which will show films when electricity is available, and a modest library. Usually it has its choir and its amateur theatrical company."

One wishes that what has become possible in primitive Macedonia were possible in India—the people taking the initiative and the Government came to their help as and when it became necessary. This *zadruga* system is reminiscent of our old days and is hard to beat as an instance of social responsibility undertaken in a dutiful spirit.

### Science in Asia

The 38th session of the Indian Science Congress and the 1st session of the Pan-Indian-Ocean Congress were held at Bangalore during the first week of January, 1951.

Scientists from far and near, specially from the countries having "colonies" in the Indian Ocean region, graced the occasion and took part in the proceedings, apart from those of Canada, United States and Japan. The countries more concerned were Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, Iran, India, Pakistan. The Indian Institute of Science played the host on the occasion. The suggestion for holding the Pan-Indian-Ocean Conference came from the Australian National Research Council.

The General President of this session of the Indian Science Congress was Prof. Homi Jehangir Bhabha, 42-year old Director of Fundamental Research at Bombay since 1945.

The purpose of the Pan-Indian Ocean Science Congress is to discuss and promote concerted action in regard to scientific problems specially affecting industrial progress, agriculture, health and commercial interest of peoples living around the Indian Ocean, which will further help to strengthen the bonds of peace by promoting a feeling of brotherhood amongst scientists and the maintenance of harmonious relations between them.

The Indian Science Congress has been carrying on

its reclusive existence without being able to make modern science racy of the soil nor contributing in any significant manner to the enrichment of the country's material life. The setting-up of the Pan-Indian-Ocean Science Congress will, we hope, stir it out of its placidity. For, during the days that lie ahead such an indrawn life is destined to failure. We are sure that science can not be put into compartments marked Asia, Europe, the Americas, Africa and Oceania. There may, however, be something in the arrangement beyond an outward division—East or West, North and South. But the problems tackled by modern science are universal in their sweep, in their causation and consequences. Indian scientists, as such, have to recognize anew this development and contribute their share to the common fund of knowledge.

The address of the President of the Indian Science Congress is a proof that Indian scientists are ready to play their part in the quest after the "fundamental" elements of Nature by using the instruments and contrivances of modern research. Shri Homi Jehangir Bhabha symbolizes this youthful urge. In his address, he traced the developments in scientific research during the last half-a-century from "chemical elements" to "neutral pion." And he summed up his address in the following words as we find it summarized in the daily Press :

"Research conducted after the war demonstrated that the picture was again not so simple as it was then supposed to be, and two types of mesons were identified—the mu mesons, being those seen in cloud chamber photographs and the pi mesons responsible for nuclear forces. More recent experiments with the large cyclotron at Berkeley and elsewhere had led to the discovery of yet a new elementary particle, the neutral pion.

"We see now that at least nine different types of elementary physical entities exist in nature, while the existence of two more is almost certain.

"The circumstances that there are a dozen different types of elementary particles in nature would lead us to expect that there may be many more, and indeed with our present knowledge we cannot exclude the possibility that there may be an infinite number of them. This does not mean, however, that we shall never be able to obtain a complete description of them all. It is clear we are now penetrating into a new level of Nature which was practically unknown some twenty years ago."

Dr. Bhabha presided over the Pan-Indian Ocean Science Congress also. Its report is not with us as we write these lines. On the last day of its sitting (January 7) it adopted an interim constitution laying down for objective concerted action in regard to scientific problems affecting Indian Ocean people and the strengthening of the bonds of friendship among them. It also agreed to the President, Secretary and the Heads of the Delegations present here to constitute its Interim Council (Dr. H. J. Bhabha is President).

The Congress has already considered draft proposals on subjects of common interest to countries in the region and it was expected that it might set up national committees in each country to co-ordinate its work and make recommendations for new research.



C. agricultural sciences it said, it was necessary to foster a free interchange of personnel and information in the Indian Ocean area. The objective was to secure increased agricultural production, maintain and increase productive capacity of soils and raise nutritional and living standards of the people of the area. To this end it was thought necessary to form a Standing Committee on agriculture within the framework of the Congress.

The Standing Committee would be briefed to direct special attention to soil geography and socio-economic factors, research on water and soil conservation, problems of rain-fed areas and schemes of agricultural research.

On the subject of economic, educational and social sciences, the Congress recommended the use of sample surveys in the fields of population, public health, agricultural and industrial production, level of living, educational and cultural activities and national incomes.

It also recommended pilot projects in education of tribal children.

The creation of a section in human ecology with special reference to prevention of disease and attainment of optimum health was also considered.

The Congress agreed to hold its next session in August 1953 in Australia on an invitation from that country conveyed by its delegate Prof. A. D. Ross.

### *Geological Survey Centenary*

The Centenary of the Geological Survey of India was celebrated in the Calcutta Museum during the second week of January, 1951. The record of work of this department is magnificent and comparable to that of any similar survey organisation. As such the occasion was rightly observed and celebrated with ceremony and oratory. Press releases were given in profusion. We quote below from one of which the co-authors are Dr. A. K. Dey and Shri M. S. Venkataram.

"Geologically India is divisible into three regions:

(1) Peninsular region including the Shillong plateau of Assam in the north-east and the Kutch-Kathiawar region in the west occupying nearly 70 per cent of the land area; (2) the extra-Peninsular region—the Himalayas, Kashmir, Naga Hills of Assam, Manipur, Tripura, Andaman and Nicobar islands—comprising 13 to 15 per cent of the area and (3) Indo-Gangetic plains between Peninsular and extra-Peninsular region.

"The Peninsular region is among the oldest land areas of the world. Except for the Cretaceous and Tertiary beds, fringing the east coast and the southern part of the west coast, and more extensive areas in the west and north-west, and the valuable coal basins, and the basaltic lava flows covering its central and western parts, no rocks younger than the Cambrian are known to occur. This region is a stable land mass of great rigidity. The mountain ranges in the areas of old rocks are of relict type, remnants of hard rocks which effectively resisted sub-aerial denudation for long ages, though complicated by block faulting in the south.

"In contrast to the Peninsular region the extra-Peninsular region is a weak and flexible portion of the earth's crust which has been folded, faulted and overthrust. The steepness and depth of Himalayan gorges are indicative of the recent period of their latest uplift. The longitudinal portion of the gorges was determined when the Himalayan region first rose from the Tethyan sea (Trans-Himalaya) and the down cutting of the gorges kept pace with the upheaval and the folding of the ranges. In addition to an ancient substratum of rocks (similar to the oldest peninsular rocks) which were deposited in a major pre-Cambrian geosyncline and compressed to form the earliest Himalayan ranges, there are immense thicknesses of marine strata representative of all systems from Cambrian to Tertiary. The floors of the secondary geosynclines, within which the strata were deposited, subsided intermittently, but on the whole keeping pace with sedimentation. The Gangetic plains, lying between the Peninsular and extra-Peninsular regions, are of alluvium derived especially from the Himalaya; the lower part of this mass may be contemporary with the Siwaliks, etc., which are of similar origin."

The mineral ores of India, the hope of basic industries, have found a place in this article from which we quote below:

"India's mineral wealth has a distinct relation to her geological history. During the most ancient period were deposited her wealth of iron-ore, manganese-ore, chrome-ore (chromite) and other metalliferous ores indispensable for the modern iron and steel industry.

"The rocks of the earlier part of the Aryan era are the storehouse of most of the coal which forms the basis of India's industrial potential.

"The later Aryan period also provided coal and lignite, besides high-grade limestones. Oil, which is at present produced only from the Digboi field in Assam, is also an asset of this period.

"India's mineral wealth, though not in proportion to her growing population, is not insignificant when compared with that of other countries. India is fortunate in having within her domain adequate reserves of coal, iron, and metals required for ferro-alloys, which are the basis of modern industrialisation and power.

"Coal-mining in India is centred mainly in Bihar and West Bengal, but other important deposits are in Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Orissa, Hyderabad and Assam. The total reserves of coal down to a depth of 2,000 feet are estimated at 66,000 million tons. Reserves of coking coal have been estimated over 12,000 million tons. Besides these, India has potential reserves of lignite in Bikaner in Rajasthan and South Arcot in Madras.

"In petroleum, India has limited resources; reserves in the proved oil field in Upper Assam should be sufficient to yield a declining production over

several years to come. India at present produces about 7 per cent of her consumption.

"The vast deposits of iron-ore are most extensive in Singhbhum of Bihar and adjacent districts of Orissa, with others in Bastar, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Mysore and Hyderabad. The total known reserves of high grade iron-ore in India are of the order of 10,000 million tons.

"India produces manganese-ore of high grade quality, and although the principal deposits are in the Madhya Pradesh, others are widely scattered in Bihar, Orissa, Madras States and Panch Mahals. Reserves are not known but are undoubtedly considerable.

"Production of chromite in India is from Bihar, Mysore, Madras and Orissa.

"Reserves of tungsten-ore are small, confined to Jodhpur and Bankura; these should be able to provide much of the local requirements for ferro-tungsten alloy industry.

"India is a leading producer of ilmenite, the principal ore of titanium. She has large reserves of vanadium-bearing titaniferous iron-ores in the Singhbhum district of Bihar and Mayurbhanj district of Orissa.

"India is of world importance with regard to mica, kyanite and sillimanite. The main regions in which mica occurs in India are the Hazaribagh-Giridih-Gaya region in Bihar, Nellore district in Madras and Ajmer-Merwara in Rajasthan, but the amount and quality of production in Bihar far exceeds those of the other two regions. The mica is literally found in thousands of veins of various sizes. New ones are found as old ones are worked out, and depth limits of mines are gradually increasing. Hence the determination of reserves is practically impossible; all that can be said is that, although the deposits have been worked since the eighteen-seventies, there is no sign yet of exhaustion. On the contrary, production has shown a progressive tendency to increase. Production in 1949 was 151,696 cwts. and export 270,518 cwts.

"Perhaps the largest deposit of kyanite in the world occurs in Kharsawan (Bihar), where the minimum reserves are of the order of a quarter million tons. The same may be said of sillimanite, for the world's largest concentration of this mineral occurs in the Khasi Hills (Assam). Minimum reserves have been estimated at 250,000 tons. Deposits of sillimanite are also known to occur in the Rewah district of Vindhya Pradesh."

### ***Power Projects in Punjab***

"The first stage of the Bhakra-Nangal project will soon be completed. Like the completion of other great ventures, it will not bring with it a sense of fulfilment but will bring the State face to face with new tasks to fulfil. One task will be to utilise some 300,000 kwts. of electric energy. Experts have pointed out the imperative need of exploring in advance proper ways of using this power. Failure to act in time may well

leave the State with vast power on its hands but with no plan to make productive use of it. A warning against such a prospect has been given to the Punjab Government by the outgoing Director of Industries, Mr. S. N. Kapur. His words must carry a chilling realism to those who have watched the Punjab Government's struggle with the energy produced by the Mandi scheme. Out of the 30,000 kwts. being produced today, 8,000 kwts. are sold to Pakistan. A comprehensive, well-considered plan of industrialisation is, therefore, called for in order that the energy may be delivered and used in areas which are most in need of it and are ready to make purposeful use of it."

The "refugees" from West Punjab, we have been told, are a vigorous and enterprising set of people. We believe that prior to partition they were large-scale users of electricity. Why they have not found profit in using electric energy in their new homes and industries is a question that requires a reply. If they are going short of electricity then of course the picture is different.

### ***Electrification of Madhya Pradesh Towns***

A Nagpur telegram sent out on December 27 last announced a forward move in the State of Madhya Pradesh, the object of which is the "immediate" electrification of 16 towns. The announcement was as follows :

"An important step in the implementation of Madhya Pradesh Government's Plan of providing the nucleus of a State Electric Supply System was taken today (December 27) when Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India, before a large distinguished gathering, declared the Khaparkheda Thermal Station open.

"It is one of the two thermal stations feeding the southern grid. Khaparkheda is on the right bank of the Kanhan about thirteen miles from Nagpur and five miles from Khamptee.

"Sixteen towns with a population of over 10,000 each will, for the first time, get electricity supply from Khaparkheda.

"8,20,000 people living in urban areas will receive immediate benefit of Khaparkheda supply which is ultimately expected to be extended to 3,428,476 people.

"The rural area proposed for early development is nearly 2,000 square miles."

So far as we know the State has been lagging behind in the provision of modern amenities. But it has been straining hard to make up for lost time. And it appears to be succeeding well.

"Electricity is food," said a Serbian aged woman of the working class to Mr. Brailsford. In the case of the Madhya Pradesh, we hope that apart from the lighting of towns the Khaparkheda scheme will increase the food production of its area, thus easing the food position not only in the State but in the whole of India. Madhya Pradesh is a surplus area under food. But during the present crisis, it has a more extended part to play.

### *India's Ports and Harbours*

The Central Minister for Transport and Railways had a two-days' conference on board the Calcutta Port Trusts' vessel *Bengal* on the 7th and 8th January last. The chairmen of Port Trusts of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras and Heads of administration of the ports of Visagapatnam, Cochin and Kandla, top officials of the Central Ministries of Transport, Food, Finance and Commerce and the Collector of Customs, Calcutta, attended. The conference discussed among other things the question of introduction of a single Central Act for the administration of the ports of Cochin, Vizagapatnam, Kandla and such other ports as might, in future, be declared as major ports, direct representation for shipping and countrycraft interests on existing Port Trust Boards and the allocation of elected seats on Port Trust Boards.

It reviewed the present allocation of elected seats of Trustees on the Port Trust Boards of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. It was stated that shipping was under-represented in the existing Port Trust Boards and the time had come to give them direct representation. The conference recommended that the position should be rectified and that in the case of Bombay, countrycraft interests should be given a direct representation as an appreciable percentage of trade at that port was handled by this type of shipping.

A detailed discussion then took place on a draft Bill providing for the administration of the major ports of Cochin, Vizag and Kandla. The intention of this legislation is to empower the Central Government to provide for the development and administration of these ports either directly as a department of the Central Government under an Administrative Officer or through a Statutory Port Trust Board such as is functioning at the ports of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The Bill was discussed clause by clause and the conference is stated to have generally approved the principle of the draft legislation.

Another item discussed at the conference related to the provision of officers in Port Administration to give financial advice on the various port expenditure schemes. This proposal was a sequel to the recent discussion in Parliament during the debate on the Bill to amend the Calcutta, Bombay and Madras ports legislation. The principles governing municipal taxation of Port Trust properties and the question of introduction of uniformity in the levy of port charges on foodgrains at all major ports in India were also discussed at the conference.

The matters discussed were all confined to the external efficiency in these institutions. But the inner corruption and inefficiency of these statutory bodies have become a standing disgrace to the country. Pilferings at the Ports and Railways have been adding to the misery of the people.

### *"Hindi in a Hurry!"*

This was the heading of an article in a Bombay daily in criticism of the speech of Shri Jay Chandra Vidyalankar as President of the 38th session of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan's Rashtra Bhasa Parishad at Kotal in Rajputana during the last 4 days of 1950. Our Bombay contemporary has accepted the logic of the step taken by the Constituent Assembly when it decided in favour of Hindi as the State language. But he finds it difficult to share the "hurry" of the Hindi enthusiasts. Shri Jay Chandra made a grievance of the fact that the State has not been doing its proper bit for Hindi, but we have found nothing constructive in his criticism except the fact that the State has been putting off the constitution of the Federal units on what has come to be known as the "linguistic basis."

We have ourselves made this criticism since the beginning making it clear that this postponement will be leading to tensions that in this formative period of our State should have been avoided. The point of our own criticism was that the constitution should provide for the learning of one of the major languages of India other than the mother tongue on every aspirant for Federal appointments. We are glad to notice that Shri Amar Nath Jha, Chairman of the Federal Public Service Commission, has made the same suggestion in course of a speech he delivered at Mathura on December 26 last to the students and staff of the K. R. College. We gladly make room for this part of the said speech. The report said that Amarnathji "emphasized the need that each State must learn at least one of the major State languages because Gujarati, Bengali, etc. are richer than Hindi." The effect of this idea would be to counteract the rise of "Hindi imperialism" against which feeling has been already rising.

We do not write of such a danger without reason. Shri R. R. Divakar, Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting inaugurating this particular conference on December 27 last, made pointed reference to this. The issue is so important that we reproduce these portions of his speech as reported in the Press :

"Some of the people from the South are generally afraid of a certain kind of 'language imperialism' from Hindi. Certain other genuine difficulties in learning Hindi also are there.

But I do not think that it is beyond the ability of the people belonging to Hindi-speaking States to disabuse others of all misunderstandings. It should be possible for Hindi-speaking people to give the South as much time as is necessary for them to master the Hindi language.

They must also make them feel that they would have their own contribution to make for building up Hindi as the "lingua-franca."

No Hindi-speaking States will be justified in trying to lay down the rule or dictate the terms on which Hindi should develop. Hindi-speaking people can also create confidence among the Southerners by themselves learning one of the southern languages and by trying to promote some of them.

Translation of works of merit in the southern



languages into Hindi would be another way which would make Southerners shed their distrust."

"If there was a proper approach by the Hindi-speaking people and patient effort made to induce confidence in the people of the South there would be no difficulty in the spread of the language faster than we imagine."

Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari was more forthright in the expression of this apprehension :

"On the other hand, let me respectfully warn Hindi lovers, not to depend upon the coercion which a numerical majority of an ill-knit continental population can at the moment exercise. It will lead to disintegration and hostility rather than unity. Let us remember that for thousands of years many languages lived and grew side by side in India, and Hindi did not succeed in ousting other languages by force of its dominant momentum.

"This negative historic phenomenon should guide us in our steps. Let there be no indecent haste."

"My fear is that such haste will give the people of the East and South an impression that those whose mother tongue is Hindi are seeking to use their language as an instrument of oppression and domination in public affairs. This should be avoided at all costs. The slower but the surer pace of a voluntary synthesis is far wiser than the haste of enthusiasm.

"I have said perhaps what may not please but I am earnest and I claim to have worked for Hindi in the South for the last thirty years and am not a luke-warm about it."

### *Compost Production in West Bengal*

In the production of compost in rural areas West Bengal has a encouraging story to tell. A Government communique issued by the Directorate of Publicity describes details of the minor success attained which we publish below:

"West Bengal's target of production of compost manure in the rural areas, in 1949-50, was exceeded by 17,000 tons, the total production being 1,17,000 tons. Of this quantity, at least 1,04,000 tons is known to have been actually utilised during the year. As many as 1492 persons qualified themselves for award of prizes of Rs. 15 each; 1448 for prizes of Rs. 10 each and 277 for the special prizes of Rs. 50 each.

This year again, the Government of West Bengal in the Agriculture Department have offered prizes for encouraging production of compost manure from rural refuse, including household waste, farm refuse and cattle-shed sweepings, etc., in the rural areas. This year two prizes of Rs. 15 and Rs. 10 each will be awarded to the best compost producers in each Union. In addition, all cultivators producing 1,000 cubic feet of ripe compost, equivalent to 20 tons, will be awarded special prizes of Rs. 50 each.

Another scheme for encouraging eradication of water-hyacinth and other aquatic weeds and utilising these for production of compost manure has been sanctioned by Government. Each cultivator preparing compost manure out of these weeds will be entitled to payment of Rs. 1-8 per ton of ripe manure from Government and any one preparing 100 tons or above

of ripe manure will also be eligible for a prize of Rs. 100. This would, it is hoped, encourage larger number of people in the rural areas to eradicate these weed-pests for preparing valuable compost for their food crops—and thereby add their mite towards the food self-sufficiency of the State."

It must be pointed out, though, that these are but small beginnings. Millions of tons of compost are needed, where a bare hundred thousand tons are produced.

### *"Earn While You Learn"*

The Education Department of Uttar Pradesh has taken one step forward in the sphere of the "self-help" content of basic education. It has prepared a scheme for production and marketing of certain useful articles in the primary schools and junior and secondary schools. The scheme will be introduced in 25,000 schools. The State Training in handicraft already forms a part of the curriculum of the basic education. The Education Department has opened camps in the eastern districts for training of teachers in spinning, weaving and carding. The Government have instructed the heads of the educational institutions asking them to get articles of every day use prepared by the students according to local needs.

Presiding over the 25th session of the All-India Educational Conference at the Osmania University on December 29 last, Dr. Zakir Hussain, Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh University, emphasized the same point by declaring that the achievements of the Indian Universities fell short of what our circumstances required; it was not enough for them to have some scholars and scientists of eminence: they should have leadership in all walks of their national life, men with a grasp of reality and who appreciated the needs of life and dedicated themselves to their fulfilment.

What Indian Universities needed today was a re-orientation of their functions in national life, functions that were to be assigned to them. It would be most prudent if the needs of Universities could be studied and provided for with a view to making them effective means of national reconstruction. The key-note of University work should be social responsibility—but social responsibility freely undertaken and not under duress.

There was nothing more urgent than the introduction of basic education throughout the country today. They should know that the resources of the State would not render this possible for yet some time to come. They should organise well-thought-out programmes of basic education in selected schools and in compact areas; make use of all available non-official agencies anxious to put forth their best for this important task; give them liberally the resources they lacked; organise an eight-year course as one integral whole basic education, so that running expenses of the school were met by the sale of useable articles produced by children.

### *"Scalping"*

The Association on American Indian Affairs has through its National Films Committee brought forth

evidence, says the *World Interpreter* of New York, to show that "white men," not the Indians, started the practice of scalping. Millions of people in the West have grown up on this belief for 2 to 3 hundred years. Thus have western historians done injustice to Red Indians who number today more than 2 millions.

The paper quotes authorities to prove the truth of this charge against the white man. James Mooney of the Smithsonian Institution wrote in 1910: "Scalping was continued originally in North America to a limited area in the Eastern United States and the lower St. Lawrence region. It was absent from New England and much of the Atlantic Coast region, and was unknown until comparatively recent times throughout the whole Interior and Plains area. It was not found on the Pacific Coast or the Canadian Northwest."

Another expert, Georg Frederici, also writing for the Smithsonian, pointed out that the New England Puritans, in 1637, were first to offer premiums for native heads. He asserts, besides, "The acme of the custom was reached after the institution by whites of scalp premiums, accompanied by the employment of natives for scalp gathering, and scalping by the whites themselves." Frederici says that during the later wars in which the colonists were concerned, "scalp hunting was incited to still greater intensity. The premiums were large, ranging up to 100 pounds for one scalp; and they applied to Indians as well as to white enemies... Members of friendly tribes; and even the white countrymen of the scalpers were not safe, and even graves were made to yield victims."

Pennsylvania offered a regular schedule of scalp prices, on July 7, 1764, through Governor Penn (not to be confused with William). Rates varied from \$50 to \$150, according to age, tribe, etc. In June, 1755, General Braddock guaranteed his soldiers and Indian allies five pounds for every enemy scalp.

### *Sinclair Lewis*

Sinclair Lewis, the American novelist and creator of "Babbitt," died at Rome on January 10 last. Lewis earned fame by his bitter satires on American urban life, on the hypocritical clergy of his time, and on the outlook and the ways of American businessmen in particular. The Nobel Prize for literature first to be given to an American, was awarded him for qualities which were summed up as "his great and living art of painting life, with a talent for creating types, with wit and humour." He effectively exposed the myth that life in his country was only noble and happy.

To us in India his *Babbitt* was an introduction to U.S.A. life bursting with prosperity. We were enabled by him to have a glimpse into the dark abyss created by modern industrialism with its sacrifice of human beings at the altar of plutocracy.

Further acquaintance with the dark forces at work came when Sinclair Lewis exposed the judicial murder of Sacco and Venzetti, two Italian-born miners employed in Pennsylvanian coal mines. The police had

put them up as Communists. This exposure was as searching as that by Emile Zola of the Dreyfus scandal, precipitated by high officials in the French Army moved by their prejudice against a rising Jewish officer.

### *Thakkar Bapa*

On the 19th January last was snapped another link with the Gandhian Age by the departure of Amrit Lal Thakkar from this world at his 82nd year. From 1869 to 1951, his life has covered the most dynamic years of India's recent history, and in it Amrit Lal Thakkar has played a most constructive part.

Born at Rajkot in Gujarat, he passed out in 1890 as an engineer from Poona. Thereafter he saw service in Bombay City and finally in East Africa from where he returned in 1914. He joined the Servant of India Society, and true to the vows of initiation he served the lowly, the poor and the voiceless in India to the last days of his life.

Later he came under the influence of Gandhiji who ever found in Amrit Lal a never-failing friend in every department of social service. As Secretary of Harijan Sevak Sangh, of the Kasturba Memorial Fund, he carried all responsibilities, and shunned all honours. But these dogged him, and only a week or two before his death, he was made President of the Managing Committee of this Fund in the absence of Vallabhbhai Patel pre-deceasing him by 34 days only.

His silent service to the "tribals" in India, about 25 million souls, will earn him a place in India's history. A pioneer in this line, Amrit Lal demonstrated what a single man can do by persistence in changing the minds of men—exploiter and exploited. He has died full of years. We may not mourn for him but may best commemorate him by following the path indicated by him. May his soul rest in peace!

### *Shiv Narain*

Death occurred here at 1 p.m. on December 10 last of Lala Shiv Narain, one of the oldest members of the Delhi Bar Association and a former President of the All-India Kayastha Conference. He was 74 years old.

He was a leading advocate of Delhi and was connected with many welfare and charitable organizations. For many years President of the Delhi Bar Association, he was one of the senior Vice-Presidents of the Foreign Relations Society.

He died of cerebral haemorrhage. He leaves behind his widow, two sons and three daughters.

Lala Shiv Narain was associated with the Reception Committee of the Indian National Congress special session held in Delhi in 1918. He had been a member of the Delhi Municipal Committee for a long period. He defended Congressmen during the non-co-operation movement, the two civil disobedience movements and later in 1942.

Lala Shiv Narain has died full of years and full of honours. May his soul rest in peace!

# DIRECTIONS IN SCULPTURE

By D. P. ROY CHOWDHURY,  
*Principal, School of Arts and Crafts, Madras*

EVERY action is initiated by a purpose which aims at an objective. Art functions as one such action. The objective of plastic or graphic art is to seek an expression which is forged by a strong emotion and released through a concrete pattern. The pattern has a message to give. Therefore it is significant. The significance relates to the interpretation of an experience gained by coming in direct contact with an object that excites the artist to respond to the call for an expression. Therefore, it is strictly personal.

The expression thus released usually has a mission, to communicate to one who is ready to receive it. In the circumstances the means of communication is endowed with the quality of a language which is not only expected to be knowledgeable but should also have the driving force to convey the spirit of the message without being trapped by abstrusiveness. In the absence of this essential quality in the medium of communication, the purpose of expression is lost.

I have dragged the explanation to this length in order to collect vital points that relate to modern trends in sculpture in our country. These trends represent a new language that intends to stay. I have said "New Language" because it is distinct from that of our traditional motives and the conventional patterns, of the West, as well. The language of sculpture, whatever pattern it may refer to, scrupulously avoids vagueness in its message on account of its defined articulation, which is composed of silhouettes all around the structure with clear-cut sharp lines. It has no background of its own to rely on for an atmospheric effect. Nor is it supported by any description easily obtainable in literature. Facilities to exercise the imagination in a three dimensional language are therefore curtailed to the minimum. In painting, the accessories of a background are part and parcel of the picture, of which the pattern is designed to enhance the importance of the main theme. Here the imagination of the observer has a tremendous scope for growth. The accessories in the background remain just dull and dumb to give importance to the subject which is destined to play the leading role. Literature is also no less privileged because a simple suggestion can help to exercise the imagination to a long range. But suggestion in sculpture drawn from any source other than its own does not work to an advantage unless deception is acclaimed as an achievement. It is so, because correct presentation of sculpture depends on the quality of the light, and its cordial reception on various planes of the surface. Sculpture in its true characteristic, associates itself with massiveness. It is severe, yet serene, and stands as a symbol of reverence. It leaves no room for those possibilities of favourable accidents that often render service to a composition in colour. The demand of sculpture is to be left alone to create an atmosphere for its assertive existence. The expression in a three dimensional language is therefore exhaustive within its own form. To the image of beauty thus fashioned belongs the sacred-

ness of a shrine. Hence expression through this medium cannot fall in line with what can be produced by a sketchy appeal in a picture.

An imposing stature on a gigantic scale is an essential quality of a sculpture. When reduced in size to fit in with an interior decoration, it is helplessly exposed to damaging interpretation or takes shelter under an illusive effect. The effect is created to add a quality that perhaps never existed in the content of the original. The aid thus made available serves its purpose well from a particular angle, but at the cost of the whole truth. It is well suited for a deceptive presentation and so the planning involved is mischievous. This trend is fast developing into a trade to meet the needs of drawing-room accessories.

Many sculptors of our country have been dragged into taking up the occupation as a lucrative business. They cannot be blamed because the artist must sell to live. The principal seductive agents in this respect are unassimilated ideals worked up into "isms" gathered from the West. When superficial approach is the only means of understanding, discrimination has to be abandoned. It is a convenient adjustment since discrimination when it leads up to a conviction, looks for reasoning which is based on sincere study and correct assessment of values. But there is strain in such a pursuit; therefore, the task is made easy by accepting the currents of the raging fashions of the day. The tide of the time having come to the rescue, decision is pawned for intellectual gambling on abstract themes. These themes serve certain purposes on occasions, no doubt, but they fail to meet the objective, to the extent desirable on account of the equipment of language being defective. It would not be irrelevant if I say that the development of a reliable language is not achieved in a day. Its stability is built up by currency of long standing. Since generation after generation contributes to the making of language, every language is a collection of signs created to identify things or suggest different meanings to familiar objects or intentions. But the new language of art, as it is being evolved in our country, is ambiguous. Hence its utility is unpredictable until it has survived trials for a considerable time.

I feel sorry to add that the borrowed progressive outlook falls short of expectations as to what is due from a higher form of art. I have to emphasise here that the gift from the artist is not to be merely a passing phase or just submission to current fashion. Art must live for posterity. Professions of progress of the modernists have not been realised in practice for the reason that there has been no sincerity of purpose. I, however, hope that artists who have been led astray in their pursuit of quick recognition will be more serious in their attempts of expression, otherwise the ambitious project welcomed in haste may suddenly collapse on account of the greater speed of the changing fashion.\*

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# WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

## A Layman's Humble Tribute

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"Not marble nor the gilded monuments  
Of princes shall outlive this powerful rhyme."

—SHAKESPEARE

I am perfectly aware that it is the "very sea-mark of the almost sail" of impertinence to attempt to write on Shakespeare at this time of day. One is stricken dumb at the sight of the huge mass of Shakespearean criticism; and still it goes on and on without any hope of respite. No wonder that, before it, "gorgons and tydras and chimeras dire" lose somewhat of their quality of frightfulness. Even to peruse a list of the volumes that deal, directly or indirectly, with that master-mind is enough to drive one mad. What a progeny he has, indeed! He himself was careless of fame to a degree; and after finishing his plays was sublimely indifferent as to what might happen to them afterwards. He had a job to do, and he did it. It was no business of his to rack his brain over the probable nature of their appeal to posterity. That consideration, apparently, did not weigh with him in the least. His concern, rather, was wholly with the present: that is to say, with his "bank and shoal of time." No author, we are compelled to ruminate, could have been so little vain. Those who ply the pen are not, usually, given to such a philosophic disdain about their productions: they do bestow an amount of thought upon their likely reception by the public—both the immediate public and the remote—that, at times, appears as the apex, apogee and apotheosis of absurdity. One is led to exclaim: "Have they no sense of proportion?"

### THE VANITY OF ARTISTS

Their incessant care is about their own work: the likelihood or otherwise of its popularity, of its permanence. Perhaps their dreams also are mainly of these. Nor is this, let me suggest, very unreasonable. Your literary man is a sort of creator: yes, even if he is only a critic and an essayist and a writer on miscellaneous subjects. His every sentence, if he is a scrupulous artist, is "one entire and perfect chrysolite." It admits of no interference at the hands of anyone. It was not jerked off lazily, as a thing of no consequence, and deserves to be respected on that account alone. It requires some more than common talent to cultivate your own manner of writing out of the rubbish-heap of words that is lying about for everybody's use. This is the first step in the process. The second is to make that chosen instrument of yours so distinguished and so much a part of yourself that discerning readers can at once find it out to be yours wherever it is seen.

Your professional author is, therefore, naturally a trifle self-conscious with reference to his work; and his eyes see far into the future. But Shakespeare did

not suffer from this last infirmity of noble minds. Beyond a shrewd guess that he was such a lord of utterance as "never was on sea or land," that not marble nor the gilded monuments of princes would outlive his powerful rhyme, he did not ponder painfully over questions relating to his probable place among the world's singers. That itself is, I submit, highly suggestive. Your true Olympians have a non-chalance about themselves that puts to shame the idle composites of the lesser rabble of mortals.

### SHAKESPEAREAN COMMENTARIES

I have remarked that the number of commentaries on Shakespeare that have achieved print is well-nigh legion. He has been surveyed from every possible point of view: except, maybe, from the point of view of having been a woman, as Samuel ("Erewhon") Butler profoundly prognosticated about Homer. There are those that would like to foist his work on Bacon. There are those that argue that he was a crusted Conservative—the late Mr. Charles Whibley, a gifted writer, was chief of these—and those (like the inimitable Mr. Robert Lynd) that are equally vehement that he was a fiery Radical. There are those that hold him as a thing "ensky'd and sainted," as Lucio says of Isabella in *Measure for Measure* (there are many passages in his plays that are peerless for moral excellence and for philosophical penetration); and there are those again—and the late Mr. Lytton Strachey was the leader of these—that taunt him for words and phrases, for "the ithyphallic fun," as Mr. Logan Pearson Smith calls it, that would meet with short shrift at the hands of the censor even in our notoriously lax times. Finally, there are those that regard him as having been a model of sanity and those that will have nothing to do with this theory.

Now, is there much sanity in these words that he puts into the mouth of Othello, when he raves that he will never flinch from his determination to punish Desdemona?

"Never Iago. Like to the Pontic sea,  
Whose icy current and compulsive course  
Ne'er feels retiring ebb, but keeps due on  
To the Propontic and the Hellespont;  
Even so my bloody thoughts, with violent pace,  
Shall ne'er look back, ne'er ebb to humble love,  
Till that a capable and wide revenge  
Swallow them up."

### HIS CAPACITY FOR WRINGING TEARS

As for his capacity for wringing tears from our eyes,—why, he has no equal. *King Richard II* is compact of pathos. One cannot read it without a lump in the throat. King Richard's:

"... of comfort, no man speak:  
Let's talk of graves, of worms, and epitaphs;  
Make dust our paper, and with rainy eyes  
Write sorrow on the bosom of the earth . . .  
For God's sake let us sit upon the ground,  
And tell sad stories of the death of kings";

his parting words to the Queen his wife :

"Join not with grief; fair woman, do not so,  
To make my end too sudden: learn, good soul,  
To think our former state a happy dream:  
From which awak'd, the truth of what we are  
Shows us but this: I am sworn brother, sweet,  
To grim Necessity; and he and I  
Will keep a league till death";

and the most shattering lines of them all :

"Part us, Northumberland; I towards the north,  
Where shivering cold and sickness pines the clime;  
*My wife to France, from whence, set forth in pomp,  
She came adorned hither like sweet May,  
Sent back like Hallowmas or short'st of day*";

are these not unequalled sobstuff? And the scene between Arthur and Hubert in *King John*? Is it not a worthy pendant to these? And Constance's outbursts of grief?

#### HIS MANY-SIDEDNESS

There is, unfortunately, a strain of jingoism in our bard that cannot but be matter for our abiding sorrow. His partiality for that ne'er-do-well, King Henry V, is too palpable; and old John of Gaunt's rhapsody about England, "this royal throne of kings, this sceptred isle," etc., in *King Richard II*, which every school-boy knows, and the equally chauvinistic vaunt of the Bastard Falconbridge, in *King John* :

"... nought shall make us rue,  
If England to itself do rest but true,"

are sickening in the extreme.

As for his wit and humour, the two parts of *King Henry IV* are replete with them. Take Falstaff away, he that was not only witty himself but that was the cause of wit in others, and how poor does Shakespeare become! And then look at those tragedies.

#### THOSE TRAGEDIES

Any one of them would have assured immortality of fame to an author. And how to choose among them? *Hamlet*, of course, is the primè favourite. But is *King Lear* below it in grandeur? And is *Macbeth*? And is *Othello*? And is *Antony and Cleopatra*? To me each one of them is more or less equally good. One quality is pre-eminent in one, and another in another. For sheer intellectuality *Hamlet* does bear away the bell: for pathos, *King Lear*: for a sort of macabre splendour, *Macbeth*: for that green-eyed monster, jealousy, *Othello*: and for verbal fireworks *Antony and Cleopatra*. I have already quoted from *King Richard II*. What about these lines from *King Lear* in the matter of the utter breaking down of one's feelings? Lear is saying to Cordelia:

"No, no, no, no! Come, let's away to prison;  
We two alone will sing like birds in the cage;

When thou dost ask me blessing I'll kneel down  
And ask of thee forgiveness: so we'll live,  
And pray, and sing, and tell old tales and laugh  
At gilded butterflies, and hear poor rogues  
Talk of court news; . . ."

#### CUT-AND-COME-AGAIN QUALITY

There is a kind of cut-and-come-again glory about these tragedies that is a perpetual wonder. Read them for the hundredth time and not a jot or a tittle of their beauty is abated. And let us give up comparisons. I like even the three parts of *King Henry VI*: I have read *Titus Andronicus* and am not visibly the worse for the experience. There is not much of Shakespeare there, it is true, but what of that? If he has merely looked over a sheet of blackened paper,—blackened, that is, with writing,—then that moment it takes on a prettiness all its own. He is free, indeed—though others abide our question; and he is really not of an age, but for all time.

Speaking for myself, I have long since ceased to regard him as a mortal, flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone. Rather should he be described as a demi-god—one who lives in the suburbs of Paradise and was born into this world just to instruct us in the art of adding word to word in such a manner as to bring forth, finally, an inimitable verbal orchestration. Anyhow, it is certain that there was a divinity that shaped his language—rough-hew it how he would, on occasion. It may be remarked about his utterance that it

"... robs the Hybla bees,  
And leaves them honeyless,"

as he himself caused it to be said of Antony's. His command of words was, to put it at the lowest, not of this earth. It came "from afar"; and was "apparelled in celestial light." Who can sing his glory,—that glory which he himself defines in the First Part of *King Henry VI*, as being like

"... a circle in the water,  
Which never ceaseth to enlarge itself  
Till by broad spreading it disperses to nought?"

#### CAN RANGE THE WHOLE GAMUT OF HUMAN EXPERIENCE

His pen can range the whole gamut of human experience with a sureness of touch that would be incredible if we had not the proof of it by our side. Wherefrom he acquired that knowledge, and wherefrom he picked up that vocabulary, it is not for me to suggest; and, perhaps, even acknowledged scholars may be hard put to it to explain adequately, either to themselves or to others. He was a man-about-town and could be, in his own fashion, very busy. He had his theatre to attend to and his plays to be written; and, besides, there were the hours to be spent in carousing in the Mermaid Tavern and in breaking a dialectical lance with glorious 'Ben.' What says Fuller?

"Many were the wit combats between Shakespeare and Ben Jonson which two I behold like a Spanish great galleon and an English man-of-war. Master Jonson, like the former, was built far higher in learning, solid but slow in his performance. Shakespeare, like the English man-of-war, lesser in bulk, but higher in sailing, could turn with all tides, tack about, and take advantage of all winds, by the quickness of his wit and invention."

HE WAS CONTENT TO REAP WHERE HE  
DID NOT SOW

It is true that he was not under any tyrannical necessity of inventing plots, because he was not too nice in the matter of filching them from the older authors—especially from Plutarch. Plutarch's *Lives* was a veritable mine of information for him. He was content—nay, supremely content—to reap where he did not sow, and to let that ancient Greek do the journeyman's work for him. Probably, Enobarbus's famous description of Cleopatra's barge (wherein she first met Mark Antony on the river Cydnus) is nothing but pure Plutarch in metrical form. Where detail was concerned Shakespeare was—let the horrible truth be confessed—often enough a most "omnipotent" pirate, even as Poina was a most "omnipotent" villain, according to the worthy testimony of Falstaff: though, to be sure, it is not to be denied that when he was *in the mood* he could riot in detail as well as the next man. Here is Mistress Quickly, for instance, standing up to Falstaff anent his proposal of marriage to her:

"Thou didst swear to me upon a parcel-gilt goblet, sitting in my Dolphin-chamber, at the round table, by a sea-coal fire upon Wednesday in Whitsun week, when the prince broke thy head for liking his father to a singing-man of Windsor; thou didst swear to me then, as I was washing thy wound to marry me, and make me my lady thy wife. Canst thou deny it? Did not good wife Keech, the butcher's wife, come to then and call me go-sip Quickly? coming in to borrow a mess of Vinegar; telling us she had a good dish of prawns; whereby thou didst desire to eat some; whereby I told thee they were ill for a green wound? And didst thou not when she was gone downstairs, desire me to be no more so familiarity with such poor people; saying that ere long they should call me madam? And didst thou not kiss me, and bid me fetch thee thirty shillings? I put thee now to thy book-oath: deny it, if thou canst."—*The Second Part of King Henry IV.*

A MAGICIAN WITH WORDS

This is, certainly, circumstantial evidence gone crazy. Our bard, then, could be inventive when he was so minded. But, for the most part, he did not, so far as the piling on of such items is concerned, scruple to borrow right and left: he must have been indolent to a degree. The fact to be borne in mind, however, is that he never let the process stop there: he could always be relied upon to transform that base metal into gold of the finest. His real *forte* lay in converting the raw material to hand into the immortal stuff of poetry. Shakespeare, in short, was a magician with

words: with his Prospero's wand he could summon them, as it were, out of the vasty deep. He had "the poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling"; and thus could give

"... to airy nothing  
A local habitation and a name."

HIS TEEMING BRAIN

That he had a fertile imagination can be easily proved. Imagination is of two kinds. That which we commonly meet with is the imagination of, if I may call it so, *incidents*; and for the highest of that kind we have to go to the detective novelists and fiction-writers generally. The other kind is the imagination of, again if I may call it so, *ideas*. In this latter kind Shakespeare was supreme. In his teeming brain one idea begot another, and that one another still, and so on till we have a mosaic of ideas that had for its starting point that first idea; or, contrarywise, we have, not the mosaic of ideas just now spoken of, but the self-same idea distended to its furthest dimension, the self-same idea on which, in the process of development, "the light that never was on sea or land" is focussed. The "to be, or not to be" soliloquy of Hamlet is, I think, an ideal example of the former kind. Of the latter kind there are any number of instances. What about this in *Macbeth*? Macbeth is asking the physician to cure his lady of her "thick-coming fancies":

"Cure her of that:

Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased;  
Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow;  
Raze out the written troubles of the brain;  
And with some sweet oblivious antidote  
Cleanse the stuff'd bosom of that perilous stuff

Which weighs upon the heart?"

DIFFICULT TO QUOTE

Note here how the same idea had been expressed in *several* ways. Quotation is really difficult because the text of Shakespeare's plays is full of this kind of thing; and that, too, both in prose and in poetry. The chief trouble with him is, indeed, this of quotation: quotations come, not single spies, but in battalions. Almost every alternate passage clamours to be quoted; and this, not only in the more celebrated plays, but even in the less. Sometimes one cannot see the wood for the trees. What about this, again, from *Antony and Cleopatra*? Cleopatra, in Walter Pater's celebrated phrase, is "expanding" her notion of Antony's noble nature "to the measure of her intention":

"His legs bestrid the ocean: his rear'd arm  
Crested the world: his voice was property'd  
As all the tuned spheres, and that to friends;  
But when he meant to quail and shake the orb,  
He was as rattling thunder. For his bounty,  
There was no winter in't; an autumn 'twas  
That grew the more by reaping: his delights  
Were dolphin-like; they showed his back above  
The element they lived in: in his livery  
Walked crowns and crownets; realms and  
islands were  
As plates dropp'd from his pocket."



On looking back, I find that there is still a lot more to be written and that there is no space to write it in. I have not said anything about Shakespeare's heroines, and that beautiful play, *Twelfth Night*, has not been so much as mentioned. I have passed by *Troilus and Cressida* and *Romeo and Juliet* and *The Tempest* and that favourite of my own, *Measure for Measure*. The famous *Merchant* has gone the same way of non-recognition. It cannot be helped. It is not easy to do justice to every point within this small compass. Shakespeare is a "tun" of an author, as Falstaff was a "tun" of a man, and he cannot be adequately treated inside a few pages. My article is in the nature of a sincere tribute and should be taken as such and as nothing else.

"THE NOBLEST ROMAN OF THEM ALL"

My sole excuse is that I admire him "this side

idolatry." I have spent many happy hours in his company; and the more I read of him the more he rises in my estimation. I am, as a rule, an enthusiast of English prose rather than of English poetry. But when Shakespeare and Wordsworth are "in the case" the matter becomes entirely different. I am sorry that much attention has not been paid to Shakespeare's prose. Well, it is as good as his poetry. He makes Falstaff not merely witty but spout glorious prose. The prose passages in *Hamlet* are every whit on the same level as the poetic ones.

But let me stop here; and conclude, as several others have concluded before me, that Shakespeare is, and ever will be, "the noblest Roman of them all"; and that, for the perfect utterance of beautiful words, he is, in the late Mr. Maurice Baring's memorable phrase in another connection, "the Pillars of Hercules of mortal achievement."

—:O:—

## FISHERIES RESOURCES OF INDIA

By PROF. CHATURBHUI MAMORIA, M.A., M.COM.

THE term fishery is usually applied to the taking of all forms of life from the rivers or the seas. It thus includes the catching of lobsters and crabs, the collecting of oysters, the hunting of whales and seals, gathering sponges and corals as well as the capturing of true fish—which is edible. It is with this last fish that we are concerned here. Fish is the easiest available food whose supply is said to be inexhaustible if properly exploited. It has been estimated, for example, that in the world as a whole fish form less than 3 per cent of animal food consumed by man, but in places, such as Iceland, Newfoundland and parts of Norway and Japan they form a far higher percentage. The proteins and fats in the fish are easily digestible and compare favourably in nutritive value with beef. Fish fats and specially fish livers contain valuable vitamins which are essential in the prevention of rickets and other diseases arising from the deficiency of vitamins A and D.

It has been well said that "measured by the labour involved" fish is among the least costly of all protein foods. Fish can be easily caught because in raising the harvests of fish man has not to incur so much expenditure as in agriculture or industrial pursuits. The breeding of fish does not tax in any way man's pocket or efforts. There are no fields to plough and cultivate, no seeds to sow and no cattle to tend in order to reap the bountiful harvest. The only cost incurred in obtaining fish is in catching it or in preserving it for future use at a distance from the place of production. In this respect it is the cheapest available food-stuff. It supports a high population in those countries where land is not hospitable as in Norway or Japan or western Columbia.

Coming to our own land we observe that during the last few years there has been an acute food shortage in the

country, as a result of which only 39 per cent of the people are well-fed, 41 per cent poorly fed and about 20 per cent are badly nourished. Besides this, majority of our people do not afford a nutritive diet. What matters most is that a high percentage of the Indian population does not get enough to eat and still a higher percentage does not get the 'right type of food.' This is, in main, due to lack of food resources. In India only 0.72 acres of land per capita is sown, of which only 0.57 is under food crops, which is quite inadequate for this purpose. In terms of nutritional potential this area is miserably small. Dr. O. E. Baker (Agricultural Expert from U.S.A.) has calculated that the per capita requirement in respect of cultivated areas for different standards of dietary is as follows :

Emergency Restricted Diet	..	1.2 Acres.
Adequate Diet at Minimum Cost	..	1.8 "
Adequate Diet at Moderate Cost	..	2.3 "
Liberal Diet	..	3.1 "

Not only this, agriculture seems to have reached its maximum production under the present condition. Fisheries can, therefore, I am confident, supplement food supplies to a great extent providing all the essential ingredients required for body-building. It is claimed that after agriculture and livestock, fisheries constitute the most important industry. It may be emphasized that the fisheries resources of India are very rich, both in regard to the variety and numbers of edible fish.

Fisheries in India are found dispersed throughout the entire length and breadth of the country and along our vast coastal belt. Numerous concentrations of fishermen are found in small villages. Indian fisheries yield a mere fraction of what they could, were they exploited

in a fashion comparable with those of Europe, North America or Japan. Indian fisheries are among the richest in the world. The 3,200 miles long coastline is margined by a shallow water area, within the 100 fathom line, of nearly 1,15,000 sq. miles. But we have as yet touched a part of the narrow strip of 5 to 10 miles only within the sea. In a country of the size of India with its extensive seaboard, perennial rivers and irrigation canals and innumerable rain-fed tanks and *jhils*, the physical and geographical conditions under which fisheries exist are very varied. As many as 1500 varieties of fish are known to exist in Indian waters but only certain types are caught in appreciable quantities. It has been rightly suggested that in India we have been able to tap only 5 to 6 per cent of the entire fishable marine area.

#### KINDS OF FISHERIES

As said above we have vast resources of fish inside and along the coasts of the country. Fish is caught wherever available from any piece of water. Indian fisheries may be conveniently divided into four main types :

1. The Sea fisheries
2. Fresh water fisheries
3. Estuarine fisheries
4. Pearl fisheries

The sea fisheries are confined to the coastal water from 5 to 10 miles from the shore. Besides these, we have vast resources also inside the land borders. The inland fisheries of India include two sources of fish development, first, the fresh water sources like rivers, canals, irrigation channels, lakes, tanks, ponds, etc. These are known as the "Fresh Water" or "Riverine Fisheries." Secondly, they include those sources in the delta areas where the rivers meet the sea or the back-water areas where the sea runs into the land. These are known as "Estuarine or Deltaic Fisheries."

In the following table the total annual fish production from the important sources has been estimated as below :

<i>Fish Production in India</i>		
<i>Type</i>	<i>Quantities in lakhs of maunds</i>	<i>Value in lakhs of rupees</i>
Sea fish	116.7	302.7
Fresh water fish	62.6	742.3
Total	179.3	1045.0

It will be evident from this table that the sea yields almost double the harvest but from the point of value fresh water fisheries are more important. Sea fish does not fetch as much price as fresh water fish because most of the fishing centres on the seacoast are inaccessible from the consuming markets and also because more sea-fish are generally caught than can be consumed fresh. Fresh water fish, on the other hand, are caught in limited quantities in thousands of small inland centres in India. The quantities landed in any particular centre are easily absorbed in the fresh condition.

It is a well-known fact that fresh water sources, at present, produce about one-third of the total production of fish in India, the sea-water sources producing the remaining two-thirds. We have to develop both these sources of fish supply. Rivers, lakes, ponds, tanks and similar enclosed waters are scattered throughout the country. Artificial ponds can also be constructed for fish culture. China, Central Europe, the Balkans, the Islands of the Pacific, southern and south-western parts of U.S.A., have all extensive systems of farm ponds, and in the latter country artificial enclosure of water created as an incident to soil conservation programmes or irrigation projects have been converted into breeding farms of fish. The annual average yield of some species of fish from the farm ponds of U.S.A., has been reported to be as high as 150 lbs. per acre, which figure has sometimes risen to 400 lbs. and even to 1,000 lbs., i.e., about twelve maunds per acre. These farms are usually about an acre each. In a country like India where vast areas are under heavy rainfall, a programme of fuller utilization of ponds, tanks, and paddy fields for the development of fish culture ought to present less difficulties.

#### 1. SEA FISHERIES

The sea fisheries are generally confined to the coastal water from 5 to 10 miles from the shore in the provinces of Sind (Pakistan), Gujarat, Kanara, Malabar Coast, Madras, Coromandal Coast and the Gulf of Mannar.

During the monsoon months sea-fishing is generally poor, squally weather conditions in the sea and increase in the flow and volume of water in rivers and tanks respectively being responsible for this. As sea-fishing is confined to the coastal waters, the fishing boats ply only when calm weather prevails. The fishing season starts more or less simultaneously at all fishing centres of the west coast immediately after the conclusion of the south-west monsoons. The season, reaches its height in some years in October, and some years in November. It is at its lowest in February from when onwards there is a progressive decline in the quantities caught. On the east coast the conditions are slightly different, because this part of the coastline is not within the belt of south-west monsoons. The fishing operation is, therefore, more or less uniformly spread throughout the year, and during the months of May and June when fishing is very poor on the west coast appreciable quantities of fish are caught here.

The chief catch of the east and west coast are prawns, jew-fish, mackerel, mullets, salmon (Indian), pomfret, cat-fish, seer, sardine, rays, flying-fish—all of which are edible. These varieties are caught on a limited scale as there is little demand from the rural area. The fishing implements are very old and include drift nets, cast nets and stationary nets, etc.

The following table gives the total annual production of sea fish in various provinces :

*Estimated Production of Sea Fish in India*

Provinces	Total catch in maunds	Per cent of Indian total	Value in lakhs of rupees	Percentage of Indian total	Number of fishermen	Catch per head
Sind	390.2	3.35	21.0	6.93	7,130	50
Bombay	1,361.1	11.68	73.0	24.12	32,991	41
Madras:						
West Coast	2,897.4	24.82	50.7	16.75	42,371	68
East Coast	1,769.5	15.17	31.3	10.34	91,530	28
Cochin and Travancore	3,215.7	27.56	81.0	26.76	38,248	80
Bengal and Orissa	2,032.3	17.42	45.7	15.10	—	—
Total	11,666.3	100.00	302.7	100.00	—	—

It will be noted that all the fishing grounds are not equally productive. The west coast is about 1,150 miles but 66 per cent of the total catch is landed here while the Bay of Bengal coast, although it stretches over 11,700 miles produces only the remaining one-third. Along the west coast, again, the south Kanara and Malabar districts of Madras Province—with a coastline of 215 miles account for roughly a quarter of the Indian total. It has been estimated that the total annual production of sea fish in India is 11.6 million maunds valued at 302.7 lakhs of rupees. Of this 71 per cent is produced in India and Pakistan and 29 per cent in the Indian States.

**IMPORTANT SEA FISHERIES AREAS**

(1) In sea fisheries, Madras holds a highly creditable record. Its coastline of 1,750 miles is surrounded by 40,000 sq. miles of shallow sea water, wherein the hardy Madras fishermen make good catches of mackerel, cat-fishes and sardines on the crude catamarans (which are built of logs tied side by side). The area of their operation is limited to only 3 miles from the coast as these cannot carry farther than this distance. Thus the fishing area is confined around Ganjam, Gopalpur, Vizagapatam, Cocanada, Masulipatam, Nellore, Madras, Pondichery and Nagapatam in the east coast and Calicut and Mangalore on the west coast.

The Madras Fisheries Department is the best organised in India and has in its charge a wide range of activities connected with this industry. The Department has reformed manufacturing processes in fish oil trade by introducing a simple process for the extraction of oil in which fish is boiled into open vats and the resultant mass is bagged and put into a hand screw press, while the residue serves as good manure known as "Fish Guano," which is largely used in the tea gardens of South India, Ceylon, U. K., and Germany. It also manufactures isinglass, pearl buttons and shell-bangles. The fish oil is used in jute mills and in the manufacture of soap, candles and paint manufacture. The department has also established a cannery, developed a variety of

canned fish and opened oyster farms under hygienic conditions. There are 100 fish-curing yards along the coast and as much as 1,210,907 maunds of fish were cured during 1937-38.

It has also organised the working of fish and is running a number of factories to manufacture fish oil, manure and soap, etc. The Krusadi Biological Station, Paniban, rears pearls and oysters. Rich chank-fisheries are also exploited in one of Asia's best aquariums in Madras.

(2) Bombay stands second in order of importance in sea fisheries. Here the fisheries are connected almost entirely with the exploitation of sea wealth. Bombay has many advantages over other provinces. It has a long coastline dotted over with excellent harbours for fishing craft, and fair weather season of more than seven months and fishing population more alive to their opportunities and more daring than those of other provinces. The harbour gives shelter to small fishing boats which are durable and can remain on the sea for days together. The fishermen of Ratnagiri are among the most enterprising in India. They make a large catch of soles, pomfret, sea perches. Now motor transport is used to bring the fish to the markets from the catching fields and for this purpose four Government launches and eight private ones are employed.

(3) The Cutch and the Kathiawar coasts are also famous for sea-fishing. A large number of small fishing vessels ply over these coasts between Surat and Bassein. Large factories have also been opened by Tata and Sons at Ernakulam to manufacture sardine oil and tinned fish. For some time past ice factories have also been started at Chendia (in the Kanara district) and at Malwan (in Ratnagiri district) which can the fish and thus obviate the necessity of carrying large quantities of fish direct to Bombay. The government has also undertaken the breeding of small fish for the promotion of inland fisheries and these are supplied at nominal rates to all. Co-operative Societies have improved the financial conditions of the fishermen besides bringing them in touch with the modern and scientific methods of curing, canning and oil manufacture.

The Bombay Government's post-war scheme for the improvement of fisheries includes the construction of an aquarium with research facilities in Bombay and two more along the coast and a technological laboratory; the procuring of specially designed vessels for cruising over a wider range in search of fish; the establishment of ice factories and cold storage depots in Bombay and along the entire coast, and adoption of effective measures to increase the efficiency and welfare of fishermen.

(4) With the combined coastline of over 200 miles and 4,000 sq. miles of shallow water within the 100 fathom line the Travancore and Cochin States have well-organised fishing industry. Monsoons check year-round fishing in these waters and at present only catamarans are in general use. Here pomfrets, seer, tunny, whiting and mackerel are caught. Shoal fisheries are of great



importance and during favourable seasons butter-fish, ribbon-fish, white bait and cat-fish are so abundant that large quantities of them are salted and dried both for home consumption and for export to Ceylon, Burma and Straits Settlement. A refrigerating plant has been installed in Trivandrum for the storage of fresh fish. The Government Fisheries Department also manufactures shark liver oil.

## 2. FRESH WATER FISHERIES

After the sea water fisheries come the fresh water fisheries. The fishing season is somewhat different in fresh water. In the large rivers of Northern India, there is generally not much fishing during the rains and the season begins in October with the subsidence of floods. The demand for fish in the plains is small during summer months. Hence, during summer and monsoon months, fishing is generally poor in most parts of the Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Central India. Tanks are best fished when the water level is low. It is noteworthy that in Madras, Hyderabad-Deccan and Central Provinces where tanks represent the chief source of supply, the largest quantities are obtained from April to July.

The chief fish caught in fresh water are cat-fish, saw fish, herrings and mackerel.

The total estimated marketable surplus of fresh water fish is 6.25 million maunds valued at 742.3 lakhs. Of this about 94 per cent of the available fresh water fish is marketed in the Indian provinces and the balance is disposed off in the Indian States. Bengal leads both in production and in value of the fish caught with 50.1 and 58.32 per cent respectively. Bihar ranks second, Assam is a close third and the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Assam together account for 77 per cent of the total Indian fresh water fish marketed in India. It may be noted that Madras, which is the leading province in the production of sea-fish, produces only three per cent of the fresh water fish in India.

The following table shows the supply of fresh water fish in the chief producing areas :

*Production of Fresh Water Fish in India*

Provinces	Production in mds.	Percent- age of total catch	Estimated value in lakhs of rupees	Percent- age to total
Assam	721.6	11.5	46.22	6.23
Bengal	3,133.2	50.1	432.92	58.32
Bihar	959.5	15.3	95.99	12.92
Madras	187.0	3.0	13.96	1.88
Orissa	326.0	5.2	34.92	4.70
Sind	266.5	4.3	38.56	5.19
C. P.	156.0	2.5	16.28	2.19
U. P.	147.0	2.3	22.77	3.07
Bombay & others	113.2	1.8	14.87	2.01
States	248.9	4.0	25.84	3.48
Total	6,258.9	100.0	742.33	100.00

## IMPORTANT FRESH WATER FISH AREAS

The main areas of fresh water fishing are Bengal, U.P., Travancore and Madras.

(1) The fisheries of Uttar Pradesh are prolific and well-distributed as a large number of big rivers with their tributaries flow through the province. The chief of them are Ganga, Jamuna, Sarda, Gogra, Rapti and Betwa. Almost all districts have lakes, ponds and tanks in which fishing is resorted to. The important fish comprise mahaseer, rohu, hilsa, katla, kalabans, murrel, English trout and prawns.

These fisheries, though rich, are not yet adequately developed and properly exploited for the demand. There are great possibilities of trout-culture in hundreds of miles of streams in the Himalayas.

(2) The Bengal province has some of the richest fishing grounds in India. Nearly one million Bengalis subsist by fishing or selling fish and there is no caste prejudice against fish-eating in Bengal. The principal rivers together with numerous small rivulets and branches offer vast opportunities of fresh water fishing. A vast amount of rohu, hilsa, katla are caught, but river-fishing is considerably handicapped by the climatic conditions of Bengal, as the usual breeding-time of fish is the rainy season when the water area expands and the eggs of fish escape in a large number of creeps and paddy fields, where with the drying up of water they perish.

Fish culture is also practised in tanks far away from the rivers, but the supply of fish from these tanks is not very reliable as the number decreases with the approach of summer season when the depth of water goes down.

(3) In Travancore among fresh water fisheries, the lake fisheries—which extend from the borders of Cochin to Trivandrum are important. The largest lake measures 30 miles in length and a maximum width of 10 miles. Because of proximity to the sea and tidal influence some varieties of fish and prawns migrate in to these lakes at times. Prawns are the most important catch here.

(4) Fresh water fisheries of the Madras province are very extensive and cover an enormous area. The most important rivers suitable for fishing are the Godavari, the Kistna, and the Cauvery, the westerly drainage flowing into the Arabian Sea and the streams rising on the Nilgiris. The upper reaches, particularly the deep gorges of the rivers flowing into the Bay of Bengal serve as fish sanctuaries. Tanks and reservoirs also serve as important fisheries, although they are primarily intended for irrigation.

Trout-culture in Nilgiris has proved very successful. They now abound with a large quantity of food material and provide sport and large income to the government.

## 3. ESTUARINE FISHERIES

The estuaries of the Mahanadi, the Ganga, and the Brahmaputra stretching from Furi to Hooghly is famous for fishing. This area provides cock-up, hilsa, pomfrets, prawns, catla, catfish, and rohu. These are caught by

trawl nets, drift nets and gilling nets. Among the estuarine fisheries the delta of Bengal holds a prominent position. Here the estuarine fisheries are mainly developed in the grounds covering an area of about 5,800 square miles—which consist of swamp forest, estuary islands, a multitude of rivers joining with each other by a number of small channels. Estuarine fishing is being carried on in 24 Paraganas and the district of Khulna from which areas over 40,000 maunds of edible fish are transported to Calcutta. The chief drawback in the proper development of these fisheries is the lack of transport facilities. These fisheries are situated far away from the ordinary traffic routes and hence fish have to be brought over long distances to the despatching centres with the result that putrefaction sets in very quickly. Moreover, as the fishing boats are very crude and poor in design they are incapable of being sailed in the interior of the Sunderbans and this fact restricts the extent of the fishing areas.

#### 4. PEARL FISHERIES

Commercially very valuable fishing consists of pearl-fishing. According to the National Planning Committee on "Fisheries," "The waters of the gulf dividing Indian Union from Ceylon and of the Arabian Sea near the edge of the Kathiawar Peninsula, as well as in the Gulf of Cutch, are rich in oyster beds, yielding highly valuable pearls."

In the Madras province the pearl oysters are reared near Krusadi Island, Panban with the possibility of producing cultured pearls.

In Bombay province, small pearl fisheries exist within the harbour of Bombay. Pearl oyster fisheries are found at Thana (20 miles from Bombay). Pearl fishing is also carried on in the gulf of Cutch.

#### PRESENT CONDITION

The above description leads us to believe that in India only a few varieties of fish are caught as the people are greatly accustomed to the consumption of a certain variety of fish and that only. Though Indian waters are vast storehouses of varieties of fish, we have been able to tap only 5 or 6 per cent of the entire fishable area. This situation is due to a number of factors which are given below:

(1) The fishermen are part-time cultivators and hence, they do not take care and precaution to improve the fishing methods. Moreover, they are heavily indebted to the mahajans who dominate the whole trade and dictate terms. Being illiterate they are badly disorganised.

(2) Lack of transport facilities and introduction of new methods or varieties have checked the proper development of fisheries here.

(3) The fishing rights are generally leased out and hence the landlord loses any interest in developing the present as well as the potential fishery resources.

(4) The old methods of fishing according to which fish is intensively caught in small areas—also leads to destruction and exhausts the stock of fish in the locality.

(5) Owing to the increase in population and the

development of agricultural practice, the land is being reclaimed by filling jhils in Bengal. This results in the reduction of fish supply as well in the water area.

(6) The expansion of jute cultivation in new areas has further aggravated the situation because the steeping of jute makes the water injurious for fish.

(7) Neglect of tanks and other sources of water supply consequent on the development of better irrigation facilities.

(8) Pollution of streams and waterways in general by sewage water.

How insignificant is our effort in regard to the proper development of fisheries, whether marine or inland, becomes patent when one observes the widespread organisation for the statistical research, technological, training and marketing aspects of the fisheries industry, which has grown up in some of the more advanced countries. When we note the latest available production figures, we realise equally vividly how backward we in India are in the matter of development of fisheries. Leaving aside Iceland, Newfoundland and Norway which have special facilities and where the annual production per head ranges from 680 lbs. to 6,223 lbs. and taking only some of the countries to which India could be potentially comparable, we find that Japan produces 111 lbs. per head per year, Canada 109 lbs., Denmark 63 lbs., U.K. 49 lbs., Portugal 37 lbs., Spain 37 lbs., U.S.A., 35 lbs., Germany 20 lbs., France 20 lbs., Soviet Union 18 lb.; and India together with Iran and Burma only 5 lbs. This low production in India is due to the causes enumerated above.

#### CONSUMPTION OF FISH

According to the National Planning Committee, "Notwithstanding the prevalence of vegetarianism, a large number of every caste and creed in India are accustomed to use fish in their daily diet." In India the average per capita consumption is only 3 lbs. per annum. West Bengal, the leading consumer, having 6 lbs. per capita consumption. In the East Punjab it is 0.9 lbs. and in Bihar 2 lbs. per annum. This means that the daily consumption of fish per head in India could only be one seventh of an ounce. In plain language this means that of this protective and vitamin-supplying item of food an Indian is able to take daily only 1/28 the quantity which his Japanese brother takes.

One half of the total production is consumed as fresh fish; one-fifth is cured by salting; another one-fifth is simply sun-dried, while about 10 per cent is converted into fish fertilizers. Fish fat is rich in vitamin A and D and hence large quantities are used as food for man. Surplus fish is converted into oil and fertilizers. Two kinds of oil are obtained, viz., the "medicinal oil" from the livers of sharks and other fishes; while "fish oil" is got from certain marine or fresh water species. Certain industrial products like fish-meal, fish-manure, fish-mews and shark-fins, isinglass are also obtained from fish in India.

In India fish is preserved by desiccation with or

without salt and by the use of antiseptic preservations, such as brine and vinegar. The Indian fishermen practise desiccation by drying fish in the sun as the process is simple and handy. During the rainy season when sun-drying is difficult, salt-drying is used. Fish is also canned and put in cans filled with oil. Canning of sardines and prawns and mackerel is practised on a limited scale in Madras and Bombay.

#### TRADE

Practically speaking there is no import of raw fish in India, but large quantities of dried fish—both salted and unsalted, and canned fish and fish products like cod-liver-oil and fish-manure, of the total annual average of Rs. 16 lakhs are imported from Norway, Sweden and Arabia and Muscat territory. India also exports preserved fish to China, Burma, Ceylon, and Straits Settlement to the value of Rs. 10 lakhs every year.

#### SUGGESTION FOR IMPROVEMENT

As has already been stated the fisheries of India are very extensive, varied and rich, but to meet the demands of the increasing population of India they are very inadequate. It is, therefore, imperative that the fisheries of India should be fully explored and properly developed.

For the further and full development of Indian fisheries the following suggestions may be offered :

(1) As the problems of conservation and development of the fishery resources of rivers generally concern more than one Provincial or State Government, the Central Government should invite the Provinces and States to confer and to formulate joint measures for the conservation and development of their fishery resources as a whole, in order to ensure uniform methods of research, control and exploitation in all contiguous Provinces and States.

(2) Since the conservation and development of the fisheries is essential in artificial reservoirs, the Central Ministry of Agriculture should in consultation with the Central Waterworks Irrigation and Navigation Commission Authorities set up the necessary machinery for the framing of and implementing programmes of conservation and development of fishery resources.

(3) As fry and fingerlings of carps and other species of fish suitable for stocking are the first requisite for the working of any scheme of fish culture, the Provincial and the State Governments should set up carp fry collecting and distributing centres from which fry and fingerlings may be supplied to the areas which are deficit in this respect.

(4) All provinces and states should immediately carry out and extend surveys of culturable waters with a view to stocking all such areas with carps or other suitable species of fish.

(5) Urgent steps should be taken by the Governments concerned to intensify and extend stocking operations particularly by (a) utilisation of all culturable waters whether owned by the Provincial or State Governments or under their control; (b) encouraging and

assisting by advice and supply of fry the proprietors of privately owned tanks to take up fishing; (c) establishing fry collecting centres and arranging for supply of fry to fish farmers at concession rates; (d) controlling unrestricted fishing by legislation; (e) and establishing demonstration fish farms in selected areas.

(5) With a view to utilisation of all fishery resources it is necessary that all tanks, ponds, beels, and other culturable waters as are left fallow at present should be taken under the control of the respective Governments by legislation.

(6) The Governments should give subsidies to owners of derelict but culturable tanks for the repair and improvement of these tanks for pisciculture.

In regard to marine fisheries, the Indian Fisheries Conference (1948) urged the Central Government and the Governments of the maritime provinces the necessity of taking the following measures :

(1) The Central Government should carry out pilot experiments in off-shore and deep-sea fishing to test the suitability of different kinds of craft and gear for Indian waters and determine fishing seasons, fishing intensities and undertake extensive surveys for locating and charting fishing grounds; (2) Central, Provincial and State Governments should take steps to improve harbour facilities at all important fishing centres; (3) Provincial and State Governments should encourage local enterprise to undertake fishing by powered vessels fitted with cold storage facilities and other modern equipment.

No scheme of development of India's fishery resources can hope to succeed unless the transport and marketing problem is also solved. As large quantities of fish caught in coastal areas can not be transported to the consuming centres in fresh conditions and are processed by unsatisfactory methods and under unhygienic conditions, it is necessary that the Governments of the maritime provinces should take urgent measures to establish fish-curing yards where required and to improve such yards by providing (a) cement platforms with super-structures for curing and drying of fish; (b) adequate quantities of water, (c) salt of suitable quality at concession rates; and (d) temporary storage facilities and (e) supervisory and technical staff to help the curers.

(2) In view of the very great disparity of price received by the fishermen and those paid by the consumers, and for safeguarding the interests of the producer and consumers, Government should, as far as possible encourage marketing by organising co-operative societies of fishermen, wherever practicable.

(3) In view of fish being a highly perishable commodity and the urgent need of making an increasingly large quantity of fish in a wholesome condition available to consumers all over the country it is necessary that the Government should make arrangements for adequate supply of ice to the fishing industry for use from the time of the catch to its ultimate disposal; and should set up or encourage private enterprise to put up cold storage plant for fish preservation at all the large collecting and distributing centres; and should also encourage



the use of insulated or refrigerated road van; and should provide refrigeration experts to help the Governments of the maritime provinces to prepare schemes for the cold storage of fish.

(4) In view of the urgent need of quick transport of fish from the catching and collection centres to the consuming centres all over the country, (a) the Governments of the maritime provinces should introduce and popularise the use by the fishing industry of fast motor carrier boats; (b) they should also encourage the use of motor vans for the rapid transport of fish by road, and they should help to obtain motor vans, trucks, equipment, motor and fuel oil, and it should give high priority and special facilities for the transport of fish and fish fry by fast trains at concession rates.

Finally, we may suggest the following measures for the improvement of the social and economic status of fishermen :

(1) Government should give loans and subsidies to

needy fishermen, preferably through co-operative societies, for building boats, making and repairing nets and other fishery equipment.

(2) Government should open schools for the children of fishermen, and teaching in these schools should have a distinct fishery bias.

(3) Provincial and State Governments should establish centres for the higher training of literate fisher boys in navigation, use of mechanised vessels and improved fishing technique.

(4) The Provincial and State Governments should survey the existing proprietary rights of the fishermen in the waters fished by them and devise suitable measures in order to give the fishermen security of tenure which is vital for effecting improvement in production.

(5) Provincial and State Governments should establish services through which technical and other information might be widely distributed among the fishermen.\*

\*Vide : *Indian Information*, October 15, 1948.

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## KOREA THROUGH AGES

### The Genesis and Nature of Kcrean Conflict

By PROF. S. B. MOOKERJEE, M.A.

THE two Koreas—North and South—have been at war since June 25 last. During the post-war years a regular tug-of-war has been going on between Russian Communism on the one hand and American Economic Imperialism on the other. It was foreseen long ago that the two Koreas representing two conflicting ideologies would, sooner or later, come in conflict with each other.

Immediately after the hostilities had broken out, the Security Council of the United Nations went into session to consider the United States' complaint of "aggression against the Government of South Korea" by North Korean forces. On June 25, the invasion of South Korea by the North was branded as an act of aggression by the Security Council. The Council further called for a cessation of hostilities and ordered the Northern forces back over the border. President Truman proclaimed his country's firm resolve of supporting vigorously the efforts of the Security Council to end the serious breach of peace in Korea. General MacArthur was ordered to rush all available arms aid from Japan to South Korea. Next came the order to rush all possible supplies to help the South Koreans. The Security Council in its resolution of June 27 recommended "that the members of the United Nations furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and amity in that area."

The North Korean army, trained by Soviet instructors, is reported to have been equipped with rifles, mortars, heavy guns and ammunition by the U.S.S.R. Russian fighter and reconnaissance planes, bombers, light tanks and light naval aircraft are also believed to have been lavishly supplied to it. It is estimated that 70,000 North Korean troops and 70 tanks took the field in the opening round of the conflict. South Korea's defence fell like ninepins before the onslaught of the North. The U.S.A. in the name of the United Nations fought, unsuccessfully though, to stem the onrushing tide from the North. The 'alias' however deceived nobody. Kim Ir Sen, Premier of North Korea, in an appeal to the commanders of South Korean troops over the Pyongyang Radio said not long after the outbreak of hostilities:

"Now you have no Government, National Assembly, nor General Staff. Who is now issuing orders and leading the army which you are commanding? It is the General Staff of the American Army."

Strenuous efforts of the U.S.A. notwithstanding, the Northerners won the first round of the contest. It was *vinī vidi vici* for them. The Government of South Korea abandoned its capital Seoul almost immediately after the commencement of hostilities. The greater portion of South Korea was overrun. The Southerners

and their allies were on the run on all fronts. But then there was a turn in the tide. It was now the turn of the South to hit back and hit back effectively at that. The Northerners yielded ground to the counter-offensive and retreated as quickly as, perhaps more quickly than, they had advanced, the enemy following closely behind. The end of the conflict seemed within sight. It was decided by the United Nations that its troops should cross the 38th Parallel—the artificial line of demarcation between North and South Korea—and re-write the two Koreas. The infant Indian Union war against this and warned that in that case the conflagration might spread. But she was outvoted and the Anglo-American bloc had its own way. Its army moved northward. Everything seemed to be proceeding according to plan. The American troops were assured that they would be back home before the Christmas. But then China came to the rescue of North Korea. Chinese 'volunteers' in overwhelming numbers were thrown into the conflict, 400,000 of them are today fighting in Korea. The U. N. troops and their satellites, the South Koreans, are in full retreat. A repetition of Dunkirk seems to be in the offing.

Two days after the outbreak of the war President Truman sent a note to Russia asking her to use her influence to persuade North Korea to withdraw her troops. Marshal Stalin in his reply to this note made it clear that it was not North Korea, but the South, that had struck the first blow.

Competent authorities have in the meanwhile challenged the validity of the Security Council's resolution of June 27. Article XXVII of the United Nations Charter lays down that measures of a coercive nature by the United Nations against any state require the approval of all the five permanent members of the Security Council, *viz.*, America, China, England, France and Russia. But at the time the resolution was passed, Russia had temporarily withdrawn from the Security Council. She staged a come-back only in August. The Kuomintang-appointed Chinese delegate at Lake Success did not and do not represent the Chinese people.

All the members of U. N. General Assembly with the exception of Byelo-Russia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Ukraine and Yugoslavia approved the resolution under reference. This, in short, is the genesis and history of the Korean conflagration.

Korea, consisting of a peninsula and more or less 200 islands, forms a part of Further Asia. To the Koreans, their country is known as Chosen or Morning Calm. Bounded on the north by the Tumen and Yalu rivers, the Japan Sea on the east, the Strait of Korea on the South and the Yalu River and the Yellow Sea on the west, Korea has an area of 86,000 square miles. Northern Korea is intensely cold and thinly populated. Southern and western Korea is warmer and more populous and prosperous. Agriculture is the principal

occupation of the Koreans in general and of the Southerners in particular. The people, descended from the Mongolian family, speak a language which belongs to the Turanian group. Unlike the Chinese and the Japanese in physiognomy, they have dark and straight hair, slanting eyes and a yellowish complexion in common with both. They numbered 23,000,000 in 1942.

It is not new for Korea, a strategic bridge between Japan and the Manchurian mainland to find itself the unhappy cockpit of Far Eastern power-politics. It has caused two major Far Eastern conflicts in the last 60 years, *viz.*, the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5. Japan is within 120 miles of Pusan on the South Korean coast while from the farthest point on the north-western coast Vladivostok is not more than 100 miles.

Korea's history has all along followed a pattern all its own. In the past she has been reduced to slavery again and again after a brief spell of independence in consequence of conflicts between two large and powerful States. In the early centuries of the Christian era Korea was a feudatory of the Han Emperors of China. It was China that sowed the first seeds of civilisation in Korea. With the fall of the Hans, Korea slipped off the hands of China to be overrun by barbarians from the Siberian Steppe. The ancestors of modern Koreans, a mixture of the conquerors and the children of the soil, were known as the Korai and North Korea too was called by the same name. The name Korea, a derivative of Korai, was subsequently applied to the whole peninsula. The Tang Emperors of China conquered Korai in 668 A.D. Before them the Suis had made futile attempts in this direction. Korai re-gained freedom after the decline of the Tang Empire in the 10th century A.D. Since then Korea has never been directly ruled by China; but she has paid tribute whenever a strong ruler was on the throne of the celestial kingdom. Japan next became a menace to Korean independence. During the regency of Hydeoshi Japan made a bid to conquer Korea in 1592. China came to her help. Due to internal troubles following Hydeoshi's death in 1598 Japan retreated, for the time being, from the Korean scene. Korea was a tributary of Manchu China. Peace prevailed in Korea during the Manchu regime in China and after.

In 1860, the Manchus surrendered the northern province of Ussuri to Czarist Russia bringing thereby a European power to the very borders of Korea. Later in the 19th century Korea was opened to various Western powers, as a result of treaty engagements. (Cf. Treaties with England, America and Germany in 1883, with Russia and Italy in 1884, treaty with France in 1886 and with Austria in 1892). It was about this time that Japan again began to cast longing looks on Korea. The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 led to a total elimination of Chinese influence from Korea. It was Korea's lot now to become a bone of contention

between Russia and Japan. Their rival interests in the country involved them in a war in the opening years of the present century. Fortune favoured Japan. Korea was annexed to the Japanese Empire in 1910. Since then Korean delegations composed of exiled Korean citizens have knocked at the doors of one international conference after another for a hearing of Korea's case for independence. But this hearing was never granted.

Korea has a bitter memory of Japanese rule. Japan tried her best to stamp out Korea's individuality in all walks of life. The economic life of the country was regulated by the Japanese plutocracy. Japanese became the state-language of Korea. Instruction in Korean language and history was banned.

World War II marks the beginning of a new epoch in the history of modern Korea. In September, 1945, American forces landed at Chemulpo, occupied Seoul, the capital of Korea, and the whole of southern Korea. In the meanwhile Russian troops had advanced to Kinko on the 38th Parallel in the north. The two armies met here. In the light of the decision of the Yalta Conference Korea was subsequently divided along the 38th Parallel. The two Koreas—North and South—were ushered into existence. Pyangyong became the capital of North Korea and Seoul, that of South Korea. According to a decision of the Moscow Conference of the anti-Axis allies held in December, 1945, a Russo-American Commission was to set up a provisional Government for the whole of Korea after consultation with the democratic parties in the country. The Commission could not agree as to which of the Korean parties and cliques were democratic and, which, not. The U.S.A. placed the case of Korea before the United Nations. The General Assembly recommended a general election in Korea under the supervision of a United Nations Commission. Russia opposed. But hers was a voice in the wilderness. The United Nations Korea Commission was appointed in November 1947. It was composed of representatives of Australia, Canada, India, Nationalist China, France, Ukraine, Syria and various other countries. Mr. K. P. Menon of India was appointed Chairman of the Commission, which was boycotted by Russia. The North Korean Government refused all facilities to the Commission in its own territory. In the South Korean election held in May, 1948, the Korean Democratic Nationalist Party under Dr. Syngman Rhee came to power. The Republic of Korea was born and admitted to the membership of the United Nations. In a resolution of December 12, 1948, the General Assembly requested both Russia and the U.S.A. to withdraw their troops from their respective spheres of influence in Korea. Within a fortnight the U.S.S.R. announced the withdrawal of Russian troops from North Korea. The North Korean People's Republic had come into existence long before this withdrawal. The U.S.A. army evacuated South Korea in June, 1948. A Military Aid

Mission was however left behind. A Russian proposal for the dissolution of the Korea Commission and the admission of North Korea to the United Nations was turned down by the General Assembly.

Koreans themselves have never supported the partition of their country. They are eager for the unification and independence of the two Koreas. The clash of interests, the conflict of policies of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. have stood in the way. They too want Korean unity—unity in their own patterns. Each wants the Korean State organised on its own model. Hence the universally sought-after consummation is yet to be achieved. In the north a State has been organised on Russian model with more economic and perhaps less personal and political liberty for the people. In the South, on the other hand, the State is of the American type and supposed to be democratic from a political point of view. In reality it is a Fascistic police state, which, in common with all democracies, upholds the principle of economic oligarchy.

The Korean Democratic Nationalist Party, like the Kuomintang of China is a champion of landed aristocracy. Not a few of the South Korean leaders of today were Japanese puppets not long ago. Before the outbreak of the present war reactionary youths patrolled the streets of Seoul, shouting pro-Government, rightist slogans. These demonstrators may be compared with the Blueshirts of the Kuomintang. Two thousand teachers have been sacked by the Rhee Government. The victims were alleged to have slightly leftist political leanings or ill-defined political views. The Government declared some time back that no anti-Government paper would be tolerated in South Korea. Corruption reigns rampant in all walks of South Korean life—social, economic and political. Social corruption and political bickerings have brought the country to the edge of the precipice. In its desperate efforts to remain in power the Rhee Government have let loose a veritable reign of terror by an endless chain of ruthless, repressive measures. Before the outbreak of present hostilities there were 14,000 political prisoners in South Korea. Many of these have been since put to death. The U.S.A. have all along tried to bolster up this re-actionary Government of South Korea. Last year South Korea received 120,000,000 dollars in Marshall Aid. This year the U.S.A. has allotted 100,000,000 dollars to her in economic assistance. In the current year she has already obtained 10,000,000 dollars in military aid. Besides, when the U.S.A. army left Korea in June, 1948, it left behind considerable quantities of arms, ammunition and military equipments. But everything has gone down the bottomless pit of inefficiency and corruption.

It is not always easy to get at the state of affairs in North Korea behind the iron curtains. The People's Republic of North Korea was ushered into existence,



undoubtedly with Russia's blessings, after the general elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage and vote by secret ballot held in 1946. The Communist leader Kim Ir Sen is the Premier of North Korea. The first thing done by the new Government was the redistribution of lands, which freed the peasantry from age-old bondage. Principal industries, such as transport, communications and banks, have been nationalised. The country has been industrialised. Labour legislation has reduced working hours in factories, workshops and in offices. Employment of workers below 14 years of age has been tabooed. Equality between the sexes has been achieved. The People's committees have 11,509 and the Supreme People's Assembly of North Korea has 65 women deputies. A two-year plan has already been executed. The standard of living has gone up.

An armed clash between the two Koreas, as noted above, was a foregone conclusion. The Korea Commission lay the blame at the door of North Korea. For all the 52 border incidents from January, 1949, to March, 1950, mentioned in its report submitted in March, North Korea has been held responsible. But not a few are doubtful of the Commission's impartiality.

Brigadier-General William Roberts, Former Chief of the U.S.A. Military Aid Mission in Korea, told a press conference at Los Angeles on July 14, that America had not given heavy military equipment to South Korea before the war mainly because the Southerners wanted very much to attack their compatriots across the border. In the General's own words, "To prevent them from attacking we gave them no combat air-force, no tanks and no heavy artillery." South Korea has, of course, contradicted the statement. But contradiction alone does not negate a truth.

The war in Korea is, on the one hand, a conflict between Russian Sovietism and American Economic Imperialism. Korea is but a pawn in the Russo-

American game of power-politics on the Far Eastern chess-board. Russia wants the elimination of America from Korea. But it is vitally necessary for the U.S.A. to stay on at all costs in Korea. Looked at from this angle of vision the conflict in Korea is the latest—we do not believe it to be the last—phase of the Russo-American tug-of-war for the conquest—ideological and otherwise—of the Far East. But the conflict has another facet. The Korean war is a determined bid of the "neglected estates" of humanity to free themselves from the vicious coils of bondage and exploitation—alien and indigenous. That the masses of South Korea are no friends or admirers of the U.S.A. or its puppet Dr. Rhee becomes evident when the speed of the Northern advance is taken into consideration. Without the moral support, and, in some cases at least, the active co-operation of the people of the invaded country its defence cannot collapse as "quickly" and as completely as did that of South Korea before the onslaught of the North. Viewed in this light, the Korean war is an important and significant episode in the grand drama of the struggle for human emancipation steadily reaching a climax in the Eastern and South-Eastern Asian amphitheatre.

Will the spark originating in obscure Korea develop into a global conflagration? It is for the pundits in international politics to attempt an answer. The course of events however has fanned the flame and seems to have drawn the world to a dangerous proximity of another World War. One thing, however, is clear. The conflict in Korea is a preparation—a full-dress rehearsal—for World War III. It is besides an attempt by the potential principal actors in that supreme tragedy-to-come to gauge each other's strength and preparedness. It is moreover a move to ascertain beforehand the probable alignment of powers when the dreaded conflagration starts.

—:O:—

"In the long pull over several thousand years the human race has had enough experience to produce the principles which we need to live happy lives and to build a good society. There have been men of wisdom and genius who have reflected on the experience of the ages, and have come up with some great ideas. These ideas when taken together form our civilization. A civilization is a working system of ideas. Liberal education is a civilizing force because, in addition to

imparting certain skills, it transmits to us the tradition in which we live. It provides the traditional liberal principles in the light of which men can unite in wise deliberation about the issues which divide them. It is the education which all men ought to have who have a voice in the ruling of a community."

—RAYMOND H. WITTCOFF, member of the board of directors of the Great Books Foundation.

## THE RELATION BETWEEN THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THEIR SERVANTS IN INDIA.

[Based on the original documents preserved in the Archives of the Government of India]

By PROF. R. M. LAHIRI, M.A., D.Phil.

We have noticed in the course of the Government of India's dealings with the Court of Directors that on many occasions the prohibitory orders passed by the Court as the ultimate authority were not carried out by their servants in India. Striking instances of ineffective protests by the Directors abound in the correspondence on Assam affairs. For the purpose of study the early British period (1826-38) of Assamese History is most suitable.

On the occasion of the transfer of the eastern part of Cachar (1832) to Gambhir Singh, the Prince of Manipur, the Court of Directors strongly disapproved of the measure, but their intervention proved ineffective. When again the principality of Jaintia (1835) was annexed by the Calcutta authorities without any reference to their masters at home, the Court not only protested against such annexation, which they condemned as "impolitic and unjustifiable," but also in their anxiety to prevent such recurrences, gave a distinct ruling that in future no territory of a native prince should be annexed without their previous sanction. Their protest this time also went unheeded. The Court again, as mentioned above, on the eve of the resumption of Purandar Singh's dominions (Upper Assam) reminded their agents in India of their newly promulgated ruling and told them to regard all such annexations as provisional measures liable to revision. Their servants in India, contrary to all expectation, even carried out this measure in the teeth of the opposition of the Home authorities.\* No step was taken against what appeared to be a "misdemeanor" on the part of their agents in India. The Court of Directors again seemed to climb down. Such instances can be multiplied.

From the above it appears that the authorities in Leadenhall Street were helpless against the wilful disobedience on the part of their servants in India and that they had no power to prevent what they considered to be wrong or unfair. But what appears to be true is not true and an incidental discussion of the position of the Court in its relation with the Government of India will help us in understanding the real situation. A detailed discussion of the above matter is not possible here because the subject-matter covers a

greater period (1773-1858) than that undertaken by us.

Though the Court of Directors were supreme authorities over the affairs of the East India Company in India, they used their powers with wise restraint; certain extraneous circumstances and the nature of the functions they were entrusted with, regulated all their activities with regard to the management of Indian affairs.

As regards the general management of Indian affairs, much was left to the discretion of the local Government because, situated as the Home authorities were at a vast distance from India, the orders transmitted by them rarely reached India in time. Events in India sometimes succeeded one another with such bewildering rapidity that, what to speak of the authorities in England even the 'men on the spot' could not foresee the course of events and they had to act on many occasions on their own responsibility as the exigencies of the time dictated.<sup>1</sup> And as happened in those circumstances, sometimes they had to act contrary to the wishes and directions of the Home authorities as when the Calcutta authorities had taken Cachar, an independent principality, under the Company's protection without reference to the Court of Directors. But "circumstances in many cases rendered such disobedience a virtue."<sup>2</sup>

Then again it must be remembered that "the Court of Directors was not so much an executive as a deliberative body." Its main function was not to direct the details of administration but to scrutinize and revise the past acts of their servants in India; to lay down principles and to issue general instructions for their future guidance.<sup>3</sup> We have also to bear in mind that in most cases the decisions of the men on the spot were just and ultimately conducive to the interests of the Company. Far away from the actual scene or

1. Letter from Court of Directors to Board of Control, August 27 of 1829.

2. In 1811, Lord Minto won the consent of the Home Government for an attack on Java . . . A formidable fleet assembled at Malacca. The Governor-General himself accompanied the expedition . . . Java was occupied. The Directors had ordered that if the expedition were successful, Dutch fortifications were to be levelled and the troops withdrawn, but Minto seeing that it would be an inhuman act to abandon the Dutch Colonists to the mercies of an exasperated native population had the courage and independence to disregard those instructions.—Roberts, *History of British India*, Second Edition, p. 275.

3. Petition from East India Company to Parliament, February, 1858.

\* "There are many indications of a questionable co-operation between the Company's servants abroad and their masters at home."

Roberts : *History of British India*, p. 223.

operation, the Court of Directors could no doubt take a detached view of things which was so essential for the fair discharge of duties, but at the same time their lack of first-hand knowledge of the affairs of India justly precluded them from taking a realistic view of the situation which was equally essential for the speedy and efficient performance of duties.

The appointment of Lord Cornwallis marked the decisive preference for sending men of high families from England to fill the office of the Governor-General. The noblemen sent from England had a wider grasp of foreign affairs and politics generally than could be expected of the servants of the Company; they had higher moral standards and their views, even their hostile criticisms,<sup>4</sup> were generally received with far more respect by the Directors than those of the former servants of the Company.<sup>5</sup>

The Court of Directors again as the Supreme authority had certainly power of revoking the decisions of their servants in India, nay, they had the power of recalling their Governors-General as they recalled Lord Ellenborough and drove Wellesley to resign.<sup>6</sup> But on many occasions they shrank from taking such drastic steps because public revocation of the measures issued by their servants in India or sudden removal of the highest officers from office in the midst of great public duties would have placed them in some degree of embarrassment and humiliation.<sup>7</sup>

Lastly we must take into account another factor which is overlooked by many. Though the Board of Control as constituted by the Act of 1784 (better known as Pitt's India Act) was to be strictly a Board of Control, "it gradually employed powers not merely in the way of superintendence and control but also in systematic and active management," which was

strongly resented by the Court of Directors<sup>8</sup> and during the later part of the Company's administration the evergrowing conflict between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control and the waning power of the former body<sup>9</sup> (so ably discussed in Philips' *East India Company*) had their unhappy repercussion on their servants in India. Even some of the Governors-General were adroit enough to play off one against the other<sup>10</sup> and were thus less inclined to respect the orders of the Home Government. Lord Ellenborough regarded the Court of Directors as nothing more than a channel of communication between the Governor-General and the Board of Control and openly said, "Supreme authority does not reside in the Court itself."<sup>11</sup> Lord Dalhousie had a poor idea of the despatches sent by the Home Government and alleged, "These were penned for the most part by head clerks and signed by many without being read."<sup>12</sup>

All the above factors and circumstances "unavoidably regulated but did not exclude the controlling authority of the Court of Directors"<sup>13</sup> and during the period under review the Company through its Court of Directors still remained an important factor in the system of Indian administration.<sup>14</sup>

Had all the prohibitory orders and judgments passed by the Court been accepted in toto by their servants in India and had they regulated their conduct accordingly, strict discipline would have been maintained no doubt, but "an empire more magnificent than that of Rome" would not have arisen. Wellesley and Lord Hastings were bold or rash enough to ignore the principles of Indian policy laid down by the Home authorities and it was they who had most extended the Company's possessions in India. Nevertheless these judgments and prohibitory orders had had their value. These orders by serving ultimately as rules for the future guidance of their servants in India and "by acting as a brake on the speed of the Company's expansion, benefited its power in India which was thereby afforded periodic intervals of peace in which to consolidate and organise its resources."<sup>15\*</sup>

4. Lord Cornwallis strongly resented the interference of Directors in the appointment of officers and even threatened to resign if so . . . pernicious a system should again be revived. . . —Letter to John Woodhouse, Director of the Company, August 10, 1789.

5. Keith: *A Constitutional History of India*, p. 141.

6. (a) "With regard to supersession of Wellesley Pitt expressed the opinion that the G. G. had acted most imprudently and illegally and that he could not be suffered to remain in the Government . . . The Court of Directors voted for his condemnation by an overwhelming majority."—Roberts: *History of British India*, p. 262.

(b) "The Court of Directors most justly disapproved of Ellenborough's policy in Sind . . . and they accused him of systematically subordinating the interests of the Civil to those of the Military service."—Roberts: *Ibid.*, p. 332.

7. (a) Bentinck's Minute, September 14, 1831.

(b) Lord Ellenborough's Letter to Secret Committee, January 18, 1844.

8. C. H. Philips: *The East India Company*, Chapter VII.

Roberts: *History of British India*, p. 386.

9. "The strength, influence and independence of the Court of Directors as against the Board of Control varied in proportion to the strength of the East India Interest in Parliament. In 1834 there were 45 East India members as against 103 in 1806."—Philips: *East India Company 1784-1834*, p. 297.

10. Roberts: *History of British India*, p. 386.

11. Letter to Secret Committee, January 18, 1844.

12. Dalhousie's private letter to Sir George Couper, December 8, 1851.

13. Letter from Court to Board, August 27, 1829.

14. Keith: *Constitutional History of India*, p. 140.

15. Philips: *East India Company*, p. 301.

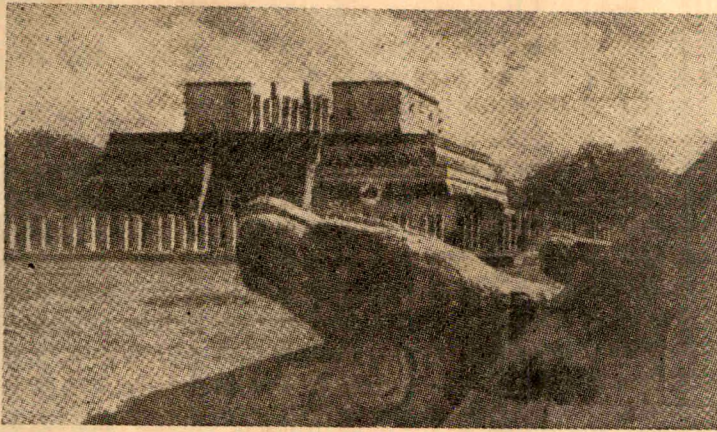
\* Adapted from the writer's book *The Annexation of Assam*, to be published by the Government of Assam.



# INDIAN GODS AND TEMPLES IN AMERICA

By S. P. SHOME

WHEN Columbus discovered America, there lived in that New (?) World an ancient people who were definitely brilliant in every department of human pursuit. They were living in all the States of America, specially in Mexico, and had a magnificent civilization which profoundly surprises the modern world.



The Temple of the Thousand Pillars (Chichen Itza). This temple resembles the Sahasra Stambha temple at Madura

The region where it developed includes the States of Tabasco and Chiapas in Mexico, in Guatemala, and just along the western frontier of Honduras. This region, now overgrown with a dense tropical forest, had been cleared by the aboriginal Indians and put under intensive cultivation. Great cities had flourished on every side. Lofty pyramid-temples and splendid palaces of cut stone, spacious plazas and courts filled with elaborately-carved monuments of strange yet imposing dignity, market-places, terraces, causeways were to have been counted, not by tens and scores but by hundreds and thousands.

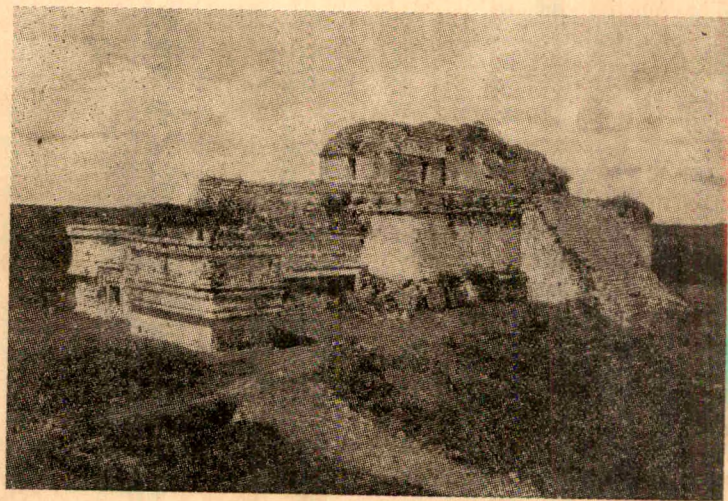
Indeed, before the white settlers came to America, it is not improbable that the country had been very densely populated. Nor did the arts and sciences of the people lag behind architecture and sculpture of the modern world. Hard metal, it is true, the people of this so-called New World did not have, but the lack of it did not prevent them from carving such a hard substance as jade, which they made into beautiful

pectoral plaques sometimes six inches square, showing their principal deities and rulers in acts of adoration or sacrifice.

Necklaces, anklets, wristlets, ear-rings, nose-ornaments, beads, and pendants were fashioned from the same refractory material, which, even without the aid of metal tools, seems to have presented little difficulty to the ancient people of America.

Exquisite wood carvings, delicate modelling in stucco, ceramics, painting, weaving, and gorgeous mosaics made of brilliantly-coloured feathers were some of the other arts in which, so far as the native races of the New World are concerned, are equal, if not superior, to the achievements of the Old World. And when one comes to a knowledge of the abstract sciences, such as arithmetic, chronology, and astronomy, they have few peers among their 'bosses' even in the Old World.

It would carry us too far astray to explore these fascinat-



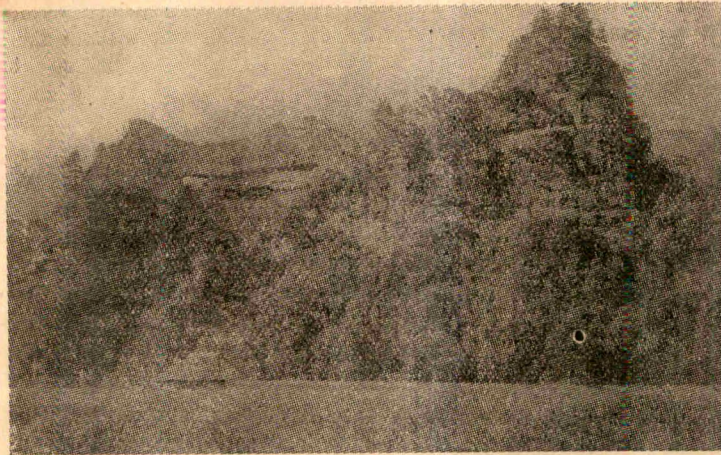
The Palace of the Itzen Rulers (Chichen Itza)

ing fields of ancient American learning, and it must suffice for the present occasion to point out that their system of keeping account of past time—that is, their chronology—was more accurate than anything known in Europe, Asia, or Africa before the fall of the Roman Empire, and it is an open question whether



West Indian chronology, in the field of elapsed time, is not more accurate even than the modern Gregorian Calendar.

But the Dark Ages appeared when the white settlers began to blaze their way through the country; and art, architecture and learning soon suffered an eclipse—and from which the people never again fully recovered.



Tlachtli-ground or the Ball Court. It constitutes a splendid open air auditorium capable of accomodating 5,000 people. The interior walls are entirely covered with elaborate sculptures portraying lines of marching warriors

The American-Indians during the eighteenth century, were forced to abandon most of their old regions, where they had wrought so laboriously and had achieved so splendidly, and to seek new homes elsewhere. The cause, or to be precise, causes of this great Indian exodus are not difficult to understand. The incessant tide of expansion of the whiteman's dominance had hewed a clearing by diminishing the ancient tribes of America, until from Canada to Mexico the whiteman's rule became supreme. Today their standard of life has been artificially lowered by the whiteman, and in his private dealings with the Indians, he has never allowed them the rights and treatment to which they are entitled, and considers them 'inferior beings' or objects of contempt and exploitation.

The agricultural practices in vogue among the ancient American-Indians were such as gradually to improve the productivity of the land available for cultivation. Planting eventually became impossible, as

the repeated burnings, which alone served to clear the ground for the white settlers, literally forced them to search for new homes. No lesser calamity than this, it would seem, could have driven a whole nation to such a drastic step as the complete abandonment of the regions wherein they had expended such a tremendous effort.

Whatever may have been responsible for the gradual extinction of the American-Indians, the fact itself is sufficiently clear that in the beginning of the eighteenth century the Indians were pushing northward toward the then, and even still, unexplored forests of Canada, looking for a new and more promising land in which to found their homes.

When men like Grenville, Hawkins, Raleigh and Drake swept out from the Devon coast "Westward Ho" in search of adventure and gallons of gold, they were somewhat disappointed as they landed at a place in America, which was a parched and waterless land. There was no surface water, and there were no rivers or streams nearby and only one or two lakes. The country was of limestone formation, with a subterranean water supply. Here



The Cenote of Sacrifice. The water in this great pocket is 70 feet deep and remains at the same level practically all the year round

and there about the country a few natural openings or wells had been formed, great holes in the ground, sometimes several hundred feet in diameter, places where the limestone crust had become undermined and had



allen through, exposing subterranean water. These the Indians called *cenotes*, and wherever they existed, there, by the very force of circumstances, important centres of white population were established and later flourished.

period of true Indian Renaissance. Under the peaceful conditions and general prosperity brought about by the league, art and architecture flourished. Great buildings of cut stone, elaborately decorated with sculptures, were put up on every side. No town or village was so small and unimportant as not to boast its pyramid-temple and chief's house built of stone. It was in every sense a true Renaissance, and under its quickening influence the Indian aesthetic instinct blossomed forth anew.

Chichen Itza does not seem to have felt this stimulation as strongly as her sister state, Uxmal, for example, although there are a number of buildings at the Itzan capital which date from this period—the Akab'tzib (House of the Dark Writing), the Chichanchob (Red House), the House of the Deer, and parts of the Monjas (Monastery)—in fact, most of the middle section of the city, that part lying south and west of the Temple of the Thousand Pillars.

In 1201 A.D. the political structure of the country was shaken



The Temple of Warriors (Chichen Itza). The ceiling of the temple was supported by four square columns, all sides of which were covered with elaborate sculptures representing gods, rulers, priests and warriors

Although there is some confusion as to the exact date, the civilization of the American-Indians was in existence between 471 and 1530 A.D., and the "Holy Men of the Mayan tribe" as they are almost worshiped in the native chronicles, the Books of Milan Balam, set up their tribal deities, their Lares and Penates.

Before settlers began to fringe the eastern coast of North America, the Indians lived in the shadow of great temples, let us say, surrounded by all the manifestations of the highest native civilization this continent had, and were secure in the protection of their gods, rulers, and priests. Before the whiteman reached the coasts of America, the Indians were living in peace and security and were pushing onward into regions of the unknown for greater safety, more confidence, and more comforts of life. Their early struggle with the white settlers must have been acute. Their old buildings and temples suggest that they were forced to abandon their old cities on account of wholesale massacre by the whitemen. Towns and cities were strewn with skeletons in the raids by the whitemen and human blood and wilderness reigned where there had been gardens.

## II

In 1004 A.D. the three largest city-states—Chichen Itza, Uxmal, and Mayapan—formed a triple alliance, under the name of the League of Mayapan, by which agreement the government of the peninsula was divided equally among them. It was a

to its foundation and the League of Mayapan violently disrupted by war within itself. In that



A Ganesh-like God from a temple in Central America



year Hunnac Ceel, the ruler of Mayapan, made war upon Chac Xib Chac (the Very Red Man), the Itzan ruler, because of "certain banquetings with the ruler of Izamal," according to one of the chronicles, and aided by his Toltec-Aztec allies from central Mexico, inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Holy Men of Itza.



A Vishnu-like God from a temple in Central America

The chronicles do not enlighten us further as to what end overtook the "Very Red Man." Perhaps he fell fighting bravely, as his name might imply, in the defence of his capital. Concerning the fate of the city itself, however, archaeology leaves us in little doubt. From this time onward until its final abandonment in 1448, Chichen Itza was held in thrall by the Indian rulers, the Toltec-Aztec allies of Hunnac Ceel.

### III

The intercourse between the different Indian tribes of America, gave to these pioneers of civilization new customs, new aesthetic inspirations, a new architecture, even a new religion, all of which reacted powerfully upon the ancient people and raised their civilization to a position of honour and sanctity never enjoyed by them before or since.

The ancient people of America worshipped the fair golden-haired god, Quetzalcoatl, the "Feathered

Serpent." They raised temples and sanctuaries to the new god, all adorned with highly realistic representations of the Feathered Serpent (which is almost similar to the Hindu god, Nagaraj Basuki)—in columns, balustrades, cornices, and bas-reliefs—until his sinuous trail was to be seen on every side. The cities experienced a building boom. The so-called Castillo, which in fact is not a castle at all, but the principal temple of Kukulcan at Chichen Itza, covers an acre of ground and towers more than 100 feet above the level of the broad plaza at its base, overtopping the highest trees. Four balustraded stairways ascend its terraced sides, and the sanctuary on the summit is entered through a doorway flanked by feathered serpent columns.

Another enormous construction of the Indian art and sculpture at Chichen Itza is the Temple of the Thousand Pillars, a vast architectural complex enclosing a central plaza consisting of more than five acres, and composed of pyramid-temples, colonnaded halls, sunken courts, terraces and platforms; and here, too, everywhere may be seen the trail of Kukulcan, the Feathered Serpent, patron deity of the Indians.



A dancing god reminiscent of Hindu God Siva (Guatemala)

Other buildings of importance are the Tlachtli ground or Ball Court and the Temple of Hanuma, the Caracol or Astronomical Observatory, the Temple of the Warriors, the High Priest's Grave, the stone altars, which prove the remarkable efficiency of the American-Indians in those days. Their progressive and vigorous outlook gave to that really old world a new impetus which showed a crowning distinction in the field of art and culture.

The Toltec-Aztec Indians were the first to capitalize successfully the semi-sacred character of god which was acquired in the passing centuries. This was



## INDIAN GODS AND TEMPLES IN AMERICA

done by inaugurating at its brink a gruesome sacrificial rite, which was destined to attract pilgrims thither from all parts of the land; no less, indeed, than hurling into its gloomy depths the young Indian maidens to appease the wrath of offended deities.



Another image of God Siva found in a temple at Guatemala

Along with these human sacrifices all sorts of valuable personal objects were thrown into the pool, which until the present day bears the name of Cenote of Sacrifice. Gold and jade ornaments, beautiful pieces of pottery, carved wood, in fact everything of the highest value found its way thither, there to lie for five centuries or more, until rescued from oblivion by the dredge of an archeologist.

The very spectacularity of this cruel rite—the maidens at the brink of the dark pool, the incensing of the priests, the sides lined with waiting thousands, a push, perchance a startled cry, a splash below, and silence—all combined to arouse a general interest in the ceremony. Pilgrims came from far and near to hurl their personal treasures into the depths. Pendants and bells of gold have been found here which are known to have been made no nearer than Costa Rica, and pottery of peculiar type, not unlike Indian ware, which could only have come from the north-western States of America. Such was the fame and appeal of this death by water.

The Indian rulers of the country on their part had spared no efforts to give the ceremony a proper setting. The great Temple of Kukulcan had been

located with special reference to this pool of sacrifice—that is facing it—and connected with it by a stone causeway or 'Via Sacra', a quarter of a mile long, 30 feet broad, and in places built up 25 feet above the level of the plain. Other temples had been erected in the immediate vicinity, including two elaborately decorated dancing platforms, and at the edge of the cenote itself there was a small shrine for the last solemn rites.

The sombre natural beauty of this deep pool, with its chalky white sides covered with clinging vines of green, the imposing temples, and other buildings associated with it, the long procession of gorgeously-robed priests leading their victims to the brink, the spectacular sacrifice itself—a dramatic hurling through the air into the dark, silent water below—all combined to affect powerfully the Indian mind. Thousands were attracted thither, until by the early fifteenth century Chichen Itza had become, because of this great ceremony, the most holy city in the continent of America—nay more, the Mecca of the Indian World.



This God found in a temple at Guatemala might easily be mistaken for Hanuman, the monkey-god of India

### IV

For a decade now the Carnegie Institute of Washington has had under consideration a plan for the intensive study of the ancient civilization of the American-Indians. Several preliminary expeditions had been sent to the different parts of the continent to ascertain the precise nature of the practical as well as the archeological problems involved, and in June, 1923, a formal plan of study covering a period of not



ss than 10 years was presented to the Mexican overnment.

This plan having been approved by the Director Anthropology, who has jurisdiction over all archeological remains in the Republic of Mexico, an agreement was reached under the terms of which the Carnegie Institute was granted the privilege of carrying on archeological investigations at Chichen Itza and other places for a period of 10 years, or more, beginning from January 1, 1924.

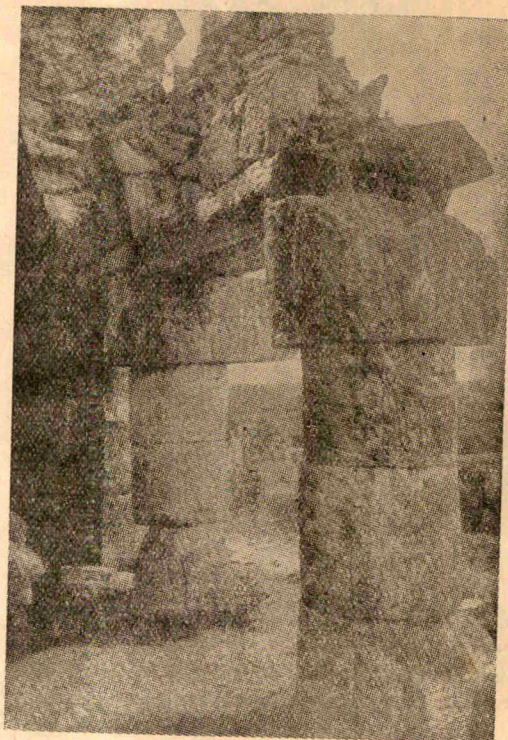
its final abandonment in the middle of the sixteenth century.

The north and west sides of the temple are bounded by two very long colonnades of round pillars with square capitals, five pillars with square capitals, and also other five pillars. The remaining sides are occupied by even more imposing buildings of greater complexity of ground plan, and it was in one of these, the actual excavation began on May 28, 1924.

The gateway on the western side seems to be com-



Interior of the Temple of Warriors  
at Chichen Itza (Mexico)



Ante-chamber of the great Temple of the  
Thousand Pillars

The principal work since 1924 was the excavation of the place where the Temple of the Thousand Pillars, an enormous construction with all of its parts, situated, covering more than twenty acres. This temple is named the Thousand Pillars because its architectural features are the pillars, some of which are square, others round, some sculptured and others plain. In the different colonnades, porticos, temples, and minor courts surrounding the great Temple of the Thousand Pillars, the architectural centre of the temple, more than a thousand different pillars have already been counted, ample to justify the name chosen for it. The Temple of the Thousand Pillars covers five acres of ground. Originally it was paved with a hard plaster, traces of which still are to be found at Chichen Itza, though towards the centre this pavement has been destroyed by the forest which has everywhere thrown a green mantle over Chichen Itza, since

paratively uninteresting. The west colonnade is only two steps higher than the floor level of the Temple of the Pillars, and this gateway seems to have been a simple passageway between the pillars of the colonnade without sculptural embellishment at either end.

The northern gateway appeared to be more interesting. The North Colonnade surmounts a terrace 7 feet above the level of the temple, and it is through this terrace, or platform, underneath the colonnade proper, that the northern gateway passes. Both ends of this, it was found, had been decorated with flanking sculptured panels; the panels on the eastern side at each end had the image of Hanuman carved upon them, whereas the western jambs were carved with macaws or parrots. Round shields and other animal and bird figures completed the sculptural decoration of this gateway, which was paved with well-cut flagstones.



The eight pillars across the front divide the facade into nine doorways. All the pillars are made alike—that is, in sections composed of large dressed blocks of limestone—and all are plain save the four central ones at the back, which are elaborately sculptured and enclose a sculptured throne or platform.

Three round shields, one above the other, come next, and judging from the large number recovered in the excavations, these must have been a frequently recurring element in the decoration of the facade.



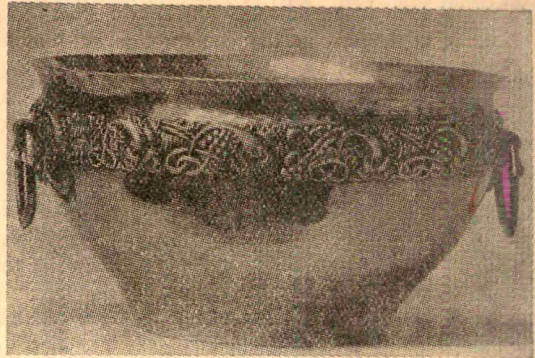
Tigers and birds on the wall of a temple at Teocali, Mexico

Above the next to the last doorway, at each end, there is a human figure fastened to the wall by a tenon at its back. These are gorgeously clothed in feather-work cloaks, panaches of plumes rising from their head-dresses, embroidered girdles, and jade necklaces, pendants, ear-rings, wristlets and anklets completing the costume. The right hand grasps a spear decorated with tufts of feathers, and the left an embroidered disc or *chakra*.

The building is surmounted by a cornice of the same style as the medial one. These two cornices are themselves extremely decorative. They are composed of three members, the top and bottom ones being plain, the former sloping upward, the latter downward. The middle member, however, is sculptured with a pair of intertwining rattlesnakes, a head and tail with plumed decorations at one end of the cornice and the other head and tail at the other end.

Imagine, then, this facade in its entirety; the nine ample doorways separated by solid square pillars, the two rattlesnake cornices, the masks, shields, human, animal, and bird figures, this long and elaborately carved panel being painted from one end to the other with a variety of colours—red, blue, green, and yellow,—the whole constituting a picture of dazzling and

heroic splendour difficult for the modern eye to visualize, however accustomed it may be to chromatic riot by our own flaming billboards.



A decorated bowl found in the Temple of the Thousand Pillars

Passing into the cool shade of the colonnade through the middle doorway and walking towards the back, one passes between the outer pair of sculpture-pillars, also painted, and stands before a dais or throne, the sides of which are sculptured with rows of warriors, and the cornice with intertwining rattlesnakes running around the top. It is flanked by the inner pair of sculptured pillars.



Stairway ascending the western face of the Temple of Kukulkan, Patron Deity of Chichen Itza

All four sides of these four pillars are sculptured, making a total of sixteen panels. Most of the sculptured subjects are warriors elaborately clothed in feather-work, embroidered cotton stuff, and jade jewelry, and armed with spears, clubs, and shields. An interesting exception is the front of the back pillar at the left, which is carved with the representation of Kukulkan, whose likeness is to be found in India in the Sahasra Stambha Temple at Madura, while the Temple of Warriors is reminiscent of Naga sculpture. The



Shesh-like god and the Vishnu-like god of Central America and the monkey god Hanuman in the temples of the American-Indians are of the same type as are usually seen in India. The dancing god of Chichen Itza is reminiscent of Hindu god, Siva. The important feature in the construction of temples and gods of the American-Indians is the striking similarity between the ancient architecture and statuary of America and those of ancient India. The sculptured fragments of temples and palaces, the rude workmanship scattered here and there in South America, Mexico and Honduras, tell us the tale, eloquently enough, of Indian civilization spreading its wings over the remotest parts of America in the past. Attempt should now be made by the Oriental

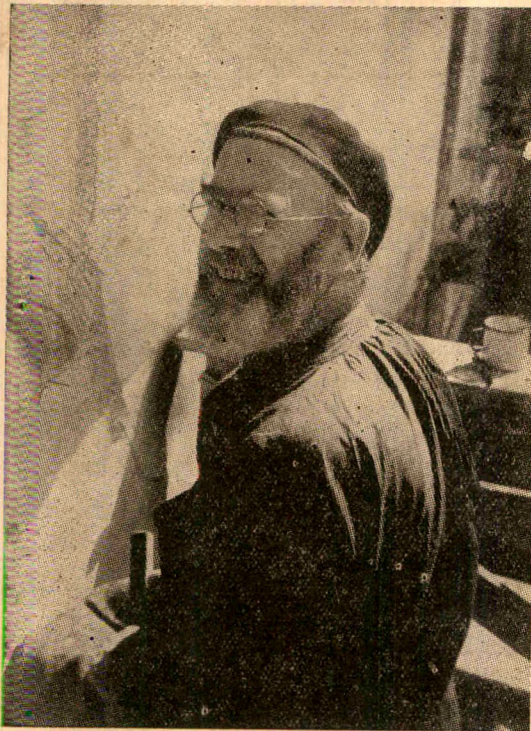
scholars to study the ancient civilization of America from two sides. In the first place, they must write, in accordance with the modern investigation, an authoritative history of the ancient people of America. While, of course, I do not say that nothing of the kind has been undertaken, it seems to me that the ancient history of America has been written mostly by Euro-Americans without making due reference to the ancient civilization of India. In the second place, they will have to revivify the arts and culture of the ancient people of America, with a new outlook, which alone will make those poor folk great again in their own country. If these two things happen, we can prophesy a great future for the indigenous Indians of America.

—:O:—

### ERIC GILL The British Sculptor and Designer

By IRIS CONLAY

HE sculptor of the Stations of the Cross in Westminster Cathedral in London, the creator of the stone figures of Prospero and Ariel on Broadcasting House,



Eric Gill at work in his studio

Headquarters of the British Broadcasting Corporation, the designer of types, the stone-mason and

cutter of letters, the book illustrator, the philosopher and writer—all these are aspects of a man whose self and activities were one. It is the essence of Eric Gill that he did not value being an artist above being a man—a workman is what he called himself, and his aim was to create a 'cell of good living.'

His life began in Brighton in 1882. Brighton was both prosperous and fashionable in those days, but the Gill family were neither. They lived in one of a row of houses that backed on to the railway station. The father was a Nonconformist clergyman, and education was accounted of more worth than wealth. Eric was therefore sent to school young. He records his earliest experience of an art class:

"We have been making little mats by interweaving strips of shiny blue and white paper—not exciting but intelligible. Then the teacher starts us on clay modelling. She gives me a lump of greyish clay, about as big as a plover's egg, and suggests that I shall make something by squeezing it about. She shows me how to do it, but does not tell me what or why. I am miserable and bored. I remember clearly the grey light and my impotence. If only I could have told her it was not in my line!"

It was certainly not in his line. The five-year-old Eric of this period afterwards became one of the first artists in Britain for many generations to work directly on to the stone without clay models. He did this, not to impress, or to strike an attitude among his contemporaries, but because, having been trained as a mason, working directly on stone was natural to him.

"Art for art's sake" was an abomination to Eric Gill. All his achievements as an artist grew out of his achievements as a workman. Tombstones and lettering on shop fronts are generally workmen's jobs, and Eric took a pleasure in perfecting these things. He was only



given the job of carving the Stations of the Cross at Westminster Cathedral because he was a mere mason.

He was hardly known then, but a perceptive architect believed in his ability and potentiality. At this time, too, he had only been a Catholic for a year, and, allied to a rare gift for linear grace, he brought to his work the fresh vision of a Christianity newly-found. The results are the deeply satisfying and simple ikon-like plaques which are perhaps the most living things in Westminster Cathedral today.

Lying safely stored in the last studio that he worked in, is another piece of sculpture for Westminster Cathedral—a magnificent Hoptonwood stone reredos for the English martyrs' memorial chapel. Few people have seen this, Gill's last work, but those who have believe that it is the peak of his production as a sculptor. In the centre is Christ crucified, and on either side stand the martyrs, St. Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England under King Henry VIII, and St. John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester in the same reign.

From a shop front painted by Gill, Stanley Morison discovered a type-designer for Monotype, the mechanical type-composing company. Morison liked, the Sans-serif letters he saw over a bookseller's window in Bristol and commissioned the artist, who was Gill, to complete the alphabet. He subsequently designed eight founts of types.

After that there were book illustrations for the Golden Cockerell Press, of which the 60 engravings for Troilus and Creseyde are the best-known, more type-designing, and other sculptures including a memorial to the servants of the Victoria and Albert museum in South Kensington; a Deposition in black marble (his favourite work) in Canterbury; a St. John the Baptist at Oxford; Prospero and Ariel on Broadcasting House; ten panels on the New Museum at Jerusalem, and a creation of Adam at Geneva.

This bas-relief of Adam in the foyer of the League of Nations council hall is a particularly magnificent conception. It is a frieze 55 ft. (17 metres) long and about 8 feet (3 metres) high and Gill's original idea was to fill the space with what he considered a worthy subject—the turning-out of the money-changers from the Temple. Eyebrows were lifted high at such a suggestion, and the more tactful alternative of the creation of man was selected. Under a great text proclaiming the over-mastery of God, Gill's colossal representation of Adam, the man before the Fall,

spreads majestically. It is flanked on either side by panels of children and animals in the same perfection of untainted nature.

But it was never the importance of the work which mattered to Gill. 'What I achieve as a sculptor is of no consequence,' he once said to a fellow artist, 'I can only be a beginning—it will take generations, but if only the beginnings of a reasonable, decent, holy tradition of working might be effected—that is the thing.'



Eric Gill with his magnificent bas-relief of the reclining Adam, which he designed and executed for the frieze in the foyer of the League of Nations Council Chamber

To create the holy tradition he fought constantly against the "machine" State. He wrote books, he lectured, he lived in protest against it. First at Ditchling, then at Capel-y-ffin in the remote hills of North Wales, and finally at Pigotts, he surrounded himself by a community who set out first to praise God by their work and then to live a complete and satisfying human life. When Ditchling became over-publicised as a show place for gaping pilgrims, a retreat was made to the Welsh Mountains. They proved too remote for the contacts necessary for work, and Gill's last home was Pigotts, in Buckinghamshire. Here he had a private chapel, shaping the stone altar himself and all the chapel's furniture. Here a happy band of students and family were gathered round him. Against a wall in the courtyard, enclosed by his farmhouse, leant his own tombstone carved by himself, waiting for the day. . . .

The day came on November 18th, 1940. The plaintive Requiem Mass was sung by a choir of his own grandchildren, and his body was conveyed on an open farm cart drawn by the domestic pony down the long hill to the cemetery at Speen.



# TIBETAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

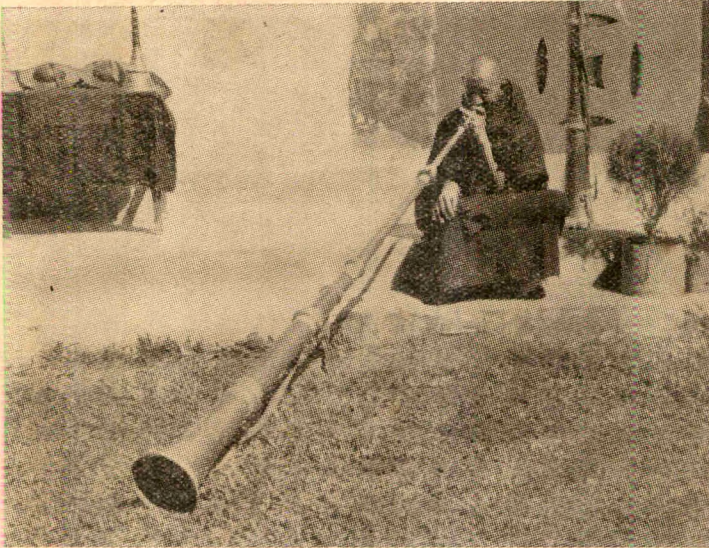
By ANAGARIKA SASANA RATANA

STRANGE and full of mysticism are the religious ceremonies of the Buddhist priesthood in the "Land of Snow." Day by day, from early morning till late at night, in thousands of Tibetan monasteries the monks

trumpets, called Dungring, which may be up to 14 feet long. Their deep boomings, from the roofs of the temples, herald the dawn, summoning the devotees to morning prayers. They are supposed to reproduce the trumpeting of elephants, who, according to Tibetan religious beliefs, guard the main quarters of the world.

The flageolets produce a more melodious sound; they are called Gyeling and a minimum of two are to be found in each temple orchestra. Some of these flutes are good examples of Tibetan craftsmanship as they are frequently wrought in silver and studded with semi-precious stones. To play them a straw has to be inserted into their mouthpiece.

Other instruments used in religious services are the cymbals, simplicity themselves, which have, however, to be handled in a minutely prescribed manner. Furthermore, huge white conch-shells, called Dunkar, usually set in an ornate holder, and gong and rattles—

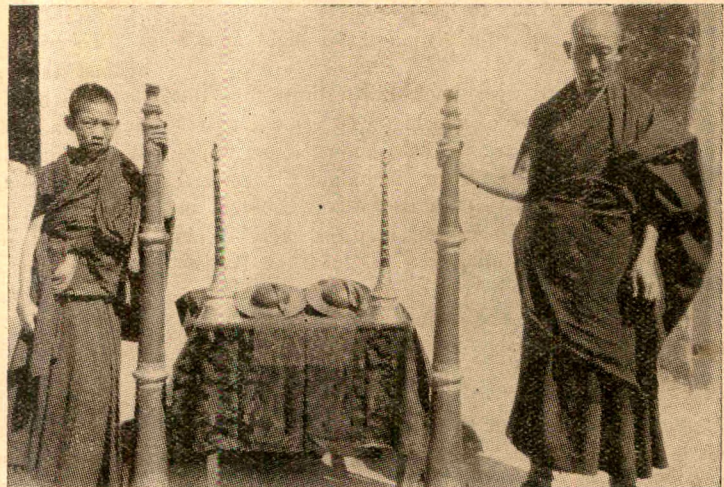


A Lama playing the Dungring trumpet

assemble to worship the innumerable deities of the Lamaistic pantheon. Gathering in the mystic darkness of the temple-halls, they chant their prayers and perform the prescribed rites. Weird are the appliances for these ceremonies—thunderbolts, little bells, magic daggers and ritual knives—and not less queer are the musical instruments played to accompany the prayers.

Several experienced Lamas—their number varies according to the size of the congregation and the religious service which is being held—form the temple orchestra. The music they produce sounds to the uninitiated noisy and untuneful; it, however, follows strict and orthodox rules. A form of musical score depicted by wavy lines with small marks indicates when each instrument has to be played and how the choral accompaniment rises and falls.

The most striking among the musical instruments used in Tibetan monasteries are long telescopic



Some Tibetan musical instruments

the last mentioned being generally applied in Tibetan religious dances—are used. Various drums are incorporated in the orchestra. Some of these are round, flat and mounted on a stick, which is held vertically,



They are played with a long, curved stick tipped with leather. The most extraordinary Tibetan drum is the Damaru, shaped like an hour-glass; it bears a remarkable resemblance to the hand-drums of the Shamans of Siberia. It consists of two domes of human skulls, attached so that the hollow surfaces face outward, the open parts being covered with stretched human skins. Two short strings with a small wooden ball on each, are fastened to the neck formed by the junction of the skulls. When the drum is jerked to and fro, they strike against the skin surface producing a high rattling sound. The Damaru is generally used during the ordinary religious services for indicating the pauses between the various parts of the ceremony.

This drum is, however, above all an important instrument of the Tibetan magicians, who apply it in their rites when calling or frightening away inimical demons. These wizards usually use the Damaru in connection with another instrument also made of human bone, which is called Kangling. The Kangling is a trumpet made from a thighbone and the Tibetans claim that especially those trumpets made of the left thighbone of a 16 years old girl, of criminals or people who died a violent death, are most efficient in the performance of secret rites. It is also claimed that the Lama who makes the thighbone trumpet, has to eat a piece of the skin covering the bone in order to give the Kangling the magic power to summon the demons.

—:O:—

Compared with the variety of musical instruments played by the Lamas, only few instruments are used



The Tibetan temple drum by Tibetan laymen. Small drums and rattles are carried by Achelhamo, the travelling dancers and actors of Tibet, and a three-stringed, long-necked guitar is played by the wandering troubadours who make their way across the "Roof of the World," chanting merrily the old ballads of heroes of a past age.

## GETTING ON THE CONTOUR

By NORT BASER

THIS is the story of a soil conservation district and its approach to the land-use problem—how American farmers and soil experts are working shoulder to shoulder to obtain permanent maximum productivity of the land, according to its capacity and needs. Specifically, it is the story of the Harford County Soil Conservation District, one of the first to be established in the United States. Nestling in the north-eastern part of the east coast State of Maryland, it is typical of the more than 2,000 soil conservation districts which now blanket the nation, making good land-use practices, in the democratic manner, available to 4,500,000 farms.

Thus the Harford district's story is essentially the same as that of any other district in the U.S.—differing only in the names of the people and in the character of some of its strictly local problems.

The experts will tell you Harford County's productive topsoil was originally 9 to 10 inches deep. Now it averages only 5 to 6 inches. In some hilly spots it has disappeared entirely. Nor will they fail to remind you that it took nature from 500 to 800 years to build 1 inch of that precious soil.

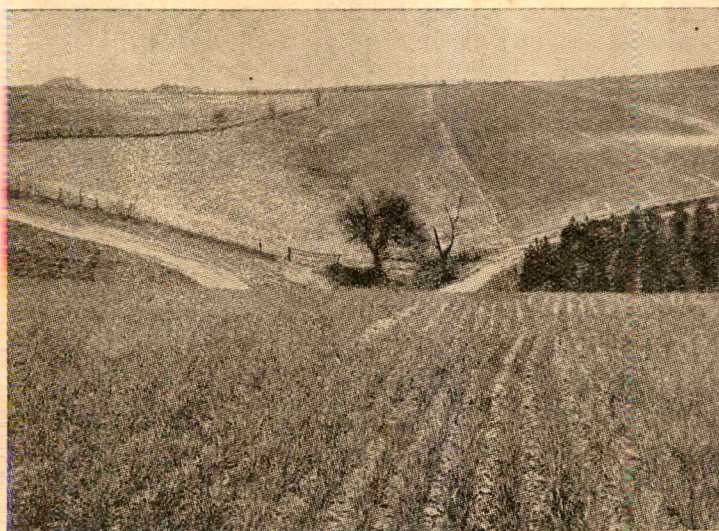
The Harford soil conservation program was designed primarily for the smaller dirt farmer. Examples are legion in the area. In fact, one Harford County farm in every four has a soil conservation plan of one kind or another, the total area amounting to roughly 69,500 acres, one-third of the district area. This new pattern of land-use has grown rapidly, chiefly on its own merit, since it was first introduced in the county in 1939 with the establishment of a demonstration area. The demonstrations were under the supervision of the U.S. Soil Conservation Service with the concurrence of the Maryland State Advisory Committee.

Farmers in the area began to see that plowing of straight furrows up and down hill was the cause of their erosion problems. They observed that those same sloping fields could be plowed on the level so that the curved furrows would serve as a trough to catch rainfall and allow much of it to soak into the ground. They saw the value of diversion channels on the steeper slopes to check wasteful run-off of soil and water.

The advantages of strip cropping were also intro-



duced. Contour strips of close-growing plants, like leslie clover or grass, between alternate strips of clean-tilled row crops proved a wonderful antidote for erosion. The use of cover crops, crop rotation, fertilizer, and lime was made more popular through these demonstrations. For the first time some farmers realized how they could make productive pasture out of wet lands by proper drainage methods.



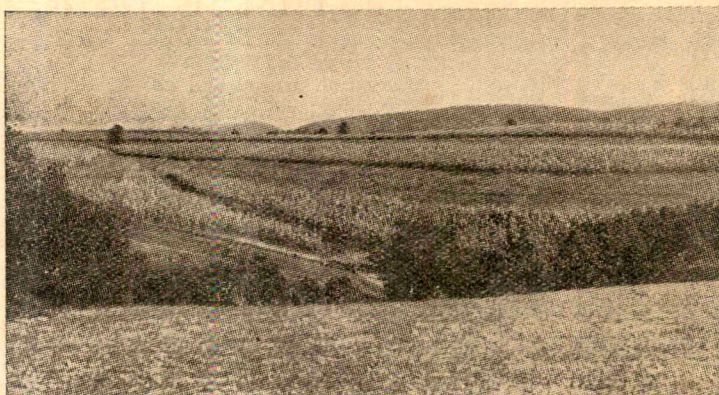
View of an American farm before contour strips were laid out

By the summer of 1939, techniques had so improved and farmer interest had so increased that both Harford and neighbouring Baltimore counties were organized into one district. This spurred even greater activity and resulted in more requests for assistance than the limited technical staff assigned to the area could handle. Then in May 1944, a referendum of landowners dictated the dividing of Harford and Baltimore counties into separate districts. This meant more technical assistance, and besides it was felt that a group of supervisors representing only their own county would be in a better position to understand local problems and to obtain more support from county governments. Thus, since 1945, the number of farm plans in the Harford district has grown from 200 plus to more than 500.

Key to this soil-saving program's popularity are the supervisors, five in number. All are active farmers, three being elected by the men they represent and two being appointed by the State Soil Conservation Committee. It is the responsibility of the supervisors

to give the landowners they represent the maximum control over the program. They guide the policies, meet once a month to assign priority to requests for assistance on various farms, and to help settle any other problems which may arise. They also control expenditures of district funds allocated by the State, plus funds earned from assessments to farmers using equipment assigned to the district to install drainage ditches and diversion terraces.

Local technicians in the employ of the U. S. Soil Conservation Service take over from there. Occasionally they help the supervisors recommend revisions in farm plans, but they never set foot on a man's farm unless requested to do so. They want the program to prove itself—which it is doing. Headquarters for the Soil Conservation Service in the Harford District is at Bel Air county seat. The technician in charge has earned the confidence of the farmers and townspeople who recognize the fine job he is doing and like his easy, friendly air of co-operation. Early in 1949, he received a request to lay out a conservation plan on a 156-acre farm. First he had the soil surveyed to learn its



An American farm showing contour strips with grass water-way where there had been a gully 2 feet deep six years ago

present condition, how much erosion existed and its degree of slope. Then he drew up a land capability map, all to scale and in color. Armed with this, he visited the farm. He learned that there were 68 head of dairy cattle and 10 heifers, and that better pasture and more corn was needed.

The farmer and the technician then walked together over every acre of the farm, discussing what each field was used for and what the map indicated



the best use should be. The farmer agreed that contour strip cropping would help him in a couple of the hilly fields and that another would be better suited to pasture. He saw he would have to change several of his fences and put in some drainage tile in one low field. When all the details were worked out, the soil conservationist wrote them into a plan for the farmer to sign. The contour lines were tentatively outlined in April, but they were not laid out until after hay harvest. When they were established, each plowed furrow was at right angles to the slope so that rain would no longer wash the topsoil away but would sink in around the roots of crops. New fence lines will not be established until the present fences need repair.

That is how the program works. This particular farmer's problem is typical of most farms in the district—but sometimes conditions are much worse and more drastic measures of control must be recommended. Too often farmers do not become alarmed until they notice ugly gullies eating away their fields. They fail to realize that sheet erosion can cause great damage if it is not halted by strip cropping, diversion terraces, cover crops, fertilization, crop rotation, or other measures.

In many cases the local conservationist finds it profitable to seek the aid of other agencies. The University of Maryland Extension Service or the county agent are always ready to help with farm plans for erosion control. The State Soil Conservation Committee will advise on points of law and co-operation. Or if improvement of a wood lot is needed, the State Forest Service will lend a hand. These technicians stand ready to advise the farmer. After that, it is up to him.

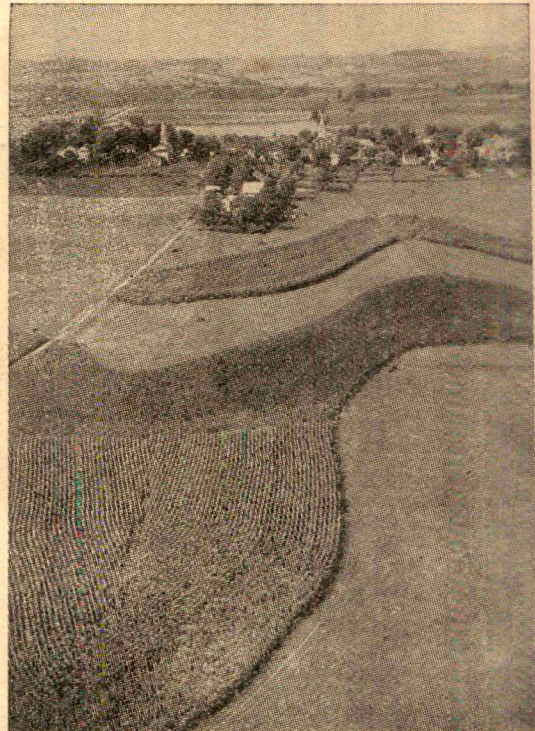
Usually the farmer discovers he must spend a considerable amount of effort and some money over a period of several years to get his farm back into the maximum productivity of which it is capable. But sometimes he is agreeably surprised—especially if he has a healthy wood lot.

Often a wood lot helps provide the lumber for upkeep of farm buildings or nets a modest sale of timber to offset soil improvements. Farmers without such windfalls must make more of a sacrifice, though actually the cost of putting in a farm conservation plan is nominal. A farmer can put in the recommended contours and strip cropping himself during slack periods. Changing fences is not usually advised until present lines need repair. Of course, measures such as correcting deep gullies, putting in drainage tile or buying large quantities of lime and fertilizer are more costly.

What does the farmer gain by making all these improvements? One American farmer answers this question: "My yields have increased 40 to 50 per cent on some land that was formerly badly eroded. Now all my cropland is producing equally well because the

fertilizer, seed and manure stay on the slopes instead of washing off."

Another farmer says, "Now that I am farming in contour strips all the gullies are healed over and my grass waterways are gradually levelling up. The water that comes from my fields is now clear. My yields have increased by one-fourth on the average—and I am saving time and effort through increased efficiency of equipment."



View of part of an American farm which is co-operating with the soil conservation services in the eastern State of Maryland

And another sums it up with, "I think the curved rows of contour strips make a farm and the countryside in general so much more beautiful that farmers take more pride in their work and want to do a better job of farming. I know it has made a better farmer of me." Besides getting 50 per cent more corn from his hillsides, he notes that springs which used to go dry in summer now have a small trickle all summer long.

That is why more farms in the Harford district are taking on a new look. Each convert brings the over-all conservation pattern nearer to completion. There is no doubt that the conservation movement in the United States is progressing at a pace fast enough to point a definite pattern of land use for the future farmers of America, as well as demonstrating the value of soil conservation methods to the farmers of other lands.—From *American Forests*.



# THE EKTESWAR TEMPLE

## Archaeological Survey Report of Bankura District

By RABINDRANATH CHAUDHURI

On October 23, 1949, I paid a visit to the Ekteswar village two miles from Bankura, B. N. Railway station, to see the oldest temple of Bengal, Ekteswar. The antiquity and architectural simplicity of the temple attracted me so much that I could not help going there again on November 2, 1949 to study in detail mensuration work and the features of ancient architecture of the early mediaeval period (the word 'mediaeval' will mean roughly between the eighth and the thirteenth century A.D.) in Bengal.



The image of Khandarani or Goddess Durga under the diadem of Sapta-Naga or Ananta-Basuki

Before I proceed further I must acknowledge my indebtedness to Sri Jogesh Chandra Ray, M.Sc., Vidyavidhi, the eminent educationist, who gave me first-hand knowledge of the history of the temple.

### THE TEMPLE

The Ekteswar temple is built upon a hillock with heavy red-stone, and is surrounded by a strong and well-built stone enclosure. The character of the temple seems to be of the simple fort and primitive type. But much of its primitive original grandeur has been replaced by a thorough repair by the Pandas in 1920 A.D. They used in repair ordinary lime and thick sand mortar. Generally 6 ft. × 4 ft. × 2 ft. and

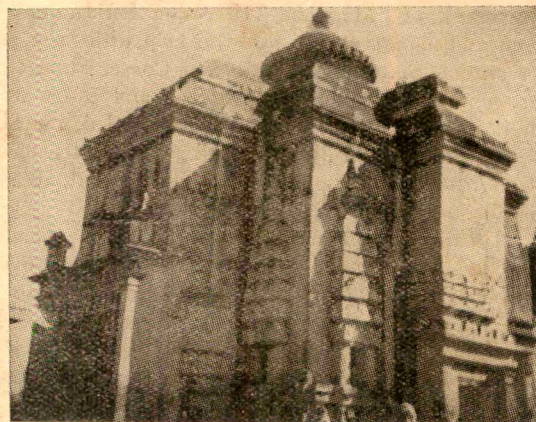
4 ft. × 4 ft. × 2 ft. red stone has been used for the structure and for the enclosure too.

There is an open chamber (Kunda)<sup>1</sup> inside the temple. The image is seen posted in the chamber, which is 7 ft. deep from the floor level of the temple. A tunnel (8 ins. dm.) is seen just by the side of the image. It is about 500 ft. in its length and is connected with the river Darakeswar (or Dhalkishore) adjoining it and remains full of water, specially during the rains when the river water gets into the tunnel and makes the above-mentioned chamber full of water. This ingenious process helps the image to remain for most part of the year in touch with the sacred river water.

Among all the existing ancient monuments in Bengal such a contact with river-water is a peculiarity in itself and is very different from all other techniques that are found in ancient monumental works.

### THE IMAGE

It is not a set image, the peak of the sub-soil hillock was cut in such a way that it looks like an image having a leg shape. The derivation of the word



### The Ekteswar Temple

Ekteswar is appropriately applied with the view of the image; which is derived thus : Ekapada<sup>2</sup>, Eka-padeswar,<sup>3</sup> Ekata-iswar,<sup>4</sup> Ekteswar.<sup>5</sup>

From a reference in the Rigveda it is seen that there was a God of the shape of a goat with one leg, the Sanskrit name of the God is Ekapada-Chhaga.<sup>6</sup> Such affinity of the words Ekapadeswar and Ekapada-Chhaga, in spite of the absence of the word Chhaga in

1. कुण्ड

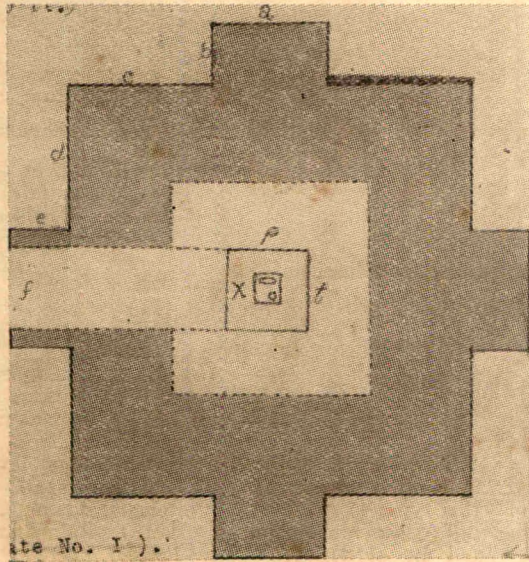
2. एकपाद 3. एकपादेश्वर 4. एकता-ईश्वर 5. एक्तेश्वर

6. एक-पाद-छाग



Ekapedeswar, casts reflection of the traditional influence of the Rig-Vedic Brahmanical culture on the image.

In addition to this a cultural colour may be applied to Ekteswar image. From archaeological evidence, it appears that this district was a renowned seat of ancient culture in Bishal-Banga (Greater Bengal), which is supported by the Susunia Rock Inscription of King Chandra Varma of Pushkarana, Barjora P.S., Bankura district, C. 350, and was specially under the influence of both, (i) Brahmanical and (ii) Buddhist and Jain faiths. The northern part of this district was under the influence of Brahmanical and Buddhist faiths, and the southern part of partly Jain and partly Tantric Buddhist faiths, the border line being the river Darakeswar.



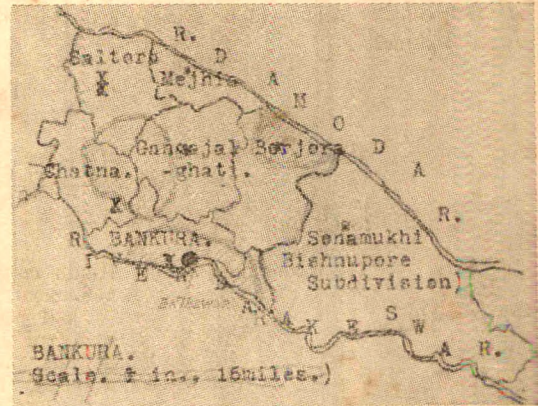
- The plan and elevation of the Temple is exhibited here :
1. Seat of the Temple: 2025 sq. ft. (a) 8 ft. 10 ins., (b) 4 ft. 6 ins., (c) and (d) 11 ft., (e) 4 ft. 6 ins., (f) Gateway.
  2. Inside Area of the Temple : 256 sq. ft. (16 ft. × 16 ft.) (p) 11 ft. (t) 16 ft. (x) : The image and the tunnel. (Depth of the Chamber 7 ft.)

This divergence of cultures sometime in the early mediaeval period came to a halt and they mingled with one another. It was a union of the Brahmanical (Siva) and Buddhist and Jain cults (Siva-Buddhist cults). By this time the Jain faith was completely merged into Buddhism. The line of demarcation of different faiths being the river Darakeswar, this union took place in the centre, that is, at the site of the existing temple. This union did away with different ideologies and they mingled into one of mystic shape that is Ekata (unity) Iswar (God), i.e., Ekteswar (unity of gods).

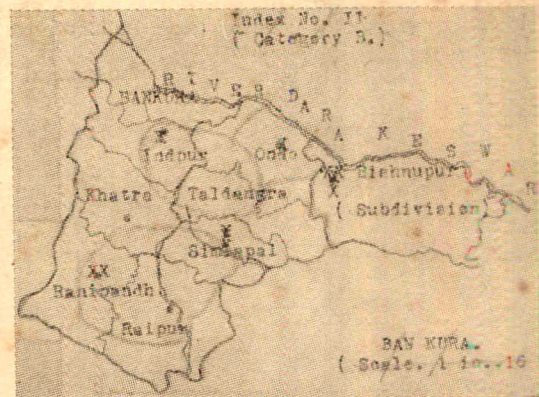
This union of faiths is also supported, though in a somewhat different form, by a local legend that at the

site of the existing temple the ever-conflicting Rajas of Vishnupore and Chhatna (in this district) shed off their inimical attitude and brought in an *ekata* (unity) among themselves.

The Rajas are of 14th century A.D., but the age of the temple appears to be 11th century A.D., so the legendary colour loses its strength in regard to its being accepted.



Taking into account the time-factor there might be some deviation of the legendary view about the time of the union but there is one thing in common which is *Ekata* (unity) amongst them. Yet the age of the temple leads one to accept the former view that is unity amongst the then two prevailing and important mediaeval religions in Bengal.



#### THE PANDAS (priests)

There are two classes of Pandas who serve here as priests, one is called Deghoria<sup>7</sup> and the other Dhamatkarani.<sup>8</sup> The former does the work of actual priests and the latter the less important works relating to the worship of the idol. The word Deghoria and Dhamatkarani are derived thus : (i) Deghoria (Brahmin):

7. देघोरिया 8. धामात करनी



Deva-Griha (Temple)<sup>9</sup>, (ii) Dhamatkarani: Those who work in the Dham (sacred place).<sup>10</sup>

During my visit to the historical Ekteswar temple, I found some other images collected by the local people from different places for their worship and kept inside other temples built by the Pandas between 1920 to 1932 A.D. The descriptions of the images are given below: (i) Ganesh Murti, (God of success—Siddhi)<sup>11</sup> with four arms, sitting on a rat. Mediaeval period (12th century A.D.)—(3 ft. 8 ins. × 2 ft., carved out on sand stone).

(ii) A slab showing a bull, *bahana* (carrier<sup>12</sup> of the Siva).

(2 ft. 5 ins. × 1 ft. 4 ins. × 2 ft. 8 ins. height).

Mediaeval period 10th to 11th century A.D.

(iii) Two slabs showing the goddess (4 ft. 2 ins. × 2 ft. 6 ins. × 2 ft. 6 ins. and 1 ft. × 10 ins.) having twelve arms with weapons standing under the diadem of Sapta-naga<sup>13</sup> (serpent of seven hoods). The Pandas worship the images as Khanda Rani and Ananta-Basuki,<sup>14</sup> though the Vedic name of the image is Durga.<sup>15\*</sup> Mediaeval period 9th to 10th century A.D.

TABLE

Category	Ancient faith (Early Mediaeval period, up to C. 10th A.D.)	Mediaeval period (C. 11th A.D. onwards)	Inhabitants	Archaeological, Iconographical evidence from the temple.
A (Vide Index Map No. I)	(1) Brahmanical	(1) Hindu cults,— Brahmanical, Vaishnava and others, (centre of the cults Pushkarana, present Pakshannya, in Barjora P.S., 4th century A.D., Gupta period, Bankura).	Hindu: Brahmin and others 75 per cent and Aboriginal 25 per cent.	1 (a) Ekteswar temple, (Brahmanical faith), Bankura P.S. (b) Basuli temple, (Vaishnava faith), Chhatna P.S.
	(2) Buddhist	(2) Buddhist.	Not in existence.	2 (a) Belera temple, (Brahmanical and Buddhist faiths), Onda P.S. (b) Dharma temple, (Siva-Buddha), border of Bankura and Onda P.S.
B (Vide Index Map No. II)	1 (a) Jain. (b) Tantric Buddhist.	(1) Mixed Jain and Buddhist cults under a peculiar form of Brahmanical cults.	(1) Bawries, Bhumiji and other classes of this type, 45 per cent, (all degenerated Jain and Buddhist).	1 (a) Ambica temple and Parsvanath temple, (Jain faith), Ranibandh P.S. (b) Harmasra Buddhist temple, (Buddhist Tantric faith). (c) One Kali Murti (image) belongs to Tantric Buddhist faith found during excavation of a tank in Ambicanagar Union P.S. Ranibandh.
		(2) Purely of Brahmani-Brahmin and other cal faith (migrated in Hindus later mediaeval period).		2. Brahmanical —Nil.

9. देव×गृह×ईया=देघोरिया 10. ये धामे कम्मणि कूर्बन्ति

11. सिद्धि 12. वाहन

13. सप्तनाग 14. अनन्त वासूकी 15. दुर्गा

\* Reference: *The Background of Assamese Culture* by R. M. Nath, B.E., Plate XXIII, p. 60. Sri Suryya Hill Rock, Goalpara, Assam.

Note.—I saw all up-to-date collections of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and Ashutosh Museum of Indian Art, University of Calcutta but such peculiar Sombeswari Durga Murti is not seen there.

## THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA

By K. K. BASU, M.A., LL.B. (Cantab.), Barrister-at-Law

PROF. BANERJEE'S rejoinder\* to my article hardly affects my main arguments and it would not have merited any reply but for the fact that it is based on palpable misappreciation of some of my views.

Practising lawyers, I am sure, will be grateful to Prof. Banerjee for suggesting that they should familiarise themselves with political science. May I also do a like service to "keen" students of political science by pointing out the importance of some knowledge of the canons of construction of a Constitution in such students when they undertake to interpret a Constitution? Knowledge of political science, however admirable and necessary to frame a Constitution, has little or no bearing when provisions of a Constitution have to be construed. And I would remind the eminent Professor that the field of a practising lawyer is interpretation, and not extension or abridgement, of such provisions. It may also be left to the seekers of advice in matters constitutional to explain why they admittedly prefer the advice and opinions of practising lawyers on such matters to those of "keen" and "serious" students of political science whose sphere of activity is limited to the instruction of the young.

### I

While disapproving my observation that both in origin and effect a written constitution radically differs from an unwritten constitution Prof. Banerjee chose not to deal with some of the implications of a written constitution specified by me<sup>1</sup> by way of elucidation of the said observation. At the risk of repeating myself to a certain extent, I may point out that a written constitution differs in *origin* from an unwritten constitution inasmuch as it is created at a time and as a whole by the conscious exertion of the people. It (written constitution) differs from the other in *effect* because of the doctrine of *ultra vires* implicit in Constitutions with "controlled" legislatures like the American and the Indian. These distinctions pertain to the very nature of such Constitutions, and are therefore fundamental. They have been emphasised as such by Marshall C. J. in *Marbury vs. Madison*.<sup>2</sup> Relevant portions of his judgment are set out below :

"That the people have an original right to establish, for their future government, such principles as, in their opinion, shall most conduce to their own happiness, is the basis on which the whole American fabric has been erected. The

exercise of this original right is a very great exertion; nor can it nor ought it to be frequently repeated. The principles, therefore, so established, are deemed fundamental. And as the authority from which they proceed is supreme, and can seldom act, they are designed to be permanent.

"This original and supreme will organizes the government, and assigns to different departments their respective powers. . . .

" . . . The powers of the legislature are defined and limited; and that those limits may not be mistaken, or forgotten, the Constitution is written . . .

"Certainly all those who have framed written constitutions contemplate them as forming the fundamental and paramount law of the nation, and, consequently, the theory of every such government must be, that an act of the legislature, repugnant to the constitution, is void.

"This theory is essentially attached to a written constitution, and is consequently to be considered, by this Court, as one of the fundamental principles of our society . . . ."

I do not forget that the great Chief Justice, not being known to have been a student of political science, "serious", "keen" or at all, must have, according to Prof. Banerjee's reasoning,<sup>3</sup> "betrayed . . . lamentable ignorance of elementary constitutional matters . . ." His aforesaid judgment has however been accepted ever since as *locus classicus* on the nature of a written constitution, and should, in any case, outweigh isolated views of any number of publicists, the more so when such views are cited without reference to their contexts.

In spite of Prof. Banerjee's eloquence, lucidity and erudition I am constrained to say that he is definitely mistaken about the nature of political usages to be found in states having written constitutions. I explained in my article<sup>4</sup> why these usages can never aspire to be conventions of the English type. In England various legal rules anticipate and assume the existence of some of these conventions, so that non-observance of such conventions very often results in violation of legal rules themselves. In fact, whatever may be the motive for observing these conventions, and whether persons observing or breaking them realise or not, the conduct of the executive government in England, except in terms of such conventions, must result in contravention of substantive law.<sup>5</sup> There can be no such inevitable legal consequence in respect of breach of political usages in

\* *The Modern Review* for December, 1950, pp. 454-461.

1. *The Modern Review*, p. 203. The references are all to Vol. 88. 2. (1803) 1 *Cranch* (137) (177).

3. *The Modern Review*, p. 454.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 202-203.

5. *Laws of England* (Hailsham Edition), Vol. 6, p. 592(f).



states with written constitutions. In these latter cases the legality of these usages, however long standing or invariable they may be, remains patently and inherently precarious. The political usage regarding election of an U. S. President, so stressed by Prof. Banerjee,<sup>6</sup> is certainly no exception to the above proposition. The fate of the usage of a President not seeking re-election more than once, one of the oldest political usages in U.S., was cited by me as one of the illustrations. One such illustration is enough.

It was to show that some of the express provisions of our Constitution cannot be reconciled to a scheme of government of the English type that I referred to Art. 78(c).<sup>7</sup> The terms of such provision are as hereunder :

"78. It shall be the duty of the Prime Minister—

(a) . . . . .;

(b) . . . . .

(c) if the President so requires, to submit for the consideration of the Council of Ministers any matter on which a decision has been taken by a Minister but which has not been considered by the Council."

It will be seen that the direct contact between individual ministers and the President as contemplated therein is not in any manner restricted or qualified. Such right of access to the King as individual ministers have in England is severely restricted, and is in practice limited to minor departmental matters.<sup>8</sup> There can not therefore be any real analogy between such English practice and the above provision in our Constitution. It should always be borne in mind that this provision is peculiar to our Constitution, and constitutes a conscious departure from other systems, including the English. Prof. Banerjee thinks<sup>9</sup> that the President will not "overstep elementary decencies of his constitutional position (*sic*) . . ." and the individual ministers will not be given to "mean" or "base conduct." That may be so. But the possibility of this provision working otherwise than in a manner desired by us should not be overlooked. In such a contingency Art. 75(3), which provides for collective responsibility of the ministry to the House of the People, is no safeguard at all. In fact, in spite of, or rather, because of this latter provision, if the President takes advantage of Art. 78(c) in the manner indicated, there must be a deadlock. It is not possible in any case to disregard Art. 78(c) even though the mischief apprehended therefrom as aforesaid may be a bare possibility. When we are examining the nature, extent, and limits of the powers of the President under the Constitution we have to test the same more by

extreme than by commonplace examples, and in relation more to abnormal than to normal situations.

## II

I had myself drawn the attention of readers to the fact<sup>10</sup> that the invariability of "advice" having been tendered to the President cannot possibly be insisted on in view of clause 2 of Art. 74 of our Constitution. As Prof. Banerjee had not dealt with this aspect of the matter in his first article no question of "admitting" anything could properly arise. The language of Art. 74(1) is as follows :

"74.(1) There shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head to aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions."

It is on such express language that I reached the following conclusion:

"Aid signifies collaboration, and necessarily includes *advice*. If, therefore, any function of the President under the Constitution has to be exercised at all, it must be done with such aid, unless the Constitution itself provides otherwise, either expressly, *e.g.*, in Article 53(2), or by necessary implication, *e.g.*, Article 75(1) and (4). Exercise by the President of any of his functions under the Constitution without such aid, except as aforesaid, clearly amounts to a violation of the Constitution for which he is liable to be impeached."

Opinions cited by Prof. Banerjee do not advert to the word "aid" at all, and thus miss the point. Excepting for giving the dictionary meaning of the word "aid," and asserting that it has to be taken along with the word "advise" Prof. Banerjee himself says nothing about the implication of the word.<sup>11</sup> Taking it along with "advise" does not mean that no meaning is to be given to it, or that it should be treated as non-existent, redundant, or mere surplusage, as Prof. Banerjee apparently treats it. Such a construction has been consistently discouraged even in case of ordinary statutes,<sup>12</sup> not to speak of an express provision in a Constitution. It is difficult to see how the eminent Professor can conclude<sup>13</sup> that "the text of the law here is not explicit . . ." after he himself has failed to take into consideration the express language of the text.

Prof. Banerjee has posed the following question<sup>14</sup> as underlying "the essential point":

" . . . is . . . the President *legally bound* under Art. 74(1) of our Constitution to accept the advice of his Council of Ministers in all circumstances?"

I have discussed the position of "advice" in this connection elsewhere.<sup>15</sup> But substitute the word "aid" for the word "advice" in the question and the answer

6. *The Modern Review*, p. 456.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 202-3.

8. *Laws of England* (Hailsham Edition), Vol. 6, p. 637.

9. *The Modern Review*, p. 457.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 458.

12. *Coupre-Essex v. Acton* (1889), 14 A.C., 153(169).

13. *The Modern Review*, p. 459.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*, p. 203. Also the beginning of Part II hereof.



must be in the affirmative. This has been my contention all through.

As will be seen from the extract of my previous article cited herein above, my main contention has always been that non-conformity with Art. 74(1) on the part of the President amounts to a violation of the Constitution for which he can be impeached. Art. 53(3)(b) was referred to in this connection as a provision which may be utilised by Parliament *inter alia* to make a recalcitrant President fall in line without recourse to the drastic remedy of impeachment. To say that my reference to the said provision is the basis of my main argument betrays therefore an entire misconception thereof. Whether such provision was referred to in the debates of the Constituent Assembly, and whether the provision lends itself to other uses as well, and whether a similar provision under the Government of India Act 1935 was not likewise utilised, are clearly irrelevant to the issue whether the actual language of the provision permits its being employed in the manner suggested. The provision reads:

- "53.(1) . . . . .  
 (2) . . . . .  
 (3) Nothing in this article shall  
 (a) . . . . .  
 (b) prevent Parliament from conferring  
 by law functions on authorities other than  
 the President."

It is curious that Prof. Banerjee should be so emphatic about the "object" of this particular provision when, according to his statement,<sup>16</sup> there was no reference to it in the debates in the Constituent Assembly.

The repeated references by Prof. Banerjee to opinions of individual members or officers of the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of construing the express language of the Constitution are misleading. These opinions appear to overwhelm Prof. Banerjee as evidenced by his fulsome comments, e.g., "not intended by the authors of our Constitution. . ."<sup>17</sup> "We should not presume to know more about our Constitution than its authors,"<sup>18</sup> "Mr. S. N. . . (an officer) is expected to know more about the true nature of our Constitution than many of us."<sup>19</sup> "As I have said before we should not presume to know more about our

Constitution than its authors,"<sup>20</sup> "more authoritative views,"<sup>21</sup> etc. In the construction of a Constitution there is little scope for such superstitious veneration for individuals and their opinions, expressed within the Constituent Assembly or outside.<sup>22</sup> The Constitution is not the work of any individual, but that of the Constituent Assembly as a whole, and unless there is an ambiguity, the actual language used in the Constitution is the acid test, irrespective of considerations of policy,<sup>23</sup> expediency or political exigency,<sup>24</sup> the intention of some of the framers or the possibility of abuse of power<sup>25</sup> and the like. The Constitution speaks for itself, and in the absence of confusion, the words must be taken in their ordinary literal sense. A competent court interprets the provisions of a Constitution according to well-settled canons of interpretation including the one delineated above, and after such interpretation the provisions should be given that "received" meaning.<sup>26</sup> The cryptic observation of Hughes C.J., cited by me, and taken exception to by Prof. Banerjee,<sup>27</sup> was based on these well-known propositions. The judiciary has necessarily the last say in the matter of interpreting a Constitution. We have a recent illustration of the above when Section 14 of the Indian Security Act (Act IV of 1950) was declared<sup>28</sup> void by the Supreme Court of India. Parliament that passed the Act containing the said section, and the executive that was giving effect thereto until declared void as aforesaid, must have thought that the section was valid in law. But the Supreme Court having thought otherwise the said section has ceased to have any effect at all. A useful and reliable exposition of the entire law regarding the construction of a Constitution is to be found in the judgment<sup>29</sup> of P. B. Mukharji J. in the recent *habeas corpus* matters before a Full Bench of the Calcutta High Court. Interested persons, including students and teachers of political science, can profitably turn to the same for instruction and guidance.

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*, p. 460.

22. *South Australia vs. The Commonwealth* (1942), 65 Commw. L. R., 373(410).

23. *King Emperor vs. Banoarilal*, 72 I.A., 57(71).

24. *Amalgamated Society of Engineers vs. Adelaide S. S. Company* (1920), 28 Commw. L. R., 129(142).

25. *Bank of Toronto vs. Lambe* (1887), 12 A.C., 575(586).

26. *Barras vs. Aberdeen Steam Company*, 1933, A.C. 402.

27. *The Modern Review*, p. 461.

28. *A. K. Gopalan vs. The State of Madras* (1950), S.C.J. 174.

29. *Kshitindra vs. The Chief Secy., Government of West Bengal and anr.*, F.B. Ref. I of 1950 at pp. 34-35.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 459.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 455.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 457.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 459.



# IRRIGATION DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

By S. V. S. RAO, M.A.

WATER is good, water indeed is sustenance; so was it said in the ancient Vedas. The value and respect that were bestowed on water by the people then as now is easily understood in a country as ours, where agriculture constitutes the life source of vast numbers of people. For nothing could be more suicidal to the progress of a nation than to leave its land parched and in a state of neglect; yet this was perhaps, to a great degree, true of Indian agriculture, which had ever remained deficit, marked only by its annual variations in distress. The forces that influenced agricultural production were literally beyond the control of the simple peasant, leaving him with little incentive and a lot more of frustration. It is only in recent years, with the food crisis deepening its shadows and rising demographic curve, that there has been a nation-wide awakening to the need of planned utilisation of our water wealth to expand in great measure the produce from Land. We are apparently on the threshold of a new era in agricultural development.

Before attempting to assess the future possibilities in the field of irrigation, it is well to consider briefly the development to date. Irrigation was not unknown in India, for long before the advent of the British, major irrigation works were known to be in existence. According to the Report of the Indian Irrigation Commission, the "Grand Ancicut" stretching across the width of the Cauvery river in Madras and known to be the greatest engineering work in the pre-British era was in existence at the close of the second century. Consisting of a solid mass of stones over 1000 ft. in length, 40-60 ft. in breadth and 16-18 ft. in depth, it was a master engineering achievement, which was in operation as late as 1830. The large number of wells and tanks, some of which are still irrigating a few thousand acres in South India as well as the old irrigation channels in the North speak well of the irrigation sense of our early rulers.

However, modern irrigation could be said to have started with the opening of the 'Grand Ancicut' across the 'Coleroon' river in the Madras Presidency and West Ganges canal in the North by the two great pioneers in the field, Sir Arthur Cotton and Sir Proby Cautley, who could well be described as modern 'Bhagiraths' for the ordeal they did go through, to make these schemes possible and successful. With such beginnings, irrigation development made steady progress during the latter half of the last century. By the end of the century nearly 43 million acres or about 19.5 per cent of the average area then annually cultivated in British India, i.e., about 222 million acres, were reaping the rich dividends of irrigation. In the same period, the total investment in state irrigation works was of the order of Rs. 40 crores, an investment of no small significance.

At the turn of the century it became necessary to review the development as well as to suggest a programme of long-term extension of irrigation. In this connection the meeting of the Irrigation Commission (1901-1903) was a landmark in the history of Indian irrigation. For their comprehensive study and valuable recommendations they have rarely, if ever, been surpassed. The major works that were launched in the period 1920-35 were largely the result of the Commission's recommendations. Yet it is surprising, however, that the pace of development particularly in the field of state irrigation, in the period following the Commission's Report should be far from inspiring. As for example, while State works enabled extension of irrigation to more than 8 million acres in the 25 years before 1900, they have been developed to serve only about 12 million acres over the succeeding 40 years. Among others, the major factors determining the slow pace were perhaps: (1) The general tendency to avoid major financial commitments particularly in view of the rigid financial principles laid down by the Commission and (2) the absence of forward planning subsequent to the Irrigation Commission. At present the Indian Union has about 49 million acres under irrigation or approximately one-fifth of the net area annually sown. Of this area nearly 26,800,000 acres receive water from State irrigation works. The figures are far from encouraging in the context of our requirements. This is largely due to the partition which might be said to have had disastrous effects on our irrigation development. According to the Planning Commission, India has lost to Pakistan nearly half of the total water carried by its canals in undivided India which was approximately 400,000 cusecs. At the same time Pakistan has retained as her share more than half of the whole irrigated area of 33 million acres from Government works.

It is little comfort to learn that India leads the world in irrigation, when we realise that only 75.65 million acre ft. out of a total surface flow of 1355.96 m.a.ft. i.e., approximately 5.6 per cent are being currently utilized for irrigation and power development. Contrast this with the river Nile, where it has been estimated that nearly 46 per cent of the total run-off have been diverted into irrigation channels. One can scarcely estimate at this stage the extent of increase in wealth that would be made possible by fuller utilisation of our vast potential that is at present running waste or periodically flooding the countryside involving great damage to life and property. However, the following illustration might help in assessing, if somewhat approximately, the contribution that irrigation has been making to the agricultural income of India. In the year 1938-39, the value of crops irrigated amounted to Rs. 109 crores. It has been estimated

that at present prices the value would be approximately of the order of Rs. 500 crores,\* which is about the same as the total capital at present invested (construction cost) in these works. On this assumption it is evident that utilisation of 1 per cent of the total run-off will generate income in crops alone, of the value of Rs. 100 crores, not to mention the widespread benefits to the community as increased trade, employment and business opportunities.

It is precisely this realisation of the usefulness of irrigation that is significantly evident in the many river valley and other irrigation schemes sponsored by various Governments in recent years. There are at present about 257 major and minor schemes under various stages of construction and investigation and estimated to cost well over Rs. 1,900 crores. Among these are 135 schemes costing between themselves Rs. 590 crores which are well under way to completion. These schemes are expected to irrigate about 13 million acres within the next ten years thus adding to the present stock of food by about 4.3 million tons. Besides nearly 2 million K.W. of electrical energy will be made available for industrial expansion and rural electrification schemes. Included in this category are the following 12 major projects which hold out great promise of increasing regional wealth in manifold directions. The following table shows estimated expenditure involved as well as corresponding irrigation and power benefits of these schemes.

Project (State)	Total est. cost (Rs. lakhs)	Benefits	
		Irrigation 1,000 acres	Power 1,000 K.W.
Damodar (Bengal & Bihar)	67,90	9,00	3,73
Kakarpara (Bombay)	12,16	66	24
Tungabhadra (Madras & Hyderabad)	60,79	9,91	1,22
Hirakud (Orissa)	47,81	19,95	3,25
Bhakra & Nangal (East Punjab)	132,91	30,00	4,00
Harike (East Punjab)	13,80	Not available	
Sarda Power House (U.P.)	11,21	Nil	41
Mor (West Bengal)	15,50	6,00	4
Chambal (Madhyabharat & Rajasthan)	28,00	7,00	1,50
Lakavalli (Mysore)	18,00	1,80	13
Electricity show (Madhya Pradesh)	12,63	Nil	Nil
Machkund (Madras & Orissa)	17,97	Nil	1,03
	433,68	84,32	15,55

In addition to the above, there are under active investigation schemes numbering about 122, and some of these may likely be put off in view of the present

inadequate finances. Together these two categories of schemes will extend irrigation to an area of over 42,000,000 acres and so make possible additional food production of the order of 14 million tons.

Evidently the financial provisions of these schemes present a hard problem, involving careful planning and technique of execution. In view of this, the Planning Commission have recently formulated a 15-year plan for Irrigation, whereby the schemes are broken up into different categories on the basis of cost and present stage of investigation and overall expenditure is spread over a period of 15 years. The annual demand on the Public Exchequer thus would amount to Rs. 109 crores, after making due allowances for execution of the schemes by stages. It is not easy to reckon with this very sizeable outlay in view of our present limited internal finances but in this more than in any other sphere, the social dividends as well as returns in a more limited sense of the term, are expected to balance well over costs. Even on narrow financial considerations the past investments have earned attractive returns. For instance, in 1945-46 the net return after deducting necessary interest charges amounted to 4 per cent of the capital outlay, i.e., more than the gross return of 2.4 per cent provided by the new railway convention. In the Provinces the return was higher varying from 3 per cent in Madras to 18 per cent in Bombay excluding Punjab which had always enjoyed exceptional returns. Besides, huge amounts are drained away every year by way of food imports and subsidies and any one of the major projects, when completed, will make a tremendous advance on our present position. There is no denying that the schemes present a just case both in the context of national economy as well as on more conservative considerations.

It has already been observed that a vital consideration underlying many of the major schemes is unified development of the basin, which is untenable without appropriate readjustments in policy and practice. It is irrelevant to suggest comparisons with past projects for the yardstick then has been different. Indeed such ventures as co-ordinated development of major rivers and river valleys have been practically unknown in the past, for want of agreement between various provinces and other administrations. A peep into the history of Tungabhadra Project in the south very well illustrates the endless and futile controversy between the Governments of Madras and Hyderabad, that had to be overcome before the project could be finally launched. A Central authority with statutory powers to prescribe lines of co-ordinated development of major projects appears necessary in the interests of balanced development. Indeed the drafters of our constitution have visualized such a possibility as is manifest in Article 262 which authorizes the Union Parliament to legislate on matters of inter-State rivers

\* *Eastern Economist*, Vol. XV, No. 12, 1950.



and river valleys—their regulation and development. It is needless to emphasize that the future pattern of development would be largely conditioned by measures arising out of this constitutional provision. As it is, a Bill to provide for centralized planning in the field of river valley schemes is on the way to the Parliament, where it is expected to be introduced early. The

proposed Bill is an attempt to bring under Central control the various inter-State aspects of the major schemes enabling optimum development of our natural resources. It is as yet premature to guess the shape of things to come but in view of the present trends we might as well hope for a bright future and new life to our neglected lands.

—:O:—

## VILLAGE PANCHAYATS IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

By PRINCIPAL S. N. AGARWAL

In December, 1947 when the new Constitution of India was being drafted, I had drawn the attention of Gandhiji to the fact that there was, till then, no mention of village panchayats in the future administrative set-up as visualised in the Draft Constitution. Commenting on this point in the *Harijan* (December 21, 1947) Gandhiji observed :

"It is certainly an omission calling for immediate attention if our independence is to reflect the people's voice. The greater the power of the panchayats, the better for the people. Moreover, panchayats to be effective and efficient, the level of people's education has to be considerably raised. I do not conceive the increase in the power of the people in military, but in moral terms."

Several members of the Constituent Assembly took note of these observations of Mahatma Gandhi and pressed for the provision of village panchayats in the new Constitution. As a result of such discussion, the following directive was also included in Part IV of the Constitution of India :

"The State shall take steps to organise village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government."

This directive is surely to be welcomed. But much would naturally depend on the way it is implemented. If the directive is not to remain a pious wish and a paper-resolution, the Government of India should appoint a Commission at an early date to report on a systematic plan of panchayat organisation throughout the country. The Commission should carefully study the working of village panchayats as they exist today in different parts of the country and recommend a suitable scheme for adoption by the State governments. At present several State governments have passed Panchayat or Janapada Acts. But their working cannot be regarded as satisfactory. The Commission should make detailed recommendations with a view to achieving uniformity in basic principles of decentralised democracy and self-government.

One of the main reasons why the village panchayats under the existing conditions have not been able to achieve good results is that the ancient Gram panchayats were founded on the principle of "composite" democracy whereas the modern parliamentary govern-

ment is based on democracy on party lines. The sound working of modern Western democracy presupposes the existence of well-knit political parties and the party which captures the majority of seats in Parliament rules the country. India has also copied the same type of democracy under the new Constitution. But this kind of party-democracy runs counter to the genius of village panchayats that existed and flourished in India for centuries. In our country, the panchayats were regarded as the very representatives of God because they represented all the different elements of society. It is true that in some parts of India, the panchayats gradually degenerated into cliques of particular castes or sects. But the fact remains that a majority of the Gram panchayats in ancient India represented the elders of various castes and sects inhabiting the villages. They were, thus, in the nature of coalition governments for the village communities. In the absence of such composite village cabinets, it is impossible to expect the modern panchayats to fulfil the important functions that they are supposed to perform. The organisation of political parties for the Union Parliament and the State Assemblies cuts at the very root of the panchayat system and results in a host of undesirable consequences. This important aspect should be carefully considered by the Commission which may be set up by the President or the Government of India in future.

Mahatma Gandhi was always of the definite view that there should be the widest decentralisation of economic and political power for the real welfare of mankind. Many Western political thinkers like Prof. Laski and Prof. Cole are of the same view. Modern democracy easily degenerates into "Mobocracy" or Totalitarianism. Decentralised democracy is, therefore, the hope of humanity. In India, the toiling millions will never be able to feel the glow of freedom if they have to look to New Delhi for everything. Village self-government along healthy lines would enthuse them into wonderful constructive activities without which our Swaraj would remain a vacant dream. I am, therefore, confident that the directive relating to village panchayats in the Indian Constitution would receive the most serious consideration of both the Government and the people.

## INDIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE CONFERENCE

Calcutta Session, 1950

By MANICK C. DAS

In a purely academic atmosphere in the Senate Hall of the University of Calcutta the Thirteenth Session of the Indian Political Science Conference was inaugurated by H.E. Dr. Kailash Nath Katju, Governor of West Bengal on the 26th of December, 1950 in the presence of Shri Ram Sharma of Sholapur College and distinguished delegates who had come from different parts of India representing different universities and also distinguished citizens of the city of Calcutta.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee Mr. Justice S. N. Banerjee, Vice-Chancellor, University of Calcutta offered a hearty and cordial welcome to the delegates and invitees and in course of his address he said, "Many complex questions have arisen following the attainment of freedom by India:.... There is the vexed question, particularly in India here, namely, how far political democracy can succeed unless it is based on both social and economic democracy" and he hoped that the deliberations in the conference would help the citizens of India greatly. Further, he observed that "in order to solve these difficult problems a far-sighted policy is necessary and a thorough grasp of the philosophy of politics. But I would respectfully draw your attention that the amelioration of the condition of mankind and the increase of human happiness ought to be the leading objects of every political institution, and the aim of every individual according to the measure of his power, in the situation, he occupies. I would also ask them to remember that when connected with morality and the character and interest of a country, politics is a subject second only to religion in importance. The deliberations will not be complete if the moral side of the question is lost sight of."

Then His Excellency Dr. Katju in inaugurating the session referred to India's great contribution to political thought of the world which had been a system of village republics and that ancient feature had been preserved in the present Constitution.

Shri Ram Sharma then took the chair and delivered his address on the Indian political scene and he observed that people could talk today of the Indian Constitution in 1950 instead of the Constitution of India. He after discussing the salient features of the Indian Constitution came to the Indian Cabinet's real working and said, "The Union Cabinet during the year remained an interesting political phenomenon. It began as a Congress body in principle but a coalition in personnel." He observed that the main difficulty with the advisory bodies was that they lacked in expert knowledge whose judgement the

lay cabinet would be willing to follow and again our politicians further created trouble as they would pose to know all that was to be known about all subjects on earth. Referring to the dissatisfaction of the people he characteristically remarked that 'it is due to the fact that the lines of demarcation between the party, the government and the administrative services continue to be blurred and he was afraid that 'when the success of democratic government depends very much upon the existence of a honest, impartial and fearless set of public servants they were placed at the disposal of party bosses.' And finally Shri Sharma said that "it is, I believe, the duty of those of us who are engaged in the task of teaching or studying political philosophy and political institutions to educate our masters, the people, politically." After a vote of thanks to the Chair the proceedings came to a successful end.

An important and rather interesting part of the conference started just at 8-30 on the morning of December 27, 1950. In the Senate Hall many distinguished teachers of Political Science read their learned papers on the various aspects of the Constitution of India and it was followed by a lively discussion by eminent teachers attending the conference. Dr. B. M. Sharma of Lucknow University read a paper on the powers of the President of the Republic of India. Mr. M. Banerjee of Sambalpur College dealt with the two schools of opinion—constitutional or realistic view and technical or juristic view—with regard to the same question. Mr. V. N. Srivastava of Kanpur College showed that the principles adopted in the Union Executive are both from the Parliamentary system of Government and Presidential form of Government. Mr. Parthasarathy of Madras University observed in his paper that French example has unconsciously been incorporated in the structure of the Indian Titular executive.

Talks on Fundamental Rights were also quite impressive. Prof. D. N. Banerjee of the University of Calcutta tried to show how far criticisms like "In fact, what is given by one right hand seems to be taken away by three or four or five left hands; and therefore the Article (15) is nugatory" are really justifiable and he observed that the difference between the Constitution of India and the Constitution of the U.S. so far as fundamental rights are concerned is really 'one of form and not of substance.' Then Prof. J. P. Suda of Meerut College said that the inclusion of Fundamental Rights is a praiseworthy feature of our constitution. The President Shri Ram Sharma was unable to do justice to all the speakers on the papers read

on the Fundamental Rights in the Constitution of India as they were many in number. Sri Atul Gupta, a renowned Advocate of the Calcutta High Court, remarked that the Indian Constitution was inferior to the Constitution of the U.S. so far as the chapter on Fundamental Rights was concerned and they were granted to the people of India only to take them away by saving clauses. Then impressive speeches were made by Prof. S. C. Das of Ravenshaw College and Mr. Renuka Ray and others. Other aspects of the Constitution were discussed by learned teachers in the second sitting where Dr. A. K. Ghosal and Prof. N. C. Bhattacharya stood prominently for their dignified speeches.

The deliberations of the 29th December included two important subjects : Twentieth Century Political Thought and Social Legislation in India. Prof. P. R. Pakrisankar of Madras University said in his paper that the absolute value of dignity of human personality, the unmolested and

unfettered enjoyment of fundamental human rights and human happiness could be realised only when liberalism was accepted as a political philosophy that embraced all these things and therefore practised by all. The conference did not deny that a new social order was struggling grimly to be born.

Credit goes to the Reception Committee and to the student-volunteers with their Chief, Prof. Subimal Mukherjee for the successful termination of the Conference. And for this the contribution of Prof. D. N. Banerjee is very large and quite significant. A great and sincere worker he harnessed, as the Local Secretary of the Conference, his unflagging enthusiasm and untiring efforts in attending to all the details of the programme and arrangement both at the conference table and also outside it in the matter of providing suitable accommodation and comforts to the distinguished delegates and invitees in the city.

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## ASSAM EARTHQUAKE RELIEF Extreme North-East Frontier

By DAHYABHAI NAIK

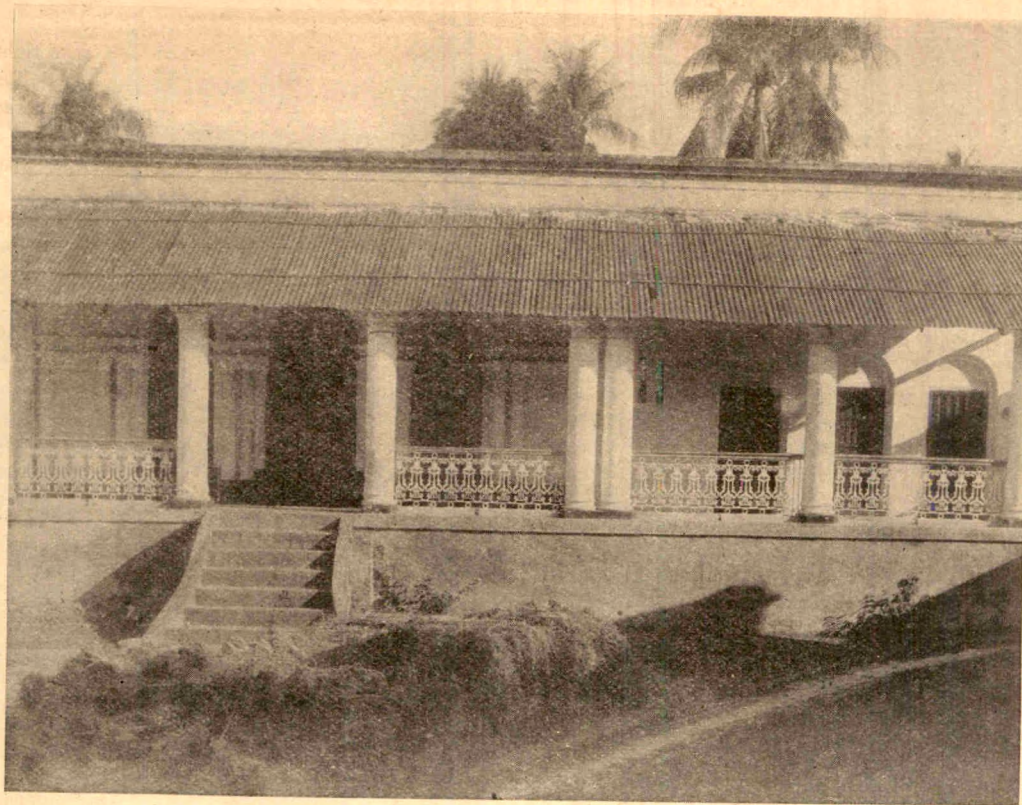
HAVING been deputed by the Servants of India Society, Poona, to be in charge of the Relief Work undertaken by H. E. the Governor of Assam's Fund, I came to Assam in the third week of September, 1950. Ever since then, I have been the Joint Secretary of the Fund and have been visiting off and on the earthquake-affected parts situated at the N.-E. end of the province of Assam.

On the 14th of December, 1950, I returned from my third extensive tour in the earthquake-affected areas of Sadiya plains and Abor Hills plain area and Pasighat districts. I intended to go to Pasighat during my first tour in the last week of September and first week of October, but as the Bonanza plane which was to carry me and one Mr. Hakenson of UNESCO, did not arrive at Sadiya on the scheduled date I had to give up the idea and had to return to Shillong for the first meeting of H. E. The Governor's Earthquake Relief Fund Committee held on the 11th October.

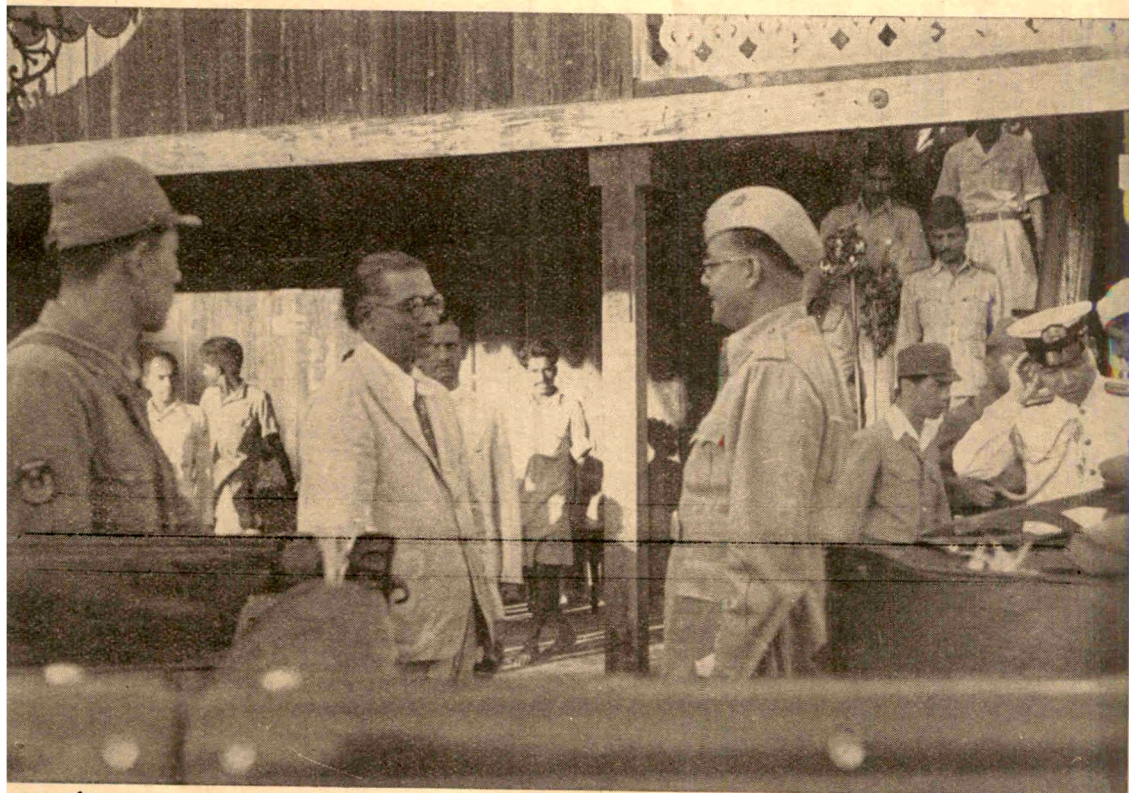
Pasighat is the headquarters town of the Abor Hills District which has an area of about 9000 sq. miles and a population of about three lacs mainly of the Abor tribe. Abors are found in the hills and Miris and others are in the plains. Pasighat is situated on the eastern bank of the river Dihang which is called the Seng-Po in Tibet and the Brahmaputra in India, which is really that part of the great river which stretches from Kobo where the rivers Luhit, Dihang and Lali meet it to its mouth. For going to Pasighat one has to cross the Brahmaputra at Rangdoi on the

south bank and to go to Kobo on the other, i.e., north bank. I had expressed my desire to visit Pasighat during this tour to H. E. the Governor who had advised me not to take the risk of crossing the Brahmaputra and to contact the Political Officer by Wireless, and to instruct him about distribution arrangements to be made in Abor Hills and about taking other ameliorative measures for the Abors. My enthusiasm was a bit damped by his advice. I and my companion Shri Rao wanted to take a chance and a little risk also. After visiting Dibrugarh, Sadiya, Teju and Denning we reached Saikhwa Ghat on the morning of 9th December and went to Rangdoi Ghat, a distance of about 12 miles. Major part of the road leading to Rangdoi Ghat has subsided on account of the earthquake by about 5 to 7 feet, and the road and the surrounding Forest Reserve remained under the flood-water of river Luhit up to the third week of November. The subsidence of the road and the surrounding area has made one wooden bridge hang over the road about 7 feet high. Big fissures in the land are visible even today. When the flood water receded the road was repaired by the Military and has been made motcrable for the time being. A country boat with 22-horse-power engine fitted in it was able to cross the river first time on the 6th December between Rangdoi and Kobo and carry the first mail-bags after 16th August, 1950. After 6th December, 1950, it is regularly plying between Rangdoi and Kobo. Even then it is a little risky as the velocity of water is 10 to 12 miles





The paternal home of Netaji in the village of Kotalia



Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in the Andamans





Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Ambassador of India to the United States, addresses a meeting of the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia, during that city's observance of the fifth anniversary of the United Nations



Shanti (right) and Ashok, the two baby elephants presented last year by Prime Minister Nehru to the National Zoological Park in Washington as a gift to the children of America, with Jennie (centre), their Siamese sister

an hour and the high waves and big eddies formed by continuously moving sand in the river-bed make rowing difficult. The people of Abor Hills District were completely cut off from the rest of the world from 15th August to 6th December, a period of 42 days. Wireless communication was the only contact with the outer world but it could not be used by anyone except the Government officers and that too for official work. Rice, salt and tea, the most essential articles of food, were being supplied by being dropped from air but it was discontinued from the 10th November as the Dakota used for the purpose was withdrawn by the Central Government who administers this region with H. E. the Governor of Assam as Agent. The suffering and sorry plight of the people need not be described as they can be well-imagined from the fact that the people were wholly cut off from the world and there was absolutely no communication. The Political Officer of Pasighat received his first mail-bags on the 6th December, 1950, containing all the post despatched from 15th August. The huge landslides in the hills (one of them, it is said, was seven miles long) completely destroyed narrow bridle-paths in the mountains through which the Abors slowly trod their ways to Pasighat for purchase of salt, rice, yarn, etc., making the whole area inaccessible for about two months. Food was dropped at certain marked-out points, mainly outposts of Assam Rifles, from where it was distributed to the people. The Hill people slowly repaired the bridle-path and have established contact with Pasighat. To walk even on this repaired track is dangerous; even the skilled Abors have to go on all fours where the track is very narrow and steep.

Articles of relief are being dumped at Dibrugarh and Saikhwa Ghat from where they are being carried to Pasighat from the 6th December. An amount of Rs. 11 lakhs has been provided for relief to the Abors and Mishmis of the Abor Hills District and Sadiya Frontier District. It should be seen that adequate relief is given to these people whom not only man has forsaken but towards whom nature also has been unkind. Huge and terrible landslides have buried for ever many Abor and Mishmi villages leaving no signs of their former existence. The toll of human lives which earthquake took in these hills must be very heavy. It is presumed that it may be between two to three thousands. True figures will never be available as it is impossible to collect them. The official record of the toll of human lives is near about one thousand and that is not complete so far. Pasighat is on the bank of the river Dihang where it debouches forcefully on the plains. The floods due to burst of temporary dams caused by landslides have washed away a fairly large portion of Pasighat region. But even then it has maintained its beauty. It is a very beautiful place in the valley at the foothills of the Himalayas. The beauty has left a lasting impression on my mind.

When I reached Pasighat crossing I felt very happy and felt that a burden has been lifted from my mind. I was able to know the situation first-hand and to study it on the spot. I contacted some of the Abors who had come to Pasighat for purchase of some articles of food and yarn. The Political Officer, Shri Bhuyan and his wife who is a graduate were extremely kind to us and treated us very hospitably.

The Abors are a nice people. No doubt, some of them are addicted to opium, but it is a legacy of the former rule. But they are much less addicted to it than the Mishmis. They seemed to me more intelligent and wide-awake than the Mishmis. I saw among them a desire for education. There are about 25 primary schools in the hills run by the Education Department, some of these have a number of students more than 100 each. These schools have also suffered much, their huts have been demolished by earthquake. Many of them have been temporarily closed down.

The Abor woman never sits idle. Even sitting in the bazar of Pasighat with some roots and oranges for sale or treading her way to her village which may be at a distance of three to seven days track, i.e., thirty to seventy miles, she will be spinning cotton on a bamboo-takli and in her home weaving articles having very beautiful designs. When we see an Abor woman weaving articles of variegated colours selected most artistically who can dare say that she is uncivilised?

I have submitted the following three schemes of permanent nature to be financed in the beginning from the Relief Fund for the sanction of Shri Jairamdasji:

(1) Orphanage for 25 orphans of Mishmis at Sadiya to be under the control of Mrs. Miri, Education Inspector for N.-E. F. Agency.

(2) Orphanage for 25 orphans of Abors at Pasighat to be under the control of P.O.

(3) Widows' and Orphans' home at Pathali-pam in North Lakhimpur Sub-division for Miris. The original scheme was submitted by Shrimati Amalprabha Das but it has been revised by me in the light of my experience.

I hope these schemes will be sanctioned at least for one year. The future will take care of itself.

I was invited by leading Abors of one village near Sadiya and near a fire-side in a house of their *Gaonburn* (Head Man) each of them related to me their miseries and grievances. I was much impressed with their free expression which I think is due to the training they receive in their tribal councils which settle disputes amongst themselves wherein everybody should express his opinion. I remembered my Bhils of Gujarat, how shy they are! When will they be vocal? I remembered many such nights which I passed near the fire-side in the huts of Bhils. I told them that now that the attention of the Government and veteran social workers like Thakkar Bapa and others is concentrated on tribes residing in the N.-E. F. Agency, their future is bright. They felt very pleased. They gave me a



present of a beautiful bag of variegated colours woven by their women-folk. This will be a treasure to me.

The Miris of the plains are being assimilated into the social life of the people. Some of the young Miri boys are in Government service and some are receiving college education. Education is spreading among them and they will come in line with others within a decade or so. But Herculean efforts will have to be made to educate the Abors, Mishmis and Nagas. No doubt some of the Nagas are found in Assam Rifles enjoying high position but the general level of the whole tribe needs to be lifted.

Yesterday, the 15th December was a very sad day. I passed the whole day in sorrow and in a dejected mood. But we have to face such calamities and prepare ourselves to bear them with fortitude and courage as Sardar has taught us. That is the homage we can give to the departed great soul who made India a unified country. We can repay the debt which we owe to him by emulating his example and carrying on our duties with redoubled vigour and courage. May he rest in peace!

Shillong, 16.12.50.

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## AN INDIAN HISTORY OF INDIA

By DR. U. N. GHOSHAL, M.A., Ph.D.

It is a welcome sign of the times indicating the stirrings of a new national consciousness that the long and varied history of our motherland is attracting more and more the attention of the best of her sons since the historical date of attainment of her independence. Considering the striking differences of language, religion and cultural standards separating large masses of our countrymen, it is but natural that this history should be studied from somewhat different angles by different authors. What is however essential for the Indian historian, to whatever shade of religious or other beliefs he may belong, is to present his narrative with full knowledge of his subject and in a spirit of proper understanding and strict impartiality. Where these essential qualifications are not present in a sufficient measure, the result is bound to be disappointing in spite of the author's shrewdness of judgment of men and events. It may prove even to be a source of positive mischief when the author admittedly aims at enlightening a foreign audience on his subject.

Thoughts like the above are suggested by a perusal of the undermentioned work\* written by a veteran educationist and administrator of South India belonging to the Catholic Church, who is adorning at present the high office of Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University. Defining the aim of his work in his Foreword, he says that instead of attempting a chronological history he has sought to emphasise the prevailing tendencies of its successive periods so as "to arouse general interest outside India" in the fortunes of the Indian people. But the argument justifying this treatment, viz., that a chronological history is not possible till modern times, unconsciously repeats the

century-old verdict of the historian Elphinstone and it altogether ignores the vast strides which have been taken in the way of reconstruction of India's dynastic and royal annals since that time. Writing in this context, the author sums up India's history as that of "a people whose experience has been unlike that of any other" and who have "suffered as no other people from burdens imposed on her (sic) by her own children as well as by strangers." And he concludes with an appeal for "admiration and sympathy of her more fortunate fellows among the nations of the world" for her efforts to shake off these burdens. Now it must be remembered that among these "more fortunate" nations of Europe are those who during the last 500 years of their history have suffered such unspeakable horrors imposed by their own children as well as by strangers as the Elizabethan and Cromwellian wars of conquest and extermination followed by the long night of alien misrule under legal forms, the Peasants' Revolts and the civil wars between the Yorkists and the Lancastrians and between the Cavaliers and the Roundheads, the Hundred Years' War, the Jacquerie and the Reign of Terror, the 30 Years' War and its aftermath, the misrule of the Duke of Alva and his lieutenants, the Czarist misrule, the pogroms and the civil wars between the Bolsheviks and their opponents, not to speak of the centuries of serfdom, of feudal anarchy and tyranny, of ecclesiastical exactions, of practices like witch-burning and of savage persecutions by the Inquisition and its counterparts in Protestant lands. To these have to be added the evils of conquest by powerful Asiatic races like the Turks and the Mongols who kept large tracts of south-eastern and eastern Europe under their heels for centuries. It would thus appear that "the admiration and sympathy" rightly felt for peoples striving to

\* *India from the Dawn* (New aspects of an old story): By Maria-das Rethnaswamy. Science and Culture Series. The Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee. 1949. Pp. 205. Price 3 dollars.

shake off their burdens need not, and must not, be a one-sided affair. To put it in another way, the Indian historian has no need to go round the world with a begging-bowl asking for the world's dole of sympathy for the unequalled sufferings of his countrymen and of admiration for their efforts to overcome the same. On the contrary, he can rightfully claim the world's sympathetic understanding of the lights and shades of his picture on a basis of absolute equality.

The work consists of three Parts bearing the titles: "Hindu Beginnings", "The Moslem Interlude," and "Europe Enters into India." The title of the first part strikes one as singularly inappropriate since it deals on the author's own showing with a period of more than 4,000 years, of which the dim beginnings go back to times which, by no stretch of the imagination, can be called Hindu. Apart from its unfortunate title, the first part suffers from a lamentable want of proportion as it covers nearly the same space as each of the two succeeding parts. It is above all in its contents, as we shall show presently, that it is subject to serious shortcomings.

On pp. 4-6 the author, while describing the pre-historic civilisation of the Indus Valley, points out a number of its links with "Dravidian India." While the case for this resemblance is admittedly weak, the author would have done well to notice the more definite grounds of similarity that have been traced, for example, between the pictographs of the Indus Valley seals and the symbols of the punch-marked coins. In any case, the author's contention that the Indus people "are only an episode in Indian history" cannot be accepted by any serious student of history. In his account of the civilisation of the Aryans (p. 9 f), the author declares that "their political and social organisations belong to the pastoral stage" and in short "was patriarchal," while their religion consisted in "worship of the forces of nature." These facile generalisations are not true even of the Aryans of the Rig-vedic period, and they are wholly inapplicable to the more advanced culture of the *Yajus-samhitās* and the *Brahmanas*. Of Buddhism the author says (p. 13) that it challenged the popular polytheism and the hereditary priesthood of the Brahmanas. What Buddhism actually did was to declare the gods equally with mortals to be subject to the law of *karma* and to proclaim the comparative worthlessness of Vedic ritualism. The author's account of political conditions in the Lower Ganges basin (pp. 14-15) is wholly inadequate and in part inaccurate. Facts of history do not warrant the verdict that the Aryans "left the land to the tyranny of its flora and fauna," and that "only one arm of the Ganges, the Bhagirati (*sic*), was held to be holy." While the author is strangely silent about the powerful dynasties of the Palas and the Senas in Bengal and the Varmans in Assam, he makes the astounding statement that

"only one kingdom and one city, that of Gaur, is memorable in the history of Aryan Bengal."

Describing "the Tamil and Pandya" (*sic*) kingdoms the author (p. 16 f) commits himself to a number of rash generalisations. Thus he says that "the Tamils were superior in civilisation to the contemporary Aryans" and again that "from the earliest times they had traded with Arabia, Egypt and Rome (*sic*) in the West, and with Malay and China (*sic*) on the East." It is difficult to understand why he fixes the greatest period of the Cholas in the time of the mythical Karikala, while no mention is made of the overseas campaigns of Rajendra Chola who is passed over in complete silence. His view that "the Pandavas of the Mahabharata were the Dravidian founders of the Pandya kingdom" can only be regarded as a historical curiosity. In his review of the peoples of the west coast (p. 19 f) the author is on good ground when he refers to the mixed Aryan and Dravidian origins of the people of Maharashtra. But he falls into a historical solecism when he speaks of "the Sanskrit language" of the "Marhattas" and mentions the Kanarese as an Aryan people of Sanskrit speech. The same inaccuracy characterises his inclusion of the Hoysalas and the Kadambas among the ruling dynasties of Maharashtra. The author's claim that "India came into commercial and political contact with the world outside Asia" through Malabar (p. 23) ignores the tremendous importance of the role played by the Indus basin in the times of Alexander and the Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings.

While describing the role of the Deccan and South India in India's ancient history (p. 23 f) the author makes some unfortunate statements. "Aryan influence," he says, "penetrated as far as the valleys of the Mahanadi, the Godavari and the Krishna on the East and the Narmada, the Tapti and the Bhima on the West," beyond which lay "the darkness of *mlechchha*-land." But apart from the strange reference to the Mahanadi as a river of the Deccan and South India, it is an undoubted fact that the valleys of the Kaveri and the Vaigai likewise felt the impact of Aryan influence, while the distinctively aboriginal belt was confined to a narrow, inland area. In the result the author's strange verdict that "a long night descended upon the Dravidians of the Dakshinaprastha (*sic*) till light shown [*read shone*] upon them again from the West in modern times" (p. 24) reads more like a certain type of Christian missionary propaganda than sober history. The contention that the South "gives India a place in the history of the world" altogether ignores the importance of the great land-routes connecting the north with western lands from early times. The author's account of the essential geographical unity of the country (pp. 25-26) is a sound statement of facts. But when he proceeds to lament that "this country, destined by nature to be one, has throughout refused to become what it was admirably suited to be," he overlooks the

essential unity in diversity of its peoples and cultures which has not escaped the notice even of observant foreign historians.

On p. 27 f, the author, after a cheap gibe at "the patriotic Indian historian" attempting to rebuild the political history of his country after the fashion of other lands, boldly states that not only India's historical documents but also the facts of her history were also few. Now it will be news to the author to learn that long before "the patriotic Indian historian," to quote his amazing words, "snatched from his British predecessors the right to narrate the history of his country," this task was reconstructed in essential outlines by the labours of generations of European scholars beginning with the illustrious Sir William Jones, the discoverer of the identity of Sandrocottos with Chandragupta Maurya. It is not under the urge of a sham patriotism but strictly on scientific lines that the best of modern Indian historians have been seeking with the advance of knowledge to put the coping-stone upon the magnificent work of their "British" and other European "predecessors." And no one has accused them, till the author appeared on the scene, of experimenting in a spirit of childish vanity "to make bricks without straw." While on this subject the author commits himself to a strange inconsistency: for after proving to his own satisfaction that the historical documents were "very few," he admits the existence of "the large corpus of inscriptions on rocks and temple-walls" (Why not also on copper-plates?), not to speak of "the chronicles, the Puranas and other documents." If the author had cared to look into these sources, he would have found in them not "a monotonous succession of kings, their births or their deaths, or their era, their long and legendary history," etc., but a mine of authentic and valuable data bearing on contemporary religion, social life, economic conditions and administration. He would have likewise found that these kings instead of "strutting on the stage of history and then disappearing leaving not a rack" left behind institutions and practices which continued to operate even under succeeding dynasties, witness the general type of bureaucratic administration almost with the same nomenclature prevailing in Northern India at least from the time of the Imperial Guptas onwards. To compare Indian attempts at Imperial expansion with "the waves of the surf that beat on the Indian coast, one or two occasionally rising higher than the rest," but always being thrown back upon themselves (p. 35), is to indulge in a misreading of Indian history. The fact is that the Imperial idea instead of being represented by examples "few and far between," as the author thinks, "was ever present in the minds of ambitious rulers, though it did not always assume the violent form of uprooting existing dynasties and paving the way for a country-wide sovereignty." How often the idea was realised in practice is proved by the author's own list of Indian empires which is far from being exhaustive,

as it does not include, for instance, the dominion of the Gurjara-Pratiharas of Kanauj. The author himself finds proof of the excellent organisation of one of these empires, viz., that of the Mauryas, in the fact that "the central [read local] government was organised in six administrative boards" and that "Kautilya's *Arthashastra* shows a detailed system of administration betokening great activity on the part of Government," though with lamentable inconsistency, he declares elsewhere (p. 32) that "the statements of Kautilya in regard to this organised administration are denied by the facts of history."

After deducing from his own interpretation of the history of Indian empires, the corollary of "a perpetual political frustration" in ancient India, the author (p. 31 f) proceeds to discover the causes of this phenomenon. The first of these causes, according to him, was that that the idea of the State did not fill any large space in ancient Indian thought and life, the vacuum being filled by society. Proof of this astonishing statement is sought to be found in the fact that "the epics, the dramas and the fables refer only to the most elementary political matters," that the chronicles and the numerous inscriptions narrate nothing but "the waging of wars and the making of conquests, the founding of temples, the endowments of Brahmins, purely administrative acts" etc., that Kautilya's *Arthashastra* which admittedly deals with a well-organised system of administration is "more like a didactic manual of administration" than an actual description of the same. Now when it is remembered that India in pre-partition days was equal in size to all Europe without Russia, it would follow by the author's line of reasoning, that the successive failures of Charles V, Louis XIV, Napoleon and William II to build "a lasting edifice of countrywide sovereignty" was convincing evidence of "a perpetual political frustration" arising from a very imperfect development of the idea of the State in Europe. This idea must have been altogether absent for centuries in the case of Italy and Germany, which, though meant by Nature to be one, attained political unity only after the middle of the 19th century. When the author confidently denies the absence of the State idea even in ancient Indian thought, he forgets that kingship is again and again declared in our literature to be the essential instrument not only for promoting the whole life of the people, but even for ensuring their bare existence. Again, he is blissfully ignorant of the various classifications of the State-systems and types of diplomacy and foreign policy known to Indian literature onwards from the time of the *Arthashastra*. As to the epics and the fables, lessons of "the organisation of government, the relations between the centre and circumference, the impact of Government upon peoples" and the like, instead of being practically unknown to the Mahabharata, are widely scattered through the same, while they form the theme of the *Panchatantra* and at least of a few of the *Jatakas*. Again,



discourses on statecraft form a regular feature of the Sanskrit Kavya literature from the time of Asvaghosha to that of Magha. As to the chronicles and inscriptions, the author's strange verdict is belied, *e.g.*, by the valuable side-lights on almost every aspect of life and culture in ancient Kashmir that is found in Kalhana's *Raja-tarangini* and the precious data about the working of self-governing village-assemblies that can be gleaned from the inscriptions of the Imperial Cholas. Where the chronicles and inscriptions deal with administrative acts and matters of routine administration, it is the task of the true historian to draw from them, as far as possible, a complete and consistent picture of the whole.

While insisting upon the all-embracing influence of caste (p. 32 f), the author is oblivious of the fact that heterodox sects with powerful monastic organisations have flourished since the times of the Buddha and Mahavira, that the *Jatakas* and other works as well as the inscriptions have preserved for us pictures of caste-conditions not completely agreeing with that of the *Smritis*, that caste-rules in the *Smritis* themselves are sufficiently flexible to take note of the existing social conditions. The author's view of the origin of caste (pp. 38-39) that "the Aryans, adopting the Dravidian belief in transmigration as a philosophy of life, metamorphosed class into caste," is a too simple solution of a very complex problem. The author's estimate (p. 40 f) of the effects of the caste-system, on the whole, does credit to his sobriety and balance of judgment. But his statements (pp. 43-46) that there could be no great expansion of ancient Indian States with the armies and populations supplied by caste, that "the ancient Hindu State was a State of villages," and that "there was always a hiatus between the village and the Central Governments" are belied by the facts of history. On the contrary, the large size of the Indian armies and the numerous Indian cities have been noticed by foreign observers from the time of Alexander's historians down to those of the Arab and mediaeval European writers, while inscriptions and other sources enable us to trace a chain of provincial and district officers linking the central with the village administration from the Maurya period onwards. The author's summing up that "caste did for India what Christianity did for Europe—it kept society distinct from the State" (p. 46) is admirable. His final judgment on Hinduism that "with its doctrines of an absolute god, of *karma* and *maya*, it is the least objectionable adventure in the purely pagan religious quest of man, as a part from divine Revelation" (p. 53), is as fine an appreciation as can be expected from a devout Catholic of his stamp.

On the effects of Buddhism and Jainism the author makes some sound remarks. "Buddhism," he sums up (p. 56), "was not so much a reform of Hinduism as an improvement of it" (*sic*): "its influence was in the direction of gentleness, humanity and peace: it has not been in the direction of social organisation or political pro-

gress: its influence was more personal than institutional: it has done more for man than for society or the State." "Jainism," he continues, "has been a much more human and a much more social religion than Buddhism." But in the same breath he observes (pp. 54-55) that Buddhism was "a reform movement against Hinduism but it was no revolutionary attack on it" [which is indeed perfectly correct and that it gave "a new impulse" to the State, since "it strengthened the spirit and institutions of self-government" and it provided a motive for extension of empire [which give an altogether erroneous idea of the tendencies and characteristics of Asoka's dominion].

Turning to the general influences of religion, the author says (p. 58), "While caste represented the most important institutional influence among the Hindus, their religion was for them the greatest influence in the world of ideas." Again, after defining Dharma as the whole duty of man, he proceeds to illustrate by concrete examples how the dominating influence of religion has tended to retard social reform, to promote "the autocracy of native Indian rule," and in short "has become the Nessus shirt of Hindu law and society." Not only the literature, but also the art of the Hindus, continues the author, has been dominated by religion. Now apart from the fact [recognised by the author himself in the same context] that caste itself has a religious origin and sanction, his mistake lies in attributing to the *Smritis* rules a degree of rigidity unknown to them in their best days. This is shown by their explicit recognition of custom and approved usage among the source of Dharma and their frequent relaxations of rules and even their very contradictions. Instances like admission of the widow's right to inherit the husband's property in the absence of sons show that they were not incapable of improvement upon the older law. Incidentally, it may be observed that the author is wholly wrong in saying (p. 59) that under the Hindu law "only sons could inherit" and "*stridhana* was the only form of property a woman could keep" and that "the early marriage of boys is due to the rule of the Hindu religion." The author quotes Manu's dictum of kings being formed from particles of the gods, but he forgets to refer to other passages tending to impress upon the king his duty of protection and, what is more, to derive the same as a corollary from his collection of taxes. He also completely ignores the equally authoritative texts of the Mahabharata inculcating the King's responsibility for just exercise of his rule to the point that subjects should abandon an incapable ruler as a useless burden and they are justified even in slaying a tyrant "like a mad dog afflicted with the rabies." In making the regretless statement (p. 61) that "very little secular literature hails from ancient India," the author overlooks the whole mass of Sanskrit technical literature represented by grammar, lexicography, medicine, astronomy, astrology and mathematics, *Kamasastra*, *Arthasastra* and

*Silpasastra*. It is a gross exaggeration to state that modern scholars have had "to dig in mines of religious literature" for their "theses on political and social sciences of the ancient Hindus."

The author's summing up of the tendencies of the Hindu period (p. 64 f) is chargeable with a number of rash generalisations. Premising that "religion and culture fill much the larger part of ancient Indian history," he says that "the political history of the Hindu period may be written out in a page or two," that there is no history of civilisation, for "civilisation is produced in cities, and in ancient India cities were scarce" and that "the religious emphasis in the Hindu's life imbued him with a Manichaean contempt for creature comforts." Of these statements, the first three are too sweeping to be taken seriously and the fourth is directly contradicted by the evidence of literary documents from the time of the Pali canon downwards. On the subject of foreign influences the author stands on firm ground, when he remarks (p. 70) that they "did little to revolutionise Hindu thought or life." The result of the long period of Greek sovereignty in the Punjab, according to the author (p. 71), is shown by the combination of Indian and Greek ideas on the coins, a general moderation in architectural styles (especially in Kashmir), and the dominating personality of the Buddha in Gandhara sculpture. But in the same context he laments that Greek influence, which was "a temporary flash from the West," had no time to "affect Indian art in the direction of simplicity and restraint, of nature, truth and personality." Apart from the inconsistency involved in these two statements, it may be justly charged against the author that he overlooks the radical dissimilarity between the Indian and the Greek genius which is testified to by such a high authority as Sir John Marshall, while his complete silence about Gupta art with its admittedly "classical quality" is an inexcusable slip. His reference to the combination of Indian and Greek ideas on the coins, (which strangely enough makes no mention of their bilingual character), marks not the spread of Greek influence, but the beginning of that process of Indianisation which was to culminate in the adoption of Brahmanical and Buddhist faiths by the Greek settlers.

Before leaving our notice of Part I of this work, it is our painful duty to draw the reader's attention to the heavy list of errors that disfigures it almost from beginning to end. Of errors in the translation of Sanskrit names, we have examples in "*Dasyu* or black" (p. 9), and "*Varnasrama-dharma*, the law of the society of colours" (p. 32), and of inaccurate transliterations in *Chattri* (pp. 24, 28), *Asvamedha* (pp. 24, 29), *Visva Devas* (p. 44), *Matrubhumi* (p. 47), *Grihaspati* (p. 48), and *Brahmin* (for the Upanashidic Brahman) (p. 61). On p. 44, "the Adityas, the Visva Devas (*sic*), and the Devas" of the Atharva-veda are wrongly

referred to as historical tribes of the Punjab. The references to "the laws of Manu. Yajnavalkya and of the Aryans" (p. 58) and to "the dancing Nataraja of Lakshmi" (p. 62) are meaningless. The description of "the Kali cult of Calcutta" as an example of "primitivism" is a grotesque perversion of a faith which numbers its votaries by millions and has produced a Ramaprasada and a Ramakrishna Paramahansa. Of chronological slips we have examples in the dating of the Maurya period "about 500 B.C." (p. 16), of the Kadambas, "A.D. 1200-1400" (p. 21), of the Graeco-Bactrian rule in North-West India "300-160 B.C." and of Yavana (*sic*) rule "200-53 B.C." (p. 70). Violence is done to geography by the description of the Hindu Kush as "the northern range of the Himalayas" (p. 7) and the location of Rajagriha on the banks of a tributary of the Ganges (p. 13) as well as the identification of Saurashtra with modern Gujarat (p. 20) and that of Indo-China with ancient Champa (p. 67). It is not known on what authority "the Panjakni" and "Prabhasi" are said to be ancient names of the modern Tapti river and the modern Konkam (*sic*) (p. 20), and "Pale in the East" is stated to be a Jaina temple-city (p. 57). The misspelling of proper names unfortunately is too frequent, witness the examples Rama and Keonghar (p. 2), Tritus (p. 10), Goghen, Paramasa, Goudwana (p. 12), Sunderband (p. 14), Dakshinaprastha (pp. 15, 19, 24, etc.), Mauraram and Kshtriya (p. 21), Selucid (pp. 28, 70), Sylvan Levi (pp. 51, 64), Gapuon (p. 67), Milanda (p. 70), Marland (p. 71). To illustrate the large number of historical inaccuracies, it will be sufficient to mention the statements that Taxila was a centre of the pre-historic Indus Civilisation (p. 4), that Samudragupta "violently uprooted the kings of the South as far as Malabar" (p. 13), that Chandragupta Maurya "destroyed Selucid (*sic*) rule in the Punjab" (p. 28), that Harshavardhana conquered the modern Punjab (p. 29), that "the Sanghas, the Parishads and Mahaparisads" were assemblies limiting the power of the king (p. 45), that "no Hindu state was founded in ancient Burma" (p. 65), that "India was first brought into contact with foreign influences by Alexander's invasion," that "the empire of the Selucids (*sic*) included off and on most of North-Western India" that the Saka invasion "broke the Greeks in the Punjab into petty kingdoms which lasted from 160 B.C. to 50 B.C." (p. 70).

Our review of this work has grown so much in length that we have not space enough in the present paper to deal with its Parts II and III. Suffice it to say, these Parts likewise contain many shrewd and sensible observations couched in the author's crisp, vigorous style. They are, however, not free from the irregular spelling of proper names and the historical inaccuracies which abound in Part I. The author's excuse for the hideous cruelties of Portuguese occupa-

tion (pp. 145-46) does not carry conviction, while his dictum (p. 147) that the Portuguese "practised the doctrine of equality between races and between the rulers and the ruled" is sufficient to raise a smile of incredulity in most readers. The author's estimate of "the assembling and working of the administrative machinery under a unifying political system" as constituting "the great service rendered by British rule to India" (p. 181) is just and proper. But his excuse for the failure of that rule to promote "the material prosperity, civilisation and culture" of the people in any appreciable measure betrays a lamentable blindness to such features as the systematic economic exploitation of the country onwards from the days of the Company's rule. While describing the benefits conferred by Christianity on India, the author claims that Ram Mohun Ray "took his inspiration from the Bible" and he suggests that the Bhakti cult of the South was influenced by Christianity. Both the claim and the suggestion are contradicted by the facts of history. The author's obsession with the exclusive importance of Western influence is illustrated on the one hand by his shallow reference to "higher education through the English language" as being responsible for "a Ramanujam, a Ramun (*sic*), a Jagadish Chandra Bose, a Rabindranath Tagore and a Ghandi" (*sic*) (p. 176) and to the break-up of "the mediaeval isolation of India" through British rule (p. 182) and on the other hand by his complete and inexcusable silence about the movements for religious revival led by Dayananda and Ramakrishna and for revival of art begun by Abanindranath Tagore. Of a piece with the above is his very imperfect and one-sided account of the Indian nationalist movement (pp. 195-8) culminating in the wholly unfounded charge that "the absolute nationalism of the Congress as well as the Hindu character of the political philosophy and methods of Gandhism have provoked the Muslims" into claiming to be a separate nation. Finally, it is impossible to endorse the author's wholly one-sided verdict (p. 201) that the present division of India is an indication that "the native forces of caste, the dead hand, national or tribal religion" have won the day over the world-forces of unity and progress. Measured by the same yardstick the continuance of the old division of Spain and Portugal, of Holland and Belgium, of Norway and Sweden, not to speak of the separation in our own times of Eire and Northern Ireland as well

as of East and West Germany would be an indisputable evidence of the native forces of reaction triumphing over the world-ideas of progress.

We cannot conclude this paper without notice, if only for the sake of its venomous onslaught against India and her people, the slight Preface to this work written by Joseph Husslein, S.J., Ph.D., the General Editor of the series. Beginning with the characteristically impudent remark that "India has become a center of international anxiety," he summarises the whole history of the country in words indicating at once his colossal ignorance and his malignant hatred of its past. "For millenniums of years," he says, "it was a large-scale application of the old immemorial law of the jungle. . . . To this was added the lust for battle and the urge of a nomad's life." After this no one is surprised to read his verdict on India's future which is couched in language recalling the worst features of the Christian attitude towards other faiths. For after referring to "the notion (*sic*) of caste" and the doctrines of *karma* and *maya* prevalent among the people, he says, "The one thing that now is most needed for their freedom, liberty and progress is the full light of that Christian Faith which the Church can bring them." We make bold to reply that the one thing that is certain to alienate for all time to come all self-respecting Indians from the Catholic Church and its brand of Christianity is the propagation of vile slanders of the type above quoted. Indeed it would appear that while the British government for the best of reasons has thought it fit to give up its imperialistic grip over India, fanatics are not wanting who dream of imposing a deadlier imperialism, that of the spirit upon its people. Only on this supposition can we understand the critic's deliberate falsification of the history of a people whose outstanding contributions to the cause of civilisation have been testified to by thinkers the latchet of whose shoes he is unfit to unloose. In vain has India won her independence, in vain she cannot hinder such stuff from passing current in lands which claim to be in the vanguard of civilisation. Will the Government of India, the proper custodian of our national honour, move in the matter? Needless to say, its worth will be judged by our countrymen by the extent of its success in countering pernicious propaganda of the type above indicated, and not by the number and scale of its embassies abroad.







# Book Reviews



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EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

## ENGLISH

**REVOLUTION BY CONSENT** : By Dr. Dharendra Nath Sen. Published by Saraswati Library, Calcutta. Pp. 345. Price Rs. 10.

The theme of the book under review is the Indian revolution both in its external and internal aspect which the author describes as a 'revolution by consent' as opposed to revolution by violent upheaval. Up to the time when the book is written it manifested itself mainly in its external aspect, that is, for liquidating foreign rule, but in the author's opinion the revolutionary forces cannot stop here; it will end in a social revolution by bringing about a change in the existing productive relations and a new equilibrium based on a socialistic order which he describes as the internal aspect of the revolution. The first three chapters of the book are mainly analytical and descriptive. Here he attempts to explain the external aspect of the revolution by tracing the process of march towards complete transfer of power through changes in the attitude of British Government under the stress of political forces at work in India and world events since the historic pronouncement of August 1917, right up to the Constitution of the Constituent assembly under the Cabinet Mission plan and the British Government's announcement of February 20, 1947. In this connection the course of Indian politics during the eventful years of Indian history, 1942-47, is subjected to searching analysis and critical examination by an erudite scholar on constitutional law and one thoroughly conversant with political developments and trends in the country by his long journalistic experience. Of course as the book is written in quite a different setting from the present the issues discussed here have considerably changed their complexion by subsequent developments. There is an illuminating discussion in Chapter VI of the problem of nationalities in its general aspect as well as in the peculiar context of the Indian situation. In the author's opinion the Russian way of solution of the problem is particularly instructive and may prove helpful to its solution in this country. In the concluding chapter (Chapter VII) the author sets out his own suggestions in the light of his survey in the previous chapters about the form of the Indian state of the future and an outline of the constitutional framework and the procedure to be adopted for framing and enforcing the Constitution. In brief his recommendations are as follows. An Act of Succession is to be passed by the British Parliament for divesting the Crown of its powers in relation to India and nullifying all Parliamentary statutes applying to this country. The Act is to be followed up by a Treaty between a Committee of the Constituent Assembly or a Provisional Government to be ratified by each of the contracting parties. The Constituent Assembly is then to

decide upon the form of the State and its constitutional framework and the Interim Government is to be empowered by an Act of Parliament to enforce the decisions of the Constituent Assembly. The author's preference is definitely for a socialist democracy as in his opinion the only alternative to it is in the existing socio-economic set-up, a Fascist order. There is to be a reconstruction of the administrative units on linguistic and cultural basis to be knit together in a socialist republican federation. Before the constitution of the Federation no bar is to be placed on the right to non-accession or secession by such territorial units, but the decision to exercise the right should only be taken by a democratic process. After the institution of the Federation, however, there is to be adequate centralisation of powers. Democratic centralism on the Russian model instead of a loose federation is his ideal. The appendices at the end of the book are very useful throwing lurid light on the course of political events in the most eventful and pregnant period of Indian history.

The author's treatment of the subject is characterised by clear thinking and lucid exposition and a courage of convictions. He has not accepted blindly the solution of the Indian problem envisaged by the Indian political leaders. He has laid much greater emphasis on the social content and the factor of productive relations in the Indian problem rather than purely formal and liberal democratic approach for its scientific solution.

On such controversial questions as those discussed in the book there is bound to be difference of opinion both as regards interpretation of facts as also conclusions. For instance, many would question the author's appraisal of the causes of communal dissensions in India. He holds "India's mediaeval social patterns and Hindu revivalism" more responsible for this than the sinister machinations of the third party. "There has been much too mechanical, sometimes militant, insistence that British imperialism as the third party has fomented and fostered divisions by using the Muslim League leadership as a brake on Indian progress, etc.", (p. 187) he observes. As a matter of fact, however, the problem is almost entirely the product of the policy of "divide and rule" purposefully initiated by British imperialism as a last ditch to fight resurgent Indian nationalism which is amply borne out by the history of the growth of communal representation since the beginning of the century, although it is to be admitted that there were weaknesses in the social and economic structure of Indian polity of which the British rulers took the fullest advantage. It is also true as he says on page 172 that the Congress leaders have not offered sufficient resistance to separate electorates and on several occasions have even compromised with reactionary communalism but that is

not because the Congress leadership was not sufficiently nationalistic in their outlook but as they found themselves constrained by the situation created by British rulers to make concessions to forces of communalism as a necessary evil and as a temporary expedient for mobilising support of all elements of population and thus presenting a united front to British imperialism. The author himself remarks: "The Congress as an organization has striven hard and long to bring the different communities in India on a common platform with a view to liberating the country from foreign rule and setting up what it has conceived to be an independent, democratic Indian State with guarantees in respect of the protection of the minorities" (p. 186). Of course, the wisdom and efficacy of that policy of appeasement of Muslim communalists is open to question. Subsequent developments have demonstrated the utter futility of that policy.

The author seems to apportion equal blame to the leaders of both Congress and the Muslim League for being "hustled into policies which lead nowhere." But it is common knowledge that the Congress went to the utmost length, even in the face of adverse criticism in the country, for coming to a settlement with the League even at the cost of compromising its creed of nationalism, but it was the intransigence of the League and its leader Mr. Jinnah encouraged by Britishers that prevented any such settlement. The solution of the problem offered by the author,—setting up a federation of autonomous linguistic and cultural units—was never ruled out by the Congress. In fact, it was an important plank in its programme, but that had hardly any appeal for the Muslim League. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the following extract from the Objectives Resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly on January 22, 1947: "And wherein the said territories, whether with their present boundaries or with such others as may be determined by the Constituent Assembly thereafter according to the law of the Constitution, shall possess and retain the status of autonomous units, together with residuary powers and exercise all powers and functions as are vested in or assigned to the Union, or as are inherent or implied in the Union, etc." On many such questions there is scope for difference of opinion but that does not in any way detract from the value of the work. It is difficult for an Indian to approach many of the questions discussed in the book objectively and dispassionately and so it may be said to the credit of the writer that he has succeeded considerably in bringing to bear on them an academic frame of mind. The book may be commended to all serious students of Indian Constitutional development. The get-up and printing of the book is quite satisfactory but there are certain serious printing mistakes which, we hope, would be corrected in the next edition. We draw particular attention to two such mistakes. On page 157, line 13, the term "Government" is perhaps to be substituted by "Covenant." On page 160, (para 3) some words have been apparently dropped after the second line.

A. K. GHOSAL

**EMINENT INDIANS:** By D. O. Dhanapala. Nalanda Publications, 1947. Pp. 180. Price Rs. 7-4.

**PROFILES:** By G. Venkatachalam. Nalanda Publications, 1949. Pp. 309. Price Rs. 8-4.

The living character sketches of our contemporaries have an interest of their own: not gossip, nor hero-worship, but comparing notes, and a creative imagination takes quick impress of men and women whom one cannot help discussing threadbare. Such a

work is bound to please, and it is also educative in a sense. Mr. S. A. Gardiner's sketches naturally prompt us to search for similar work among our own countrymen.

The two books mentioned above cover pretty much the same ground, and invite a comparison. Both are collections of writings already published, "personal impressions of people who have interested the authors." What is more intriguing, there is mutual assessment: Venkatachalam presents a pen-portrait of Dhanapala in his estimate of Lanka's cultural leaders, while Dhanapala devotes one whole chapter to Venkatachalam. Evidently, Venkatachalam's work is more inclusive; it is divided into three parts—the first dealing with individual men, the second with individual women, and the third deals in a wholesale fashion with leaders of Ceylon, Chinese Marxists, and Europeans whom the author had met and who had impressed him with their vivid personality. Venkatachalam thus covers a much wider ground with his book containing brilliant profiles and integral studies, while the literary vignettes in Dhanapala's book are in a chatty style, set off by 12 full-page illustrations. Venkatachalam is an art-critic who knows how to present profiles by brush and pen. Gandhi, Nehru, Sarojini Naidu, J. Krishnamurti, R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar furnish common ground.

Both the books are delightful reading. One of the best pieces in Dhanapala's book is that on Amaranath Jha. There is a mannered way, however, in that book. Thus, C. R. has a choice assortment of qualities associated with Richelieu, Socrates and Shankaracharya; C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar is now Faustus and then Machiavelli and Kautilya; Dr. Coomaraswamy is a combination of Marco Polo, Ibn Batuta and Fa Hien. It is time also that our old impression that "India leaves her great men to be discovered by foreigner" should be corrected.

P. R. SEN

**THE PROBLEMS OF PHILOSOPHY:** By Dr. Satish Chandra Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D., Calcutta University. Das Gupta and Co. Ltd. Pp. xvi+345. Price Rs. 6-8.

Philosophy, once a favourite pastime of the Indian mind, seemed to have withdrawn for some time into a narrowing circle of academic specialists. But the conflict of the world forces has recently been expressing itself also in the form of problems, ideas and ideologies. Consequently philosophical discussions on idealism, realism, empiricism and dialectical materialism have begun to be heard once again not only in all kinds of journals and periodicals, but also among socially conscious young men in the street. There are definite signs of the revival of interest in Philosophy in India and abroad, but there are very few books which can be read by the general reader for a clear grasp of the fundamental problems of Philosophy.

Dr. S. C. Chatterjee has done a distinct service to the academic scholar and the lay reader by writing this lucid, brief and yet dependable book which raises all basic problems of Philosophy, presents the difficult kinds of solutions offered by the famous thinkers of the West as well as of our country and helps the reader with suggestive conclusions. A reputed teacher and a thoughtful writer of note, Dr. Chatterjee brings to his task a mature, but unostentatious, scholarship, that silently works its way into the reader's mind to leave some abiding impressions.

One only wishes that the book contained a

ussions on other important problems of socio-philosophical interest, as for example, values. It is hoped that he will write on cognate subjects in future. When society is being distracted by the harangues of self-enlightened enthusiasts, the dispassionate wisdom of mature and trained thinkers like Dr. Chatterjee can more act as an enlightened guide. We heartily commend this book to our thoughtful readers.

D. M. DATTA

**POST-WAR GUJARAT:** By A. B. Trivedi, Khalsa College, Bombay. To be had of Shree Ichhasankar Davar, 122, Ummarkhadi Road, Bombay 9. Pp. 282, with Appendix and Bibliography. Price not mentioned.

This book is a painstaking attempt to collate the facts of Gujarat's economic life and regional possibilities that should be an example to others. The author has made a special study of Gujarat and Kathiawar's material problems, the solution of which waits for the future.

The preface to the book written in February, 1949, about 18 months after India's partition, should have told us of its economic consequences, their good and evil, of the effect of the settlement of Sindhi merchants and entrepreneurs in Gujarat and Kathiawar. The book, however, is a vast mine of data of this region.

**THE RAMAKIRTI (RAMAKIEN) OR THE THAI VERSION OF THE RAMAYANA:** By Swami Satyananda Puri and Charoen Sarakhiran. Published by Tha-Bharat Cultural Lodge, 849 Silom Road, Bangkok, Siam. Pp. 126.

Shree Raghunath Sharma, Director of the Thai-Bharat Cultural Lodge, has sent us this book which forms part of the Birla Oriental Series whose aims are 'to popularize the contributions of the Orient to the cause of culture and humanity.'

The Preface was written by Swami Satyananda Puri, a Bengali Sannyasi, professor of a Thai College, who was also a fellow-worker of Rash Behari Bose, the Indian revolutionary patriot. A melancholy interest attaches to this Preface, as the writer was the victim of an air-crash on his way to Japan in 1943.

The history of Bahart's contact with Thailand has yet to be written. The Preface tells us that 'the first introduction of Ramayanic influence into Thailand can be traced to the 13th century only.' But Java, Sumatra, Bali, Malaya, and Thailand even have had a longer connection with our country. But that is forgotten today; 'the word Ramayana is unknown' to Thai literature. This book, we hope, will renew the old relation.

S. C. DEB

**MANUAL OF MEETINGS:** By D. V. Nadkarni. Local Self-Government Institute, 11 Elphinstone Circle, Fort, Bombay 1. Pp. 116. Price Rs. 3.

Law of Meetings is assuming great importance in our country with the growth and development of self-governing institutions. There are several books on the law and procedure of meetings which are more or less exhaustive and deal with meetings under the various Municipal Acts, and Local Self-Government Acts, and Company Law, etc., giving authoritative decisions and valuable comments. Some of them are not easily available; some again are voluminous, though very good as reference books. Most of them deal with English law exclusively—and it is difficult even for

a lawyer to apply them to Indian conditions. Excepting Davar's *Law and Procedure of Meetings*, I am not aware of any Indian book dealing with this particular branch of law. A small Manual dealing with the law and procedure of meetings of various classes and easily understood by intelligent laymen was a necessity. The book under review has removed the want. We commend it to the public, especially to Municipal commissioners, members of boards, etc.

J. M. DATTA

**BURMA—OUR NEIGHBOUR:** Issued by Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Old Secretariat, Delhi. Price Re. 1-8.

The brochure, a timely publication, deals with Burma, our neighbour across the Bay of Bengal. Within its rather limited compass of less than 50 pages it gives a broad picture of modern Burma against the background of geography and political evolution. Its twelve short, and on the whole well-written chapters deal, among others, with the geography, races, political evolution, economic wealth, art and culture, language and literature and the socio-religious life of the land of peacocks and pagodas. Some of the chapters are written by eminent scholars, such as, the late Beni Madhab Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray, Dr. Kalidas Nag and the like. A work of the type of the brochure under review is bound to be superficial. Some of the chapters, however, those on political evolution and on Burmese women, for example, could have been more informative and better written even within its narrow scope. Most of the chapters are however well-written and amply serve their purpose. Liberal illustrations add to the value of the publication.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

**TUKARAM:** By J. R. Ajaonkar. With a Foreword by the Hon'ble Shri B. G. Kher, Premier of Bombay. Published by V. Prabha and Co., Girgaon, Bombay. Pp. 161. Price Rs. 2-8.

Shri Ajaonkar is a recognised authority on the lives of the saints of Maharashtra. For about half a century he has devoted himself to writing and publishing the lives of Marathi saints. Since then he has brought out eleven volumes containing 110 lives and covering about 3200 printed pages in Marathi. His life of Tukaram, the premier saint of Maharashtra, came out in 1935. The book under review is an English rendering of his Marathi work made by Shri R. V. Matkari and adapted to suit the English readers. Tukaram is the most renowned and popular poet-saint of Maharashtra. The Hon'ble Shri B. G. Kher rightly observes in his Foreword to this book that those who do not know Tukaram do not understand the history of Maharashtra and Marathi language. Hence an English life of the saint was a long-felt want. This handy volume fulfils this extensive want very creditably. In many respects it is exhaustive and authoritative presenting the subject to the reader in a very simple, substantial and systematic way. Principally it is based on the Marathi work of Mahipati Buwa of Taharabad, the well-known biographer of saints. This book not only contains a connected biography of Tukaram but also authentic accounts of his family, disciples and contemporaries, as well as other relevant matters. Many miracles of Tukaram recorded by Mahipati and handed down from generation to generation in Maharashtra are also incorporated in it. Inspired sayings of Tukaram called Abhangs are widely known and recited by the Marathi people. One



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SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

### SANSKRIT

**TARKABHASA** of Moksakaragupta: *Edited with a Sanskrit commentary by Embar Krishnacharya. Oriental Institute, Baroda. G.O.S., Vol. XCIV. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a preliminary work on Buddhist logic closely following and occasionally quoting and explaining the *sūtras* of the Nyayabindu of Dharmakīrti. The editor deserves thanks of the students of Indian logic for the success he has attained in preparing a readable text on the basis of very imperfect MS. material.

An improved text however will be found in the edition of Sri H. R. Rangaswami Iyengar (Mysore) which contains the fruits of his consultation of more MSS. as well as the Tibetan version of the work.

It, however, reflects credit on the learned editor of the volume under review that many of his emendations have been corroborated by the materials brought into use by Sri Iyengar. The honour of first bringing to light a little known but none the less very important work also goes to him. And the edition has its additional value in the learned and lucid commentary added by him which will be very useful to scholars.

ANANTALAL THAKUR

### BENGALI

**VATSAYNER KAMASUTRA**: *Translated and edited by Nalini Kumar Bhadra. Baijayanti Publishers, 22, Sibrarayan Das Lane, Calcutta-6. Pp. i-viii +1-228. Price Rs. 4.*

Vatsayana has been called a Rishi. A Rishi is one who sees truth. Science deals with truth—with truth based on facts. Sexology is a science. It was only the other day that sexology was recognised as such. It is the twentieth century that brought, so to say, this new science into being. The labour and devotion of Havelock Ellis, Krafft Ebing, Hirschfeld and a few others have done more than anything else to establish sexology as a science. For long centuries people were accustomed to keep silent on sex. They were ashamed to discuss, scientifically or otherwise, matters relating to sex. Modern psychologists and sexologists have tried hard to do away with this erroneous idea of sex. They have tried to teach people that there is nothing to be ashamed of sex. Nearly two thousand years ago there flourished in Ancient India a Rishi who brought in light where there was darkness. Vatsayana is one of the earliest geniuses to impart knowledge in place of ignorance. It was he who laid stress on the fact that sex-education is a matter of vital importance. Those who are ignorant of the *Kamasutra* will necessarily fail to appreciate its value as science. They are apt to confuse sex-psychology with pornography. As regards systematised knowledge the question of morality does not arise. Science is neither moral nor immoral. Modern science differs from older science in this that while the ancients are content to note down only the conclusions from data derived from observations, modern scientists will not rest satisfied till they can present the facts, data and statistics so that any one, so inclined, may check for himself the conclusions therefrom.

Nalini Kumar Bhadra has done well to introduce Vatsayana to the Bengali-reading public. In rendering the *Kamasutra* in Bengali he has never taken undue liberty. His style is chaste and elegant. We have seen other translations of this great treatise. The translators have either slurred over difficult portions or left them as they are. But Bhadra has tackled these difficulties and tried creditably to explain these obscurities. The translation is prefixed with a long and valuable introduction. In it the author points out the scientific outlook of Vatsayana and tries to ascertain the time and place of his birth and the value of his contribution to science; he marks that there were other sexologists of renown, besides Vatsayana, in Ancient India; he also reconstructs the social life of the time as is to be gathered from the *Kamasutra* and deals with other matters. The introduction is interesting as well as instructive. Those who like to go through Vatsayana in the original can never dispense with Yasodhar's *Jayamangala Tika*. In rendering the original Sanskrit in Bengali, Bhadra, to his credit, has taken the fullest advantage of this very valuable commentary. His acquaintance with modern sexology has stood him in good stead in his attempt to present an ancient work on science in today's language.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

### HINDI

**HAMARA SAMAJ**: *By Sant Ram. Nalanda Publications, Post Box No. 1353, Bombay. Pp. 253. Price Rs. 6.*

For centuries the Hindu society has been branded with the "curse of Cain"—namely, untouchability—a curse which, thanks to the Herculean endeavours of Gandhiji in rousing public conscience to the immensity as well as inhumanity of the crime of brother being "unapproachable" by brother, has at long last begun to be lifted. And yet neither in the scriptures nor in the highest ethics of social life there is any sanction of any kind for imposing such a ban on any member of the human race. The learned author, who has for over twenty-five years been attacking like a crusader the citadel of orthodoxy which gives shelter to the "criminals" charged with degrading their fellow-creatures, has dealt with the "prickly" problem from every possible point of view and pricked the bubble of *savarna* superiority. And he appeals to one and all to lay the axe to the poisonous tree of untouchability or exclusiveness so that our society may be assured of a healthy growth and be spared any further sin and sorrow of vivisection of which the present unnatural and unethical partition of India has been the flowering and the fruit. The get-up of the book, though of a high standard so far as Hindi publications go, should not, however, have been permitted to stiffen its price.

G. M.

### GUJARATI

**ATMA GUNJAN**: *By Kismet Kureishi of Bhavnagar. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 25. Price eight annas.*

Umar Chandbhai Kureishi, whose *nom-de-plume* is "Kismet," is a young man of 27 years. He is a Muslim and still writes not only graceful Gujarati but elegant Gujarati poetry. This collection of 25 *gazals* and *gits* (songs) is a very promising one, and embodies thoughts and conceits of a high order in faultless Gujarati.

• K. M. J.

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future of India and Pakistan which had been sent to the Prime Minister of India on the 11th August, 1947 and subsequently published in various Newspapers) have proved correct to the detail amazed people the world over and have won for him unstinted praise and gratitude from all quarters including His Majesty George the Sixth, the Governor of Bengal and eminent leaders of India. He is the only astrologer in India who was honoured with the title of "Jyotish-Siromani" in 1938 and "Jyotishsamrat"—Emperor among astrologers and astronomers—in 1947 by the Bharatiya Pandit Mahamandal of Calcutta and Baranashi Pandit Mahasabha of Benares.—a signal honour that has not been endowed on any astrologer in India so far.

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# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## Is There a Future for Mysticism?

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Katherine Merrill examines the evidences for a return to nobler concepts of Mysticism in our day. She confidently hopes for an ultimate revival of the Mysticism in its higher aspect of union with the Divine Source, as well as the practical application of spiritual laws to ordinary life, as taught in the ancient Mystery Schools:

With the earliest ancient education sprang from hearts and minds of Great Teachers, who divided their work into three parts corresponding to the spiritual, mental and physical aspects of man's nature.

The object of this education was the development of the whole man, not one-sided in materialism or in egotism. But the highest object was the merging of the individual's consciousness into union with the Deific Source. All this union they called Mysticism, and the thing of it was protected from ignorance or ill-will by sworn secrecy.

"Mysticism" derives from a Greek word meaning "close-mouthed," secret and silent; and secrecy was practised because the most characteristic and important spiritualities, powers and laws were too sacred, and through their strength, too dangerous to be known except by those capable of turning them to general human betterment. But mysticism today commonly refers to something not generally understood, something mysterious, possibly fantastic or almost meaningless.

True Mysticism is the highest, the deepest, philosophy; it is philosophy's quintessence, the stimulus and the reward.

True Mysticism recognizes and includes all relations and connections, yet always seeks to rise above them into identity.

That effort is the very nature and particular action of Mysticism; and some perception of unity, of oneness with the Whole, is expressed again and again in the higher thought of today. The writers who send out this thinking belong to all Humanity. Wherever they may live, their importance is not limited to any one country. In them all, Mysticism, such, is unformed, hinting at what may not be fully understood. Yet the philosophic thought of Taggart, the science of Schrodinger, the humanistic ideas of Taylor in *Richer by Asia*, and the not only fortunate blending of religion and science in Comberg's *Soul of the Universe*,—all these, whatever they contain of much or little value, show their authors to be moved by a common impulse toward the spiritual.

This kind of recent thinking represents what in ancient Mysticism was the scientific aspect. At that time this line was kept distinct from the religious and ethical—distinct, as springing from other powers of man, but not separate or opposed. If the Platonized science of Max Planck draws near to the science in

old Mysticism as taught in the Greek Mystery Schools, what is the harm in calling it mystical? If Einstein's high physics approaches ideas and facts such as were recognized by ancient Mysticism, the dignity of his work is not lessened by being so classified. A perception that such modes of thought possess mystical qualities permits the word "mysticism" to regain in itself, and to mean for the public, a more universal or synthetic quality than any other word. Pantheism emphasizes the *theos* idea; Pan-humanism, the human aspect. Mysticism combines both. Such thinking seeming to foreshadow a modern mysticism, thereby clears off some of the dross that has begrimed a noble name.

It must be remembered that genuine Mysticism not only teaches the soul that rises to high mystical states, or even the mind that passes into descriptive analysis of these, but goes out at once into broader service.

Another indication of such thinking is the book called *The Life of Science*, by George Sarton, Professor of the History of Science at Harvard University. To perceive and express that "Life" as Professor Sarton does, is to have joined (however unaware) the host of those who from immemorial time have undertaken the upward climb which makes the mystic.

A third line of similar thought is carried on by a group of philosophic investigators headed by O. L. Reiser, Professor of Philosophy at Pittsburgh University. He is the author of several noteworthy articles and books, one of the latest being *World Philosophy: A Search for Synthesis*. Scientific humanism is the name adopted by the group for the method and goal of their work. The following are some of their ideas:

"Scientific humanism is an attempt at synthesis, an endeavour to collect the knowledge and vision of all ages. The perceptions by past seers of the nature and meaning of life are focused and re-expressed for present understanding; their validity is tested by scientific principles, and an effort is made to extract from the results a pattern for better human existence. Besides, back of such a collectivity of vision purely human, Synthesis points to cosmic or archetypal influences, which provide the unifying force for human evolution. Thus, scientific humanism is rooted in an assurance that we are living in a unified, dynamic and evolving universe, and that there is some hope of an ultimate synthesis of knowledge."

This kind of humanism is as impersonal as any scientific hypothesis and the care taken to shun theological personalizing is proved by a definition of divinity, in a Reiser article, as the power to create, to originate, to grow morally into a larger life of freedom—the dynamic process of growth is the human essence, and the essence of divinity as well.

The author proves himself, in the few lines quoted, a philanthropist and a moralist. He sees philosophy and altruism as identical, and he has recently expanded his idea of the close relation between humanism and morality into a pamphlet, *Scientific Humanism and*

*Creative Morality.* A crying need of our time is that for moral perception and action from a sound philosophical basis, such as strong, questioning men can accept.

If those ideas of the unity and harmony of all life with its Source had been continued, science would not now be blundering materialism; and ordinary religion, psychism.

### Indian Science Congress

*Science and Culture* observes :

Thirtyseven years ago, the first session of the Indian Science Congress was inaugurated in Calcutta on the 15th of January 1914, when Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, the great Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University presided over its deliberations. The Congress was sponsored by the Asiatic Society of Bengal and was held in the latter's rooms. Sir Ashutosh recalled that it was in the fitness of things that the Science Congress should start on the 130th Anniversary of the foundation of the Asiatic Society by Sir William Jones, whose objective was 'the study of Man, and Nature, whatever is performed by the one or produced by the other.' According to Sir Ashutosh :

"The Asiatic Society thus founded has been throughout its long career the principal source of inspiration in the organization and advancement of scientific research of every description in this country, and it is eminently befitting that the first meeting of the Indian Science Congress should be held in the rooms of the Society and directly under its auspices. It is further fortunate that we should be able to hold the Congress simultaneously with the celebration of the centenary of the foundation of the Indian Museum, which had its origin in the activities of the members of the Asiatic Society, and which by the invaluable work of its scientific officers in various departments has justly attained worldwide reputation. The times are manifestly favourable to the establishment of an Indian Science Congress whose object and scope would be similar to those of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, namely, to give a stronger impulse and a more systematic direction to scientific enquiry, to promote the intercourse of Societies and individual interested in Science in different parts of the country, to obtain a more general attention to the objects of Pure and Applied Science and the removal of any disadvantages of a public kind which may impede its progress."

After surveying the facilities for pure and applied research available in 1914 in the Universities with its affiliated colleges, the museums and observatories established by the Government and the different scientific surveys and services maintained by the Government, Sir Ashutosh continued :

"In a domain so vast in extent and diverse in character, it is obviously essential, if the fullest measure of efficiency and success is to be achieved, that the men of Science engaged in study, in instruction, whether individually or in small groups, should be brought into close association with each other; they really constitute an army of workers whose services to the State are materially impaired in strength if they are allowed always to remain scattered and isolated. The advantages of personal intercourse between scientific workers, engaged in the same field of activity or in the pursuit of allied lines of research, are too obvious to require much elaboration. The most beneficent results may be achieved by an instructive interchange of ideas between scientific men; they may, however, not only mutually communicate their ideas, they may also state the advance made in their own respective spheres of action, and indicate to each other the special

departments which may be most profitably cultivated or the outstanding problems which may be attacked with the greatest utility. But personal association amongst scientific men may be pregnant with important consequences, not merely by a fruitful exchange of ideas; cultivators of Science, by periodical meetings and discussions, may bring their aims and views prominently into public notice, and may also, whenever necessary, press them upon the attention of the Government,—a contingency by no means remote, for, as experience has shown, even the most enlightened Governments occasionally require to be reminded of the full extent of the paramount claims of Science upon the Public Funds."

The Science Congress from its modest beginnings continued to grow in its importance till in 1938, on the occasion of the celebration of its Silver Jubilee in Calcutta, the British Association sent a very representative group of British scientists to take part in the celebrations.

The delegation was to have been headed by Lord Rutherford, who, as President elect of the jubilee session, had prepared his presidential address. Due to his tragic death, he could not personally deliver his address; Sir James Jeans who was elected President in his place, read this address before the Calcutta meeting. In a portion of his address Lord Rutherford referred to the activities of some brilliant Indian students in Cambridge, like Ramanujan, Chandrasekhar and Bhabha. Regarding the last mentioned one he said, 'for the first time also, an Indian student in Cambridge Dr. H. J. Bhabha, was awarded in open competition one of our senior 1851 Studentship in recognition of the importance of his researches in Theoretical Physics.' It would have pleased Lord Rutherford had he lived till now, to know that the recipient of the 1851 Senior Studentship in 1938 would in 1951, be invited to preside over a meeting of the Science Congress. Prof. Bhabha is probably the youngest of the distinguished group of Indian scientists whose achievements in different branches of science have been recognized by their election to the Science Congress presidential chair. In the course of his address Lord Rutherford reviewed some of the important scientific achievements of this country during the past century; it was in the main a review of the achievements of the scientific services and of the men of British nationality who by their scientific work gave distinction to the services they manned. The hold of Britain over India began to weaken, with the commencement of the last World War in 1939, and it was in the fitness of things that such a tribute to the achievements of British scientists in India during an age which was coming to an end, should be given by one of the greatest of British scientists.





Another thing which would have interested Lord Rutherford to note viz. the great progress which had been made in this country, by the expansion of government scientific services, the establishment of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research with its associated nine national Research Laboratories. He had in his 1938 address, stressed on the importance in the national interest of a planned scheme of research in applied science. "If India is determined to do all she can to raise the standards of the life and health of her peoples and to hold her own in the markets of the world, more and more use must be made of the help that science can give. Science can help her to make the best use of her material resources of all kinds, and to ensure that her industries are run on the most efficient lines. National research requires national planning. If research is to be directed in the most useful direction, it is just as important for a nation as for a private firm to decide what it wishes to make and sell. It is clear also that any system of organized research must have regard to the economic structure of the country." He then proceeded to give an account of the way the British Government had aided the agricultural and industrial research in Britain, during the period following the World War I. Evidently this portion of his address fell into very receptive ears in India.

Thirteen years has elapsed since the Jubilee Session of the Science Congress and the time is ripe for another review of the activities of this central organization vis-a-vis the specialist societies which have been established since 1914. A committee appointed to draw up draft rules for the Science Congress, has presented its report for consideration by the general body or ordinary members at the 1951 session. This session will also be of special significance due to the decision to convene a Pan-Indian Ocean Science Congress, to be held in 1951 along with the Indian Science Congress. In 1951 one of the most important of the scientific surveys of India, the Geological Survey, which owes its inception to the initiative taken by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, will celebrate the centenary of its establishment in January.

It was a happy thought on the part of the University of Calcutta to have invited the Indian Science Congress to hold its 38th session in Calcutta, which was accepted at the Poona session of the Science Congress. Calcutta with its historic Indian Museum containing unique collections of Anthropological, Geological, and Zoological exhibits, as the head-quarters of several Government scientific surveys, the home of many teaching and research institutes, would have been eminently suited for the holding of a Pan-Indian Ocean Science Congress. Again Calcutta, the capital of West Bengal State, in which about 50 per cent of the ordinary members of the Science Congress Association are domiciled, could provide the best venue where proposals for the revision of the rules could be discussed by a very representative body of ordinary members.

It has been therefore a matter of great disappointment to a large body of ordinary members of the Science Con-

gress Association, as well as to the large number of local sessional members, that at a very late date, in October, the Executive Council of the Association, for reasons not divulged to the public, decided to shift the venue of the Congress from Calcutta to Bangalore. The holding of a session of the Science Congress with its thirteen sections, with its plan for co-ordination of its own scientific activities with those of the proposed Pan-Indian Ocean Science Congress, required a great deal of planning and organizational work. Much of the preliminary work done during the first nine months of the year by the local committee here had to be scrapped, and had to be started *denovo* by their opposite numbers in Bangalore. With the progressive increase in the number of ordinary and sessional members attending the meetings of the Science Congress, the problem of providing accommodation and transport facilities is becoming one of increasing complexity, specially when the session is held in one of the smaller towns. If under such conditions the work of the Science Congress proceeds smoothly and efficiently at Bangalore, it will redound greatly to the credit of the local committee in Bangalore and to their voluntary associates. Should any hitch occur, the responsibility for it would be with the Executive Council, for making their last minute decision.

### Social Service Work by Students

The question of engaging students in actual social service work by compulsion involves educational, economical and financial issues. Prof. T. A. Kulkarni writes in *The Social Service Quarterly* :

In India we have very little experience of any kind of conscription much less for social service work. There are some countries in Europe where there is conscription for military training and service for citizens of certain age. It is not known whether the system of conscription for social service exists anywhere. In India we have no experience of conscription even for military training. It may, therefore, be suggested that before we begin our inquiry in detail, Government should be requested to depute a competent person to visit those countries where a system of conscription prevails especially for social service work and make a report on the various issues involved. The report after it is received should be circulated among the public organisations concerned. This will enable them to judge the different questions in the light of the experience of experiments made elsewhere. This procedure may involve some delay but will ensure avoidance of mistakes which is very important. Firstly, any addition of work to a substantial extent imposed upon students is bound to affect the work of ordinary school or college education courses. Secondly, if the compulsory social service work is to be imposed after the student completes his school or college course, the economic



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question will require consideration. Some students have to begin to shoulder the burden of maintaining themselves or share the burden of maintaining the family. Thirdly, if the conscription is to be imposed to secure necessary personnel for social service work, the finance necessary for training a large number of students for social service work is first to be considered. Secondly, if the students are to be paid for the work they do, the payment also will involve a financial question. The question to be considered will be whether work obtained by way of conscription will be cheaper than work obtained by the employment of fully paid social workers who take social work as a profession.

If the problem is to be taken up for practical enforcement, a preliminary investigation seems to be necessary for the success of the experiment.

Students over the age of 15 may be persuaded to take interest in some kinds of social work and help adult workers in their work or do some kind of social work under the guidance of adult and trained social workers. As students in schools are under the age of 15, only college students may be used for this purpose.

For some kind of social work training will be necessary before the students are given actual work.

Defining social work as any kind of work which the community needs and which is done in the spirit of being useful to the community and not for a selfish purpose, for removing the poverty of the poor, for giving education to the masses or for providing better facilities for public health and care of the sick, field for social work is vast. The actual work to be undertaken will depend upon circumstances—whether the work is to be done while the colleges are in session or during holidays or after the college career is over—and circumstances of the locality where the colleges are located or the students spend their holidays or where the students are to be taken for social work during the periods of the holidays. Collection of information regarding social conditions may be mentioned as being very suitable among the activities to be undertaken by students. There will also be some kind of elementary work in every other field of social work which the students can do under the guidance of trained workers.

If manual work is to be paid for and if persons belonging to the ordinary working class are available to take up the work, employment of students for manual work will cause unemployment among the labourers and this should be avoided. If paid labour is not available, students may be used even for manual work.

Students spend a sufficiently long time in their colleges and they may prefer to be in a different atmosphere for their spare time work which is to take the place of their recreation. But on voluntary basis some college authorities may undertake some kind of social activities for those students who prefer to do social work under the guidance of their professors.

Only work done during holidays or work to be done after the student takes his degree and finishes his career as a student, can be whole time for a continuously long period. Students will not like to take up social work after their college career is over, unless they take up social work as a permanent profession.

As social service work for being done successfully and usefully ought to be done in a disinterested spirit and not for a selfish motive, it should be done on a voluntary basis and not on a compulsory basis.

The scope for such work is very great. The actual programme for such work should be planned by school

authorities and social service organisations in consultation with each other. The programme will differ according to the inclination of the students and their physical, mental and moral equipment and also according to the activities of the social service organisations with which they will be working. Very few private social service organisations will be in a position to pay for the voluntary social work which the students may do. If Government or Municipal Bodies undertake welfare activities, they will be in a position to pay the students who co-operate with them in their welfare activities.

Compulsory social work is a difficult problem. Social work done under compulsion will be done mechanically and therefore also badly and not in the proper spirit. Social work does not lend itself to being done under compulsion unless it is of a mechanical kind.

Whether payment for work done should be made or not will depend upon the financial circumstances of the parents. Some students have to help their parents in domestic work, some may have to work to add to the family income by taking up some paid work after the college hours. Some students may have to take up family responsibilities immediately after their college course is finished. Compulsory social work should be paid for in the case of those students the income of whose parents is less than a certain sum. Compulsory social work after the college course is over will have to be ruled out, even if the work is paid. Young men would like to tape up work for a permanent career as soon as possible.

In Soviet Russia senior medical students and young graduates were expected to do medical work especially in rural areas when the need for fully trained doctors was very great. But after the period of compulsory work was over, these students followed the medical profession. Conscription for military training service is on a different footing, the justification being that in an emergency of war, a large army cannot be otherwise trained and made ready for service immediately. Compulsion in other fields of work will be a very unpopular measure and should not be adopted except in a grave emergency such as a widespread epidemic disease or famine.

We do not recommend compulsory social work. Compulsory work for a short period, say for two years, can only be of a very mechanical nature. If students are given work in fields like teaching, most of the period will be required for training. The use of students immediately after they pass their Matriculation for work as teachers is not practicable and will not produce good results. If compulsion is at all to be used, it should be used only for college students either during the college course or after the college career is over.

Compulsion will involve economic difficulties to students and their parents and if the work is paid for, it may not be found to be ultimately cheaper.

To secure co-operation from the local people where work is to be done, advisory committees may be formed.

Only an organisation established by Government can undertake the work for carrying out a scheme for compulsory social work. Government will have to keep detailed plans ready to provide work for different batches of students. No private agency can cope with this work and no agency which is not responsible to the legislature should be entrusted with this work. As compulsory social work will have to be paid for in the case of most of the students, the responsibility for payment will be that of Government. Generally private agencies will not even accept conscripted work if it is paid fully unless there is great scarcity of labourers or of other personnel. Handing over the work to private agencies will not be desirable and not be practicable.

# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## China and Korea

Dr. Chen Yao-Sheng delivered the following lecture at the Chinese Institute, London, as published in *The Asiatic Review*, October 1950 :

### II.

Prior to 1858, Japan was a federal kingdom. In that year, however, the House of Togugawa collapsed and a new regime commonly known as the Restoration was established. After she had concluded Treaty relations with the West she desired similar relations with China and in 1870 her approach was accepted by the latter resulting in the Treaty of Tientsin 1871, a feature of which was the reciprocal granting of extra-territorial jurisdiction. The following year the question of jurisdiction over the Liu-Chiu islands arose and as a result of ignorance on the part of government officials, China lost her jurisdiction of these islands. Japan made the King of Liu-Chiu "Lord of the Japanese Empire," transferred Liu-Chiu affairs to her Ministry of the Interior and prohibited Liu-Chiu from sending her bi-yearly tribute mission to China. This action caused great alarm in China and realizing Japan's ambition, began to defend her vassal states from further encroachment.

As early as 1868 Japan had begun her activities in Korea when she sent a mission to review relationship. This was refused by the Korean Government, but later in 1875 Japan asked China to grant credentials for a mission to Korea. The Chinese Government, considering it improper to order Korea to receive the mission therefore declined to grant credentials. On the suggestion of Li Hung-Chang, Viceroy of Chi-li, however, the Japanese request was communicated to Korea, resulting in the Mission being received and a Treaty concluded in 1876. By this Treaty Japan was given the right to establish a permanent Legation in Seoul; to trade in two ports in addition to Fushan; to station consuls in these ports and to enjoy extra-territorial rights. Foreseeing Japan's ambition as regards Korea, China took precautionary measures and advised Korea to reconstruct her army in readiness for an emergency. China also advised Korea to enter into Treaty relations with other foreign powers in order to weaken Japan's hold on her, and in response to this advice Korea sent a special commissioner to Li Hung-chang to consult with him in person a plan for the reconstruction of the Korean army. Through the good offices of Li, Korea signed Treaties with the United States in 1882, Great Britain in 1883, Italy and Russia in 1884 and Austria in 1892.

Although China wished to make Korea strong enough to withstand any infringement of her rights from Foreign Countries, internal strife in the latter's domestic affairs weakened her position considerably. The King, who had succeeded his uncle at the age of 12, was of weak character. After his marriage he became influenced by his consort and permitted his father Ta Yuan-Chun (the Regent) to be ousted from power. Ta Yuan-Chun naturally could not accept such a personal injury and sought his revenge by taking advantage of dissatisfaction which existed in the Army and incited a palace revolution. At that time, anti-Japanese feeling was high among the patriotic Koreans and they seized the revolution as an occasion to manifest their feelings. They burned down

Japanese Legation, the Minister fled to the coast and the Japanese Government despatched large military forces to Korea and entered the Capital. When the news of the Korean disturbances reached China, troops were sent, but by the time they arrived the revolution was over. In the ordinary way, China would not have intervened in Korean internal disturbances, but with Japan involved there were little else she could do. In order to prevent Japan from having any pretext to begin hostilities against Korea, China quelled the disturbance, arrested the instigator Ta Yuan-Chun and sent him to China where he was detained at Paoting. China's swift action in settling the Korean problem left Japan with no excuse to make further complaints so she had to content herself with whatever indemnity she might exact. On August 30, 1882, she obtained from the Korean Government an indemnity and the right to maintain a Legation guard with quarters provided by the Korean Government. A Supplementary Treaty Clause to the 1872 Treaty with Korea was also obtained.

In 1884, China was involved in a military conflict with France over Indo-China, and in consequence was unable to pay much attention to Korea. Some of the Korean demagogues, with the assistance of the Japanese Charge d'Affaires, became active. They staged a coup d'etat on December 4, 1884, on the occasion of a dinner given to the Diplomatic Corps to celebrate the opening of a Korean Postal system. The conspirators murdered six government ministers and seized the King and Queen. Yuan Shih-kai, a member of Li Hung-Chang's staff and Commander of the Korean Army, at once rescued the King and Queen and suppressed the conspirators. Seeing their cause lost, the Japanese Charge d'Affaires burned down the Legation and retreated to the sea coast. Again Japan sent a large military force to Seoul to exact anything they could from the Korean Government, and as a result obtained an indemnity together with a convention by which Korea was to apologize to Japan and to rebuild the garrison barracks.

As China was involved, Japan sent Count Ito Hirobumi to China alleging that China had started hostilities and taken part in the interception of the retreating Japanese guards. He demanded the recall of Chinese troops

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and the punishment of officers connected with the incident. Li Hung-Chang, who negotiated with Count Ito, accepted the request provided Japan would do the same and recall her Legation guards. The other requests he peremptorily rejected. After several meetings a Convention was signed with three articles—the most important one being Article III providing:

"In case any disturbances of a grave nature occur in Korea which necessitates the respective countries, or either of them to send troops to Korea; it is hereby understood that they shall give, each to the other, previous notices in writing of their intention to do so, and that when the matter is settled they shall withdraw their troops and not further station them there."

In the hope of checking the weak King, China sent Ta Yuan-Chun back to Korea in 1885. In addition Li Hung-Chang appointed Yuan Shih-kai as "Trade Commissioner" to Korea with the power to advise the King on behalf of China. For nine years peace reigned in Korea until the Spring of 1894 when an anti-foreign movement known as the Tung-Hsueh Rebellion broke out in South Korea. Failing to quell the rebellion the Korean Government appealed to China for troops. 1,500 soldiers were sent and the Japanese Government duly notified in accordance with the Li-Ito Convention. In reply, however, Japan declared that she had never recognized Korea as a tributary state of China and that she intended despatching military forces to Korea on the grounds that the disturbances were of a grave nature and necessitated Japanese troops there. The Chinese Government pointed out that the presence of Chinese troops was in accordance with practice hitherto pursued by China in protecting her tributary states and that there was no necessity for Japan to send troops. Ignoring China's claim, Japan proceeded to send detachment after detachment of troops and in answer to Korean protests, claimed her right to do so under the convention of 1882 by which Korea consented to Japan stationing guards at her Legation. Until July 18, there were 18,000 Japanese troops around the Korean capital. Meanwhile, the rebels in Korea had dispersed on learning of the arrival of Chinese troops and China accordingly requested Japan to withdraw her troops simultaneously with the Chinese troops as provided in the Li-Ito Convention. In reply to this Japan proposed that both countries should first jointly suppress the rebellion and then appoint a joint commission charged with the duty of reforming the Korean Government administration. The Chinese Government regarded this proposal as completely absurd and insisted on the withdrawal of troops by both countries. Japan's mind was made up, however, and on the very day she received China's note, declared that the interests of Japan in Korea, arising from proximity as well as commerce, were too important and far reaching to allow her to view with indifference the deplorable condition of affairs in that kingdom and that therefore the withdrawal of her troops should be consequent upon the establishment of some understanding that will serve to guarantee the future peace, order and good government of Korea.

Upon receipt of this Note, Li Hung Chang sounded both the British and Russian Ministers to China as to whether their respective governments might advise Japan to stop sending troops to Korea. The Ministers referred the question to their governments but only Russia was willing to move in the matter. This prospect disturbed Japan and she assured Russia that she had no special motive and would withdraw her troops. She asked both Britain and Russia, however, if they would be willing to act as mediators in the Korean question but both governments replied that they had no such intention. With these assurances Japan felt she could have a free hand

in dealing with China, and on July 14 sent a Note to China in the form of an ultimatum, ending as follows:

"The only conclusion deducible from the circumstances is that the Chinese Government is disposed to precipitate complications, and at this juncture the Imperial Japanese Government find themselves relieved of all responsibility for any eventuality that may, in future, arise out of the situation."

Immediately upon receipt of this China took precautionary measures in anticipation of military action by Japan. Great Britain and Russia, by this time, had changed their policy and their Ministers in Peking and Tokyo were instructed to co-operate with the representatives of Germany, France and Italy to effect a mediation on the basis of simultaneous withdrawal of troops from Korea. None of these powers were, however, prepared to offer mediation, for they evidently believed that Japan would abide by her declaration and would not resort to extensive measures. This was latterly also the belief of Great Britain and Russia. But on the contrary, Japan declared war on China on July 23, 1894. She seized the Korean Palace, compelled the aged Ta Yuan-Chun to appear as Regent and attacked Chinese war vessels at Yasham.

During the course of the war China persuaded foreign powers to mediate but from the very beginning Japan was determined to negotiate directly with China. As a result, no mediation was effected and China was compelled to sign a Treaty with Japan at Shi-monoseki on April 17, 1895. Apart from many other concessions given to Japan, China recognized the full independence of Korea, and the cession of Formosa and Liaotung peninsula in South Manchuria, including Port Arthur and Darien.

The cession of Liaotung peninsula to Japan came as a great shock to Russia as it was always her desire to possess a warm-water seaport, her only other possession, Vladivostok, being navigable for only half the year. It had long been her wish to gain control of Port Arthur and Darien and extend her influence in Manchuria. In an effort to prevent Japan gaining control of the two ports and southern Manchuria she induced Germany and France to intervene on April 17, the day when the Treaty was signed but not yet ratified. As a result of this intervention, Japan was compelled to return Liaotung peninsula to China.

It is interesting to note that Great Britain did not join the other powers in the intervention. After examining the Japanese peace terms, the matter was discussed at a British cabinet meeting presided over by the Prime Minister, Lord Rosebery, on April 8. According to records of discussion, Britain was greatly disappointed to discover that China was not such a formidable "natural ally" against Russia as she had for years fancied. On

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the other hand, she was pleased to observe, that, without any effort on her part, she was to enjoy, through the most-favoured nation clause in her Treaties with China "many additional commercial privileges." But apart from these considerations; she saw nothing menacing her interests in the Far East by the change contemplated by the peace terms, in fact she appeared to see enormous advantages in them. When Lord Kimberley, the British Foreign Minister, was approached by Count Hutzfeldt, the German Ambassador in London, the former was reported to have believed that the danger to China in the cession of the Liaotung peninsula might be lessened by moving the Chinese capital to Nanking, or in other words, by virtually abandoning North China, including Manchuria.

I would like to point out here that Korea was not actually annexed by Japan until after the Russo-Japanese war of 1904. In order to make the history complete I should include an outline of events leading up to this conflict which was caused directly by the Korean problem.

Japan soon realized that Russia was the country she had to contend with especially when, after she had begun to reform Korea, she found that the King had fled to the Russian Legation for protection. Under these circumstances, Japan had to accept whatever terms Russia chose to dictate, and by one agreement dated May 14, 1896, between the two representatives at Seoul, Japan undertake to restrain her political bravos in exchange for the early return of the King and to limit with Russia the number of guards to be maintained in Korea. By another agreement she agreed to come to a common accord on the question of rendering financial assistance to Korea and to abstain with her from meddling with the Korean Army and police forces. In 1898, a Convention, was signed between Japan and Russia providing for mutual abstention from interference in the internal affairs of Korea and from nominating military instructors and financial advisers without having previously arrived at mutual accord on the subject.

By virtue of the Sino-Russian secret Treaty of 1896, Russia acquired special privileges in Manchuria and latterly the lease of Port Arthur and Dairen from China, thus extending her control all over Manchuria. Russia's new position in the Far East naturally caused alarm to Japan and the conflict of the two spheres of interest became inevitable. Both Russia and Japan began preparations for war but before resorting to extreme measures, Japan

started a diplomatic manoeuvre on July 28, 1903 by inviting Russia to enter upon "an examination of the condition of affairs in the extreme Far East where their interests meet, with a view to a definition of their respective interests in these regions." This request Russia was obliged to accept.

Russia agreed to Japan's original proposal that Japan should recognize Russia's special rights in Manchuria; that both parties should respect the independence and territorial integrity of Korea and to maintain the principles of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations therein. Russia put forward further proposals (a) that Japan should abstain from using any part of the territory of Korea for strategical purposes and from undertaking on the coast of Korea any military works capable of menacing the freedom of navigation in the strait, and (b) to consider that part of the territory

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of Korea lying to the north of the 39th Parallel as neutral zone into which neither of the contracting parties should introduce troops.


Japan accepted the half of Russia's first proposal (a) relating to the freedom of navigation in the strait of Korea and rejected the other half for strategical purposes and substituted for (b) one of hers, constituting a neutral zone extending fifty kilometres on each side of the Korean, Manchuria frontier. Russia, however, insisted on her own proposal so Japan further suggested the suppression of proposal (b) concerning a neutral zone, also the elimination in (a) of the clause "not to use any part of the territory of Korea for strategical purposes" as she had insisted upon before. Russia refused to agree to these suggestions and on February 5, 1904, Japan informed Russia of her decision to terminate negotiations and intended "to take such independent action as she may deem necessary to defend her menaced position and to protect her rights and interests." On February 10, the Japanese Emperor declared war on Russia and at the same time declared that "the integrity of Korea was a matter of concern to his Empire, not only because of Japan's traditional relations with that country, but because the separate existence of Korea was essential to the safety of his realm, and that the absorption of Manchuria by Russia would render it impossible to maintain the integrity of Korea and preserve peace in the Far East." On February 23, Japan drew up a protocol with Korea, by which Korea agreed to place full confidence in Japan and adopt her advice with regard to improvement in administration while

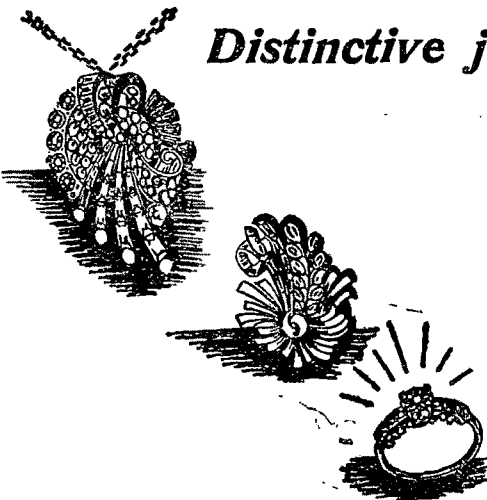
Japan agreed to insure the safety and repose of the Imperial House of Korea and to definitely guarantee the independence and territorial integrity of the Korean Empire. On August 19, Japan signed another agreement with Korea by which Korea undertook to employ a Japanese subject as financial adviser and a westerner as diplomatic adviser, both to be recommended by Japan. On May 30, 1905, yet a further agreement was signed by which Korea undertook to transfer and assign the control of and administration of the post, telegraph and telephone services in Korea to Japan.

In her war with Japan, Russia met the same fate as China, and on September 5, 1905, she signed a peace treaty with Japan at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. By this Treaty, Russia "recognized that Japan had predominant political, military and commercial interests in Korea, agreed not to interfere or place obstacles in the way of any measure of direction, protection and supervision which the Japanese Government may deem necessary to adopt in Korea."

This treaty, together with the acquiescence of Great Britain by the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliances in 1905, gave Japan a free hand in Korea. In the next five years, she assumed control of Korea's foreign relations, established a President-General in Seoul in 1905, forced the abdication of the recalcitrant Korean King in favour of his feeble-minded son in 1907, and in 1910 formally annexed Korea.


(To be continued)





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## The Birth of a Masterpiece

### The 'Last Judgement' of Michelangelo

On a beautiful day in spring, a very great Architect, who had already made his life famous with his works, left his beloved Florence to go to Rome in order to construct the Cupola of St. Peters. It is said that on reaching the gates of his city, just where the houses give way to the countryside, Michelangelo turned around, and half confessing his inability, he bid good-bye to the Cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore, which in all its grandeur is the expression of the genius of another immortal artist, saying: "I am going to Rome to build your sister, bigger than you surely, but not more beautiful than you." However when he reached the Eternal City, Michelangelo gave life to that wonderful work, which together with Bernini's Columnade, makes of St. Peters Square, the most marvellous symphony of architecture that can be admired in the world.

But yet another work was still awaiting the prodigious hand of this sovereign artist—the Sistine Chapel. Who but he would have been able to worthily crown those walls which had already been honoured by the brushes of Perugino, Signorelli, Botticelli and Ghirlandaio? And behold, having dismissed the painters he had called to help him in the rendering of this gigantic epic work, because they would never have been able to satisfy him, he who was unsatisfied even with himself, set to work alone.

One remains enrapt while gazing at the figures on these walls—up there there are the Sibyls and Prophets! Here there are predecessors of Christ and the Bronze Serpent! Here again above the door-way one sees David and Goliath, Judith and others! Muscular figures, strange poses, members strained to the extreme—all to express both the spiritual and temporal life.

But a baneful destiny did not allow the Artist to complete his work so soon. Rome was besieged by the Imperial troops; Florence itself was encircled by the militia of Charles V, and the Artist felt it his duty to join Ferrucci in the defence of the walls of his city.

After years, calm reigned again, and another Pope, Paul III, wished to see the work begun in the Sistine Chapel terminated. It was the year 1537, Buonarroti, although at that time well over sixty years of age, was at work again; he worked with such zest and vigour that he seemed to have the energy of a boy of twenty. The most powerful scene of the wonderful al fresco, the climax of this glorious symphony, the summit of the highest peak in art, a 'Divina Commedia' in painting was being born—he was painting the 'Last Judgement'!

With what bewildering admiration did the greatest authorities of those days go every evening to gaze at this marvellous work being carried out! Among these persons there were Cardinal Sadoletto and Cardinal Bembo; there were the most learned of foreigners, even the famous poetess Vittoria Colonna was one of the daily visitors. They came in numbers just to get one glimpse, even through the scaffolding, of that magical scene.

Even the malignant Biagio da Cesena came along one fine day, and horror-stricken because the artist had filled his paintings with nudes, he began to criticise him incessantly. Michelangelo, whose pride had been touched by the criticism, revenged himself by painting the figure of his critic as Minos, and naturally he placed him in hell. In vain did the punished man run to the Holy Father to protest saying, "Your Holiness, Michelangelo in his 'Last Judgement'." "I know all, my son, I know all," said His Holiness, "but I also know that nothing can be done to remove you from the uncomfortable place to

which Buonarroti has condemned you, if he had at least put you in Purgatory, we could have managed by dint of prayer to remove you from there; but you know as well as I do that once one is in hell, he must remain there forever, without remission....." And so this wonderful work went on—"No other artist, even if he had the genius of a hundred Buonarroti—says Giovanni Papini—will ever be able to put into lines or colours such a supernatural event."

At the bottom one sees corrupt and false humanity. From the dark mouth of a cave comes the ferocious pitecanthrop of the earliest ages, this is the first landmark of human history, which began with the creation. On the same plane, and at a side, there are heaps of tombs and corpses to show the end of the parabola of terrestrial life—the alpha and the omega of our mortal state. Immediately above the rotting carnage in the middle of the scene, there is the first impressive sign of the life that really counts, the life that shall not pass away. One sees the group of Angels descending to the chosen valley to blow their trumpets, and at those sounds the whole picture changes aspect in a very incomparable way. At the first look one sees only a large mass of members, parts of human bodies in an incessant movement. A confusion of bodies, outstretched hands and legs, muscles contracted to the extreme, necks and faces swollen with exasperation, open hands or closed fists in desperate movements, people cursing, fighting—a great confusion, a motley crowd, a kaleidoscope, a phantasmagoric scene, a parade of mad-denied humanity.

On looking better, however, the tremendous confusion reveals a well-ordered style, a well-judged and reasoned harmony, almost rational. On the never-ending and cruel

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day depicted, of which a look at the sky is enough to strike fear of that fatal day, on one side one sees the elect going towards their merited prize, on the other the reprobates—crying in vain for a belated mercy—being cast into the lowest abyss, where even Caron the devil, who ferrets the damned in his frightful boat across the lethal river, is pushing and beating them down with his oars towards their eternal punishment. High above this plane, on either side of this twofold scene there are the angels who are throwing down the pillar to which the Divine Martyr was tied and scourged, and raising up the Sublime Cross on which the redeeming Outcast became the Redeemer. In the middle there is the group of the most faithful of the faithful, those who for the love of Him did not fear to face martyrdom, or those who followed Him exactly to the word He taught. At the highest point, on the side of His Worthy Mother, there is the dominating figure of God the Creator, Saviour and Supreme Judge—the God of Justice and Mercy, Who is the reward and the Judgement, the God of Anger, from Whose judgement none can escape.

All the most frightful sentiments and thoughts alternate and cover one another in this way, in this apocalyptic exhibition; all the most tragic and condemning tones sound together in this endless and eerie chorus of colours and shades. There is nothing soft, gentle or serene, everything yells, cries, begs, or orders or shouts. A devilish and delirious wind blows over and upsets those creatures whom the Creator created for their own good, and whom another creator has set down here in the most true and realistic expression, which is the most doleful

of expressions—his own personal sentiments as Artist and man.

Michelangelo has even painted his own portrait as one of the embossments on the sheath of St. Bartholemew the martyr who was skinned alive, and who in this frightful picture, together with the other martyr St. Lawrence stands below the Redeemer to give testimony of how much and what kind of pains he had to suffer as sometimes happens to the generous and pure innocent souls.

The whole court of Rome, with the Pope at the head was there to see this superhuman scene on the last day. When Michelangelo had given his last touch to the miracle, and had come down for the last time from the scaffolding, which he ordered the workmen to remove, a shout of surprise and bewilderment, of admiration and terror went up from those who were present. All then together bowed and knelt down before the masterpiece.

In these past ages, four men have excelled in art and letters above the whole human race—Dante, Shakespeare, Beethoven and Michelangelo—exclaimed Taine, and Maeterlinck enjoined—"The painting of Michelangelo—the meeting of giants—is a part of the heavens where all the most masculine scenes, all the most powerful forces all the most burning of passions are reflected," and Faure rightly said: "Well could have Michelangelo exclaimed 'My art will create a set of ignorants,' as only he could give life to such masterpieces that surpass all other masterpieces"—while Sallet somewhat exaggerates in saying: 'Michelangelo is like God.'—Adapted from *La Sistine* by Arnolfo Santelli.

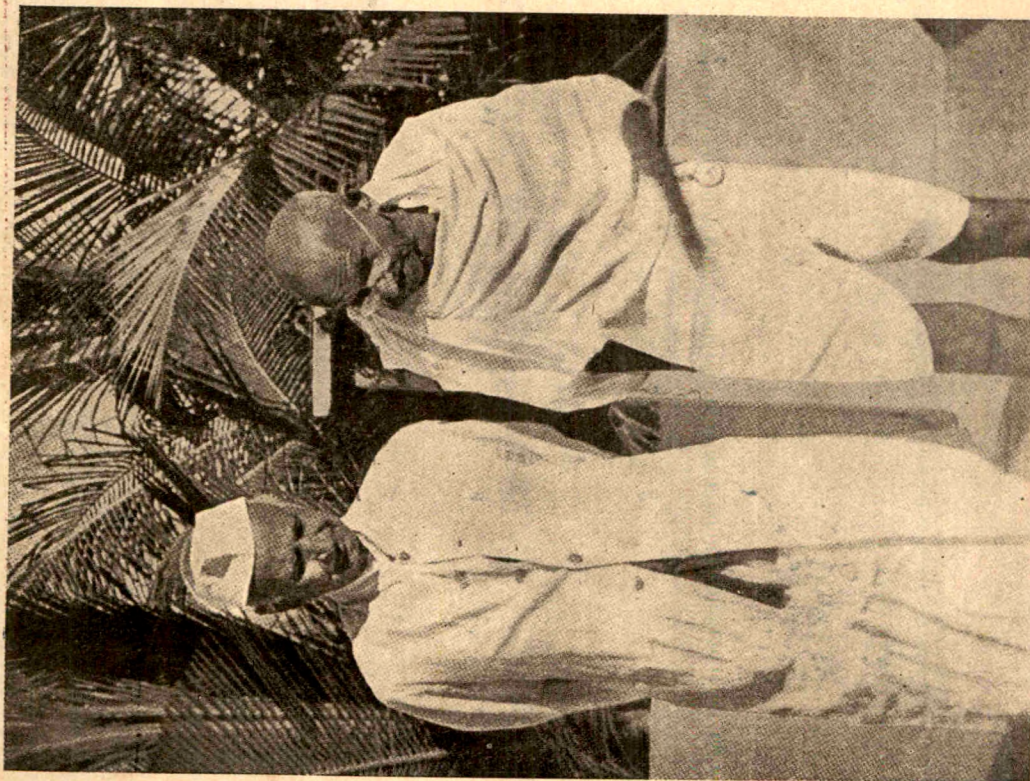


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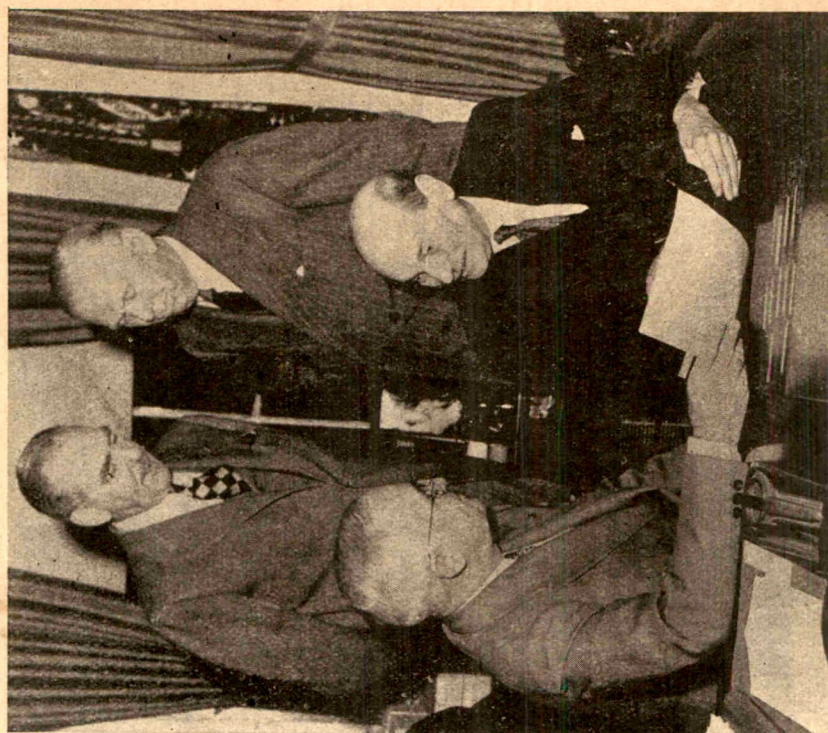
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American President Truman in conference with British Prime Minister Attlee. (Standing) Dean Acheson, U. S. Secretary of State, and George C. Marshall, U. S. Secretary of Defence





MOTHER

By Ramendra Nath Chakravorty

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# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### *Indo-Pakistan Trade Pact*

The Indo-Pakistan Trade Pact has been signed. India has surrendered to Pakistan in accepting the par value of the Pakistan rupee which she had hitherto persistently refused to recognise. India had stoutly opposed the par value of the Pakistan rupee at the International Monetary Fund and she will now have no face to oppose it there. Her position will be ridiculous at the next meeting of that body. This surrender has caused much resentment in this country as it is bound to do, specially after last February's incidents which were direct results of India's refusal to recognise the Pak rupee.

This bitter humiliation is rendered all the more poignant when we consider what might have happened if the Union had men at the helm who could keep disloyal officials and rapacious Big Business tycoons in control. Last year, when Pakistan was facing a seemingly impassable crisis, the entire nation's cause was betrayed by those who controlled the I.J.M.A., in collusion with a high official whose loyalty to the State was anything but conspicuous in the jute deal, which we consider was little short of an act of treachery to the nation.

We believe we shall not be far wrong if we assume that Pakistan relied in this devaluation trial of strength as much on the tenacity of her ministers and the loyalty and integrity of her high-officials as on the lack of those qualities in their opposite numbers in India, plus the rapacity and treachery of those Indian elements who, through speculation, inhuman profiteering and tax-evasion, have successfully intruded into Big Business. But recriminations are futile, let us consider the humble pie set before us.

The total value of trade that passes between the two countries is of the order of some Rs. 300 crores. Pakistan is an agricultural country. Her disinclination to devalue her currency and therefore raise her cost of living is a normal sentiment and ought to have been foreseen by our Finance Ministry. India's trade with Pakistan is as important, if not more important, than her trade with the other Commonwealth countries. Rushing towards devaluation without waiting for the decision of Pakistan had been an act of rashness for which the people of India have had to pay very dearly in blood and money. Our former Finance Minister and the present incumbent were the two persons responsible for taking the decision of devaluation without taking Pakistan into account. One has retired and the other succeeding him in office, has completed our humiliation. We consider even revaluation of Indian Rupee to an intermediate level would have kept up the prestige of the Government before the people. Export of commodities which are already in short supply might cause still further hardship to the common people. Revaluation of the Rupee would have been better for the masses, the present arrangement will be profitable only for the capitalist classes. Pakistan is a primary producer of goods of a perishable nature. One year's excess stock in her hands due to non-purchase by India would have pricked the Pakistani bubble and brought her to the position of a distressed seller. Much is made of Pakistan's opportunity to sell jute to countries abroad, specially to England, Germany, France and Spain. The position of jute industry in these countries has been given by Prof. C. N. Vakil in his latest voluminous publication *Economic Consequences of Divided India* (November, 1950). He says, "In the pre-war period 57 per cent of the total jute looms of the world were



being worked in India. During and since the war, the importance of India in the production of jute manufactures in the world increased as a result of the dislocation of manufacturing establishments in Germany, France, Italy and other European countries, except in the U.K." We apprehend that this position, together with India's jute-growing capacity and the limitation of the Chittagong port have not been taken into serious consideration. Dependence of an organised industry on foreign raw material is nothing new in the modern world. If such a dependence were not feasible, Britain and Japan's Textile industry and Dundee's jute mills would have been disbanded long ago. The strange, helpless stand taken by one of the strongest units of organised industry in the world, *viz.*, the Indian Jute Mills, has been a lamentable spectacle. The Government of India have equally vacillated in their policies in tune with these mills.

The following is a summary of the Agreement :

Being desirous of promoting trade between the two countries the Government of Pakistan and Government of India have entered into the following agreement :

*Article.* (1) The period of this agreement shall be from the 26th February, 1951 to 30th June, 1952.

(2) The two Governments agree to permit the exportation to and the importation from the other country of the commodities and goods specified in Schedule I which is attached to this Agreement.

(3) In respect of such commodities and goods as are, or may be subject to export or import licence, the two Governments agree to grant upon application duly made, export or import licences up to the quantitative or monetary limits specified in Schedule I, in accordance with the laws and regulations and administrative practices of the Government granting the licences.

(4) In respect of those commodities in which the export trade is the monopoly of the Government in either country, the terms of the agreement will be deemed to have been fulfilled if the supplies have been made at agreed points within or without the country and such quantity of the commodities mentioned in column two of Schedule I as cannot be supplied before the 30th June, 1951, shall be carried forward to the period 30th June, 1952.

(5) In respect of foodgrains the quantities, period and terms of supply will be as in Schedule III to this Agreement.

(6) In respect of raw cotton, the Government of Pakistan have at present no destination quotas, and India is, therefore, free to buy any quantity. If, however, destination quotas are introduced during the period of the agreement, the Government of Pakistan agree to give India a quota of 400,000 bales in the cotton season 1951-52.

*Article II :* The two Governments agree that there

shall be no import and/or export trade control restrictions on the movement between the two countries in respect of the commodities mentioned in Schedule II.

*Article III :* In respect of the commodities mentioned in Schedule I to this Agreement the two Governments agree that except where prices are separately negotiated, neither Government will impose any discriminatory supplement or surcharge or any other addition to the export prices of those commodities.

*Article IV :* The commodities and goods described in Schedules I and II refer only to those that are produced, processed or manufactured in India or Pakistan as the case may be.

*Article V :* The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan agree not to permit the re-export of any of the commodities imported under Schedule I.

*Article VI :* Notwithstanding anything contained in Articles I and II, the two Governments agree that export and import facilities granted by each country to the other shall be no less favourable than those applied to any other country in the sterling/soft currency area.

*Article VII :* In order to facilitate the implementation of this Agreement, the two governments agree to hold periodical consultations with each other in respect of any matter arising from, or in connection with, the supply of commodities or goods between the two countries during the currency of, and in accordance with, this Agreement, and if necessary, by mutual Agreement alter, extend or supplement the Schedules to this Agreement.

*Article VIII :* This Agreement shall come into force on the 26th February, 1951.

#### SCHEDULE I From India to Pakistan

	Up to end of June, 1951	From 1st July, 1951 to 30th June, 1952
	Tons	Tons
Coal	600,000	1,500,000
Hard coke	10,000	up to Dec., 1951 and nothing afterwards
Soft coke	5,000	20,000
Pig Iron	5,400	20,000
Ferro silicon	nil	100
Ferro Manganese	nil	100
Galvanised sheets	nil	12,000
Black sheets	nil	8,000
<i>Iron and Steel products—</i>		
Rails	nil	5,000
Wheels, tyres and axles	nil	5,000
Structural Steel	7,000	25,000
Electrical steel sheets	nil	1,000
M. G. Crossings	120	nil
Mills loose jaws for M. G.		
Steel sleepers in silico		
Manganese steel	20,000 numbers by October, 1951	nil
Keys for M. G. steel		
Sleepers	50,000 numbers by July, 1951	nil



	Tons	Tons
Alluminium circles and sheets	nil	100
High alumina fire bricks	150	500
Soft wood (jungle wood) from Malabar, Assam, etc.	5,000	(including 5,000 tons deodar sleepers)
Hard timber (other than teak)	2,500	10,000
		(including 5,000 S. L. logs and sleepers)
Cement	25,000	75,000
Stone and Ballast, as much as transport can stand.		
Paper	1,000	5,000
Linseed oil	750	2,500
Mustard oil	5,000	15,000
Chlorine	50	nil
Rubber tyres and tubes (other than cycle tyres and tubes and giant and non-standard tyres and tubes)	Rs. 500,000	Rs. 2,000,000
Handloom cotton cloth (loongis, towels and furnishing fabrics, etc.)		15,000 bales
		(including 10,000 bales of loongis)
Millmade cotton cloth:		
Coarse	nil	40,000 bales
Medium	nil	20,000 bales
Fine	nil	15,000 bales
Cotton yarn:		
1½ to 9's	nil	2,000 bales
10 to 14's	nil	2,000 bales
16 to 20's	nil	11,000 bales
Hard cotton waste	200 tons	500 tons
Jute manufactures	12,500 tons	50,000 tons
Shellac		Quantity to be settled later

## FROM PAKISTAN TO INDIA

Raw Jute	10 lakh bales	25 lakh bales
Raw Cotton	any quantity	any quantity
Hides and skins :		
Cow hides	250,000 pieces	1,000,000 pieces
Sheep skins	200,000 pieces	600,000 pieces
Rice, Wheat, Gram and Gur—as in Schedule III		
Mustard oil cake—such quantities as may be agreed upon from time to time.		

## SCHEDULE II

To and From India and Pakistan : Fish, fresh and dried; Vegetables including potatoes, potato seeds, onions, garlic and green and dry ginger; Fruits, fresh and dried; Eggs, Betel leaf (*pan*), Herbs—crude drugs and medicines, Indigenous drugs and medicines, Printed books, journals, magazines and periodicals; Spices including chillies, lime and lime stone; Poultry, Milk and milk products (excluding butter, ghee and cream), vegetable and flower seeds, bamboos and cane and manufactures thereof; Tallow, castor oil, cake and seed; Coir, coir yarn and manufactures; Cigar, biris and biri leaves and pickles, achars and chatnies.

To and From India and East Pakistan only : Washing soaps, Umbrellas, umbrella parts, Exposed cinema films. Paints and varnishes and agricultural implements.

From Pakistan to India : Cotton seed and cotton seed oilcakes. Gowara, Paper khar and sajji, Kapok,

Betel nuts, Chanicha seed, Saltpetre, Gypsum, Asafoetida (hing), Soda ash and Cigar wrapper lead.

From East Pakistan only : Fire wood 20,000 tons. Handloom cloth.

From India to Pakistan : Myrobalans, Electric table fans, Sewing machines, Matches, Bauxite, Silica sand, Khari salt and Ready-made garments.

From India to East Pakistan only : Handloom cloth of the following varieties: Sasons kailies, Visakuthu, Burma lungies, Kasturia, Kakaricee, Pattarices, Ginagams, Ammavarikuppums, Bambans, Jublaes, Saronges, Charcoal.

## SCHEDULE III

1. The Government of Pakistan and the Government of India agree to the supply of the following quantities of foodgrains from Pakistan to India subject to 10 per cent more or less at Government of Pakistan's opinion :

## (A) Foodgrains from East Pakistan :

Crop	Quantity	Period of delivery
	Tons	
(i) Rice	24,000	up to 30-6-51
(ii) Wheat	16,000	do

Total 40,000

## (B) Rice from West Pakistan :

(i) Baluchistan—		
Rice (1949-50)	6,600	do
(ii) Punjab—		
Rice	600	do

Total 7,200

## (C) Rice from West Pakistan :

(i) Kangni, 1949-50	20,500	
(ii) Joshi	35,000	
(iii) Red polished, 1949-50	2,300	do
(iv) Red unpolished, 1949-50	5,000	
(v) Nara, 1949-50	1,000	
(vi) Kangni—		
1950-51	65,000	
1951-52	55,000	up to 30-6-51
(vii) 1951-52	74,000	(and balance by 31-12-51)
(viii) Red polished 1951-52	10,000	
(ix) Nara and-red unpolished, 1951-52	5,000	

Total 217,800

Note : Joshi and Kangni varieties are interchangeable.

## (D) Foodgrains from West Pakistan :

(i) Rice Sugdasi		
1949-50	700	up to 30-6-51
1950-51	21,300	up to 31-12-51
(ii) Rice broken		
1949-50	7,700	up to 30-6-51
(Kangni and Sugdasi)		
1950-51	21,300	up to 31-12-51
(iii) Wheat's flour		
1950-51	9,000	immediately
Total	60,000	

- (E) *Foodgrains from West Pakistan :*  
 (i) Rice 1951-52 150,000 up to October, 1952  
 (ii) Wheat 1951-52 275,000

Total 425,000

- (F) *Gram from West Pakistan :*  
 1951-52 20,000 up to April, 1952

Total 20,000

Grand total 771,000

2. Foodgrains shown in Clause 1(a) and (B) will be supplied on "as is where is" ex-godown basis as regards quality and packing, but the Government of India will have the right to reject these quantities if they find the quality to be unacceptable to them.

3. Rice shown in Clause 1(C) will be F.A.Q. of the crop specified therein—clean, dry, in merchantable condition, free from bad odour, infection, infestation, damage and deleterious matter, and shall not be inferior to the specifications for each variety as given in the annexure to this schedule. Any deviations from the specifications will be subject to the scale of allowances laid down in the said annexure.

4. Prices of foodgrains will be as has been separately agreed between the two Governments.

5. Foodgrains mentioned in Clause 1(E) will be supplied, crop permitting.

Prices and other conditions of supply of these foodgrains will be negotiated between the two Governments in due course.

6. As regards gram mentioned in Clause 1(F), the Government of India will not purchase it on their account, or guarantee its offtake by the trade. The Government of India, however, permit the import of the agreed quantity through the traders, it will be for the Government of Pakistan to decide the manner of procurement and export.

7. The prices of foodgrains mentioned in Clause 1(D) are unacceptable to the Government of India, and will be negotiated separately as agreed upon.

8. *Packing:* Rice of 1950-51 crop in new single jute bags.

9. *Shipping Arrangement:* (a) For quantities to be delivered F.O.B. Karachi, the Government of India shall be responsible for arranging necessary tonnage. They will give at least ten days' notice to the Government of Pakistan of the date when shipping space will be available for loading at the port of Karachi and the quantity to be loaded.

(b) The Government of Pakistan will be responsible for any demurrage or dead freight actually incurred by the Government of India, should the former fail to load in accordance with Sub-clause (a) above.

(c) Should the vessel fail to be ready to load as intimated in Clause (a), the Government of India will be responsible for paying the cost of storing the grain and any demurrage and other costs actually incurred.

(d) In case, the Government of India employ foreign shipping for carriage of these grains, they will give first preference to Pakistan ships and will make a request to the Pakistan Government for such ships, provided the terms and conditions on which Pakistan ships are offered are not less favourable.

10. *Inspection and Sampling:* (a) Check weight normally 10 per cent but more in exceptional cases at the discretion of the Government of India and inspection of quality of grain and packing shall be carried out at the godowns where goods are lying in Karachi by an agency acceptable to both Governments, to be appointed by the Government of India at their own expense.

(b) Representative samples will be drawn by the inspecting agency daily before loading the bags into wagons for being carried to the ship-side.

(c) The Government of Pakistan will provide on the request of the inspecting agency, facilities for supervision (including the sealing of the wagons).

11. *Period of Delivery:* The periods of delivery shall be as indicated in column 4 of Clause 1. In regard to rice, both Governments agree to endeavour their utmost to ship up to the end of June 1951 at the rate of 50,000 tons a month.

12. *Payment:* (a) For foodgrains to be supplied from West Pakistan, the Government of India will open an irrevocable revolving letter of credit sufficient to cover the cost of four cargo-loads of foodgrains in the Imperial Bank of India, Karachi, in favour of the Government of Pakistan, who will receive payment from the said Bank on present of—(1) Invoices showing the quantity placed F. O. B. and the total amount due in respect of the quantity after allowing rebate for allowances if any; (2) Certificates of quality and weight signed by the inspection agency referred to in Clause 10; and (III) Bill of lading made out in favour of the Director-General of Food, Government of India, New Delhi or certificate from an authorised officer of the Government of India.

(b) For foodgrains supplied from East Pakistan payment will be made by the agents of the Indian Government appointed to lift the stocks at the time of taking delivery.

13. *Disputes:* In the event of a dispute in regard to the right or obligations under this Schedule, it shall be settled by reference to the arbitration of the Secretaries of the Food Ministries of the two Governments. The arbitration award shall be final and binding upon both the parties. The cost of arbitration shall be borne by the parties as indicated in the arbitration award.

Sri C. D. Deshmukh, Finance Minister, made the following statement at the Parliament :

As stated by my colleague the Hon'ble Minister for Commerce and Industry in this House on the 16th February 1951, an official delegation, headed by Sri N. R. Pillai, went to Karachi to negotiate a trade agreement

between the two countries. As a result of the talks held by them, an agreement between India and Pakistan was signed yesterday, copies of which have been placed on the table of the House.

While the Agreement is for the period ending June 1952, in respect of the main commodities, special provision has been made for ensuring speedy delivery of urgently needed supplies in both countries. The main commodities that would be supplied by Pakistan would be raw jute, raw cotton and foodgrains, while in return India will supply coal, steel, textiles and cement.

In respect of raw jute, Pakistan will grant an export allocation to India of ten lakhs of bales before the end of June 1951 and a further quantity of 25 lakhs of bales for the year July 1951 to June 1952. To ensure the supplies stipulated for the next four months, the Pakistan Government have agreed to sell to us at an agreed price the entire stock of about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs of bales of raw jute held by the Pakistan Jute Board and to place an overall quantitative limit on the export quotas granted to other countries. In respect of raw cotton our mills will be free to buy whatever quantities they can as there are at present no destinational quotas for exports from Pakistan. It is not expected, however, that more than 100,000 bales would be available during the current season, and it is doubtful if even this quantity could be obtained. For the next year also the agreement provides that there will be no restrictions on our purchase of raw cotton in Pakistan. It further provides that if the Pakistan Government introduce destinational quotas for the export of raw cotton, they will allocate a quota of not less than 400,000 bales of raw cotton to India from the next year's crop. In regard to foodgrains, we are likely to obtain approximately 250,000 tons consisting mainly of rice and a small quantity of wheat during the current calendar year. For the next year, Pakistan have agreed to supply, crop permitting, 150,000 tons of rice and 275,000 tons of wheat. From India, 600,000 tons of coal will be supplied to Pakistan before the end of June 1951 and another  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million tons between July 1951 and June 1952.

The Government regard these broad features of the agreement enabling the resumption of trade between the two countries as satisfactory and in the best interests of both countries.

With the conclusion of a trade Agreement, it was necessary to find a mode of payment to facilitate the exchange of commodities and flow of trade between the two countries. As the House is aware, the question of the par value of the Pakistan Rupee has been under the consideration of the International Monetary Fund for a long time but no decision has been taken. Meanwhile, the economic situation in the world has undergone a radical change in favour of primary producing countries like Pakistan. The demand for raw materials has been greatly stimulated by the hostilities in Korea and this has pushed up the prices of all commodities to a very high

level. The Government of India have, therefore, in the altered circumstance, agrees that exchange transactions between India and Pakistan should be permitted on the basis of the par value of the Pakistan Rupee as declared by the Pakistan Government.

### *Damodar Valley Corporation*

The Damodar Valley Corporation was planned on the basis of the Tennessee Valley Administration. We can say on the highest authority that in the latter the main consideration was the resuscitation and rehabilitation of the poor people of the valley and the only dividends that the Federal Government of the U.S.A. looked for in this vast project was in the form of revival of hope and self-respect in a population of 8 or 9 millions, who were collectively going downhill, having accepted defeat in the struggle against nature. Of the three main objectives, Flood Control, Navigation and Power, the Centre assumed responsibility for the first two, without charging the Tennessee Valley area either for capital charges or for returns through taxation for the Sinking Fund and interest on capital. Power and power alone was planned and supplied on a commercial basis, as the sole source of revenue, and the *via media* for the recovery of Sinking Fund and Interest charges. The Federal Government of the U.S.A. agreed rightly that the dividends measured in Humane values alone would amply repay the nation in the long run even if financially the scheme proved uneconomical. Flood Control and Navigation, it was argued, would benefit the entire nation and as such it should be charged. It is a known fact today, that the T.V.A. has justified all expectations, in that the people of that area are on their feet. Today the Tennessee Valley people are voluntarily relieving the Federal Government of financial burdens that they were not called upon to shoulder, and Income Tax payments are soaring up in areas which gave little or no return. Power Sales have also given returns beyond estimates.

The D.V.C. has all these characteristics, with the added advantage of irrigation in an area that can solve the problem of jute shortage by 80 per cent plus large quantities of cotton and rice. The gain in terms of food and textile raw-materials alone would be enormous. The D.V.C. Flood Control and Navigation schemes are the greatest safeguards for the most congested and biggest traffic area of the E.I.R. and the greatest help in the matter of transport to the biggest industrial area of India. The Power Scheme would re-establish industry on a large scale throughout that area once famed the world over for the skill and production capacity of its artisans.

All these seem to have been lost sight of by our Tin-gods at the Centre. Small men with primitive parochial instincts and an excessive craving for power and personal advancement have been catapulted into



high positions—for which they have little equipment in the way of farsighted vision, broad grasp of major problems and a capacity to surmount racial or provincial considerations in such matters—through the immense shake-up that followed independence. Hence we find today that the entire scheme is being jeopardized.

The D. V. C. came in for trenchant criticism in the Indian Parliament. The main points of criticism may be boiled down to the following five :

- (1) The estimate has been increased.
- (2) Main purpose of the scheme, *viz.*, irrigation and flood control, has been neglected and too much attention has been given to generation of power.
- (3) Financial control has been inadequate as revealed in the Audit Report.
- (4) Participating governments have not been informed.
- (5) Wastages and overhead costs have been very high. The overhead cost coming as 61 per cent.

We have tried our best to make a proper assessment of the above allegations. The facts that we have been able to gather suggests that there must be something more behind the criticism than that apparently meets the eye. Let us take them up point by point.

(1) Why the cost of estimate has increased ?

At the request of the Government of India, Mr. Voorduin, a planning engineer of the TVA while Mr. D. Lilienthal was its Chairman, was lent to India to prepare a Multi-purpose project for the Damodar River Valley. His estimate of Rs. 55 crores, his allocation of cost between Power, Flood Control and Irrigation were placed before a specially constituted Board of Engineers in 1945 for examination. The Board consisted of Mr. Khosla, Chairman of the CWINC, Mr. Narasimhaya, Chief Engineer, Mysore, Mr. Reigal and Mr. Schlemmer, experts, respectively, in design and construction of the TVA. The Board approved the project. The Government of India created the DVC to implement the project in July 1948.

Mr. Voorduin's estimate was preliminary, based on the data he collected and his engineering judgment. After preliminary estimates came project estimates. Preliminary estimates were based on preliminary designs. In the meanwhile further engineering data have been collected and the process continues. Project designs have taken shape, and detailed estimates are in course of preparation. It is the modern practice to start construction on project designs, detailed designs keeping ahead of construction.

As designs are taking shape these are being placed before a Board of Consultants appointed by the DVC with the Government of India's approval. This Board consists of two of the most eminent engineers of the USA; one has been Chief Engineer of the Bureau of Reclamation. The third member is the Chief Irrigation Engineer of the State of Madras with direct experience of dam design and construction. The cost estimates of the various parts of the project are based on sound engineering designs.

The rise in cost is due to rise in prices, devaluation, and extension of irrigation, a higher capacity of the thermal power station and longer transmission. The scope of irrigation has been enlarged to one million acres. Expansion in the electrical field is based on studies of power requirement in this pre-eminently industrial area and has received the scrutiny and approval of the World Bank which has made a 18½ million dollar loan for this part of the project, including the Konar dam which is the source of cooling water for the power station. The area the DVC's electrical system will serve, covers all the coalfields of Bengal and Bihar, the Iron and Steel Works of the two States, the mica mines, copper and aluminium industries and the new locomotive factory, among the existing industries.

In view of the rise in prices of materials and labour, specially the rise in the cost of machinery and equipment due to devaluation, there seems nothing unusual about the increase in the estimates.

(2) The main purpose has not been diverted. Work on the Bokaro steam station, Konar Dam No. 1, the transmission system and the Tilaiya Project had been taken in hand and it did not suffer for want of funds. The total expenditure in 1949-50 has been Rs. 578 lakhs, of which equipment and construction plant cover Rs. 345 lakhs and works Rs. 122 lakhs, the balance of Rs. 111 lakhs includes such items as establishment, interest on capital, meteorological and soil investigation, workshops, planning, design, audit, etc. The work on Maithon, Panchet Hill, Durgapur Barrage and the Irrigation Canals had been slowed down for want of funds. Main work on these projects cannot begin unless funds are allocated. The Bokaro Power Station Project had been taken over by the D. V. C. when its preliminaries had already been completed by the Central Electrical Commission. The Project had long been under active consideration and the D. V. C. had taken it over at an advanced stage of preparation. It is therefore only natural that progress on it will be more marked than on the others. Completion of the Bokaro Power House ahead of others is desirable because it will begin earning revenue as soon as it is completed. We are glad to know that D. V. C. expects a revenue of Rs. 14 lakhs from it in very near future. The supervision of erection of the power plant has been entrusted to the Kuljan Corporation, that no "playing with money" had taken place with this Project which came in for the bitterest criticism is testified by the Audit Report itself which states : "The purchase functions include designs, drawings invitation and analysis of bids, inspection, etc. for which a fee of 2½ per cent allowed to the Kuljan Corporation inclusive of all their cost is not considered unreasonable." It is therefore quite clear that the main purpose has not been diverted, work is progressing at a reasonable speed and cost. There has been greater progress in respect of the Power Plant, because it had been started at an advanced stage.

(3) Financial control of the Government of India over the D. V. C. has been quite adequate.

The D. V. C. Act provides in Part II Section 6(1) that the Financial Adviser of the Corporation shall be appointed by the Central Government. The Section. 7(a) lays down that the pay and other conditions of service as respects the Financial Adviser be such as may be prescribed. Section 8 lays down that the functions and duties of the Financial Adviser shall be such as may be prescribed.

In exercise of the rule-making power conferred by the D. V. C. Act the Central Government laid down that the services of the Financial Adviser may be terminated at any time without giving any reason therefore by giving 3 months' notice. As to the functions and duties of the Financial Adviser, they were defined as follows :

- (1) The Financial Adviser shall advise the Corporation on *all matters relating to revenue and expenditure.*
- (2) The Financial Adviser shall have the right to attend every meeting of the Corporation, but shall not have the right to vote. He shall also have the right to refer to the Corporation any matter which in his opinion ought to be brought to its notice.
- (3) The Financial Adviser shall be responsible for the preparation of the Budget of the Corporation, the compilation of the annual and other financial statements and for supervision of the manner in which the accounts of the Corporation are maintained and made available for audit.

The inter-State meeting held at New Delhi on May 9, 1948 decided to adopt the following special financial conventions :

- (1) The Corporation will send to the Government of India before conclusion all contracts or agreements other than those arising as a result of public call for tender or quotations or of which the value is definitely ascertainable at the time of assessment of the contract or signing of agreement.
- (2) The Corporation will keep the Finance Ministry of the Government of India in close touch with negotiations involving Government in the provision of foreign exchange.

In view of these conventions and of the establishment of the Advisory Committee the meeting felt it was not necessary to give the Financial Adviser further powers. The Corporation has honoured these conventions and there has never been a serious case of disagreement between the Financial Adviser and the Corporation. Under the D. V. C. Act no expenditure can be incurred without the Financial Adviser's concurrence and when he takes one view and the Corporation another the issue is discussed at great length between him and the Corporation, and either he is convinced that the Corporation's argu-

ments are correct or he convinces the Corporation that he is right. It is therefore wrong to say that the Corporation over-rides him.

(4) Supply of the agenda and proceedings of the D. V. C. meetings to the participating governments had been decided in the same inter-State meeting held on May 9, 1949. The meeting endorsed D.V.C.'s view and resolved to set up an Advisory Committee which would function as a clearing house of all informations and maintain proper contact between the Governments and the Corporation. The D. V. C. had pointed out that mere forwarding of the agenda and proceedings would convey little meaning without masses of files. A simpler procedure mentioned above had therefore been evolved. This decision of the inter-State meeting has been honoured by the D. V. C. The Advisory Committee has received full information on every aspect of the Corporation's activities. It is unjust for any participating State to complain of any lack of information about the D.V.C's work.

(5) Finally we come to the question of overhead cost, wastage and other irregularities. It is only natural that one would jump at the statement, made in the Audit Report, that the overhead cost will be 31 per cent on works. But this requires an explanation which the Auditor himself has accepted. Under the Statute the DVC has been asked to maintain accounts under four heads only, *viz.*, Power, Irrigation, Flood control and Overhead and General charges. The items under overhead bear no relationship whatsoever in its usual sense, such as (i) Stores Depots, (ii) Timber Workshop for manufacture of doors, windows, furniture, etc., (iii) Central and mobile workshops for servicing and repairs, (iv) Resettlement Directorate, (v) Geological studies, (vi) Hydrological, meteorological and soil studies, (vii) Afforestation and soil erosion control, (viii) Interest charges on capital, (ix) Audit expenses, etc. The Audit Report itself states :

"The Overheads and General charges for 1949-50 under the Rules stand at 61 per cent. If the soil conservation and other charges are treated as Works Expenditure, the Overhead will be 31 per cent. And if the advances to the International General Electric Co., Ltd., are also treated as Works Expenditure, the percentage will be 17. If interest, audit charges, ordinary tools and plant charges, etc., are also excluded, the figure comes down to 11 per cent. . . . Without much addition to the Overheads, it is expected to carry out these works (on Power plant) thereby reducing the Overhead percentage at least to half if not to a third." This comes down to something between 6 to 4 per cent almost in the sense in which ordinary overheads are understood. Thus we find how an "Overhead" cost of 61 per cent boils down to less than 6 per cent. This may not be considered as too high.

As regards stores purchase, the Audit Report says,

"Purchases have generally been made through the Central Purchasing Organisation. Open tenders are not being called for. Quotations are invited from selected firms. There is no approved list of firms either. The tenders when called for should be opened in the presence of the tenderers." In the next paragraph, the Audit Report states, "The Corporation have agreed to call for tenders as far as possible and to have an approved list of suppliers. It was also explained that for the type of heavy stores purchased there are only a limited number of suppliers and therefore, though a so-called list is not maintained virtually it exists. Such purchases are not made by calling for open tenders, e.g., heavy construction equipments, etc. . . . The Corporation stated that they could not always use the agency of the Director-General of Industries and Supplies as the latter could not guarantee delivery when materials were urgently required." The Audit Report has warned that "in such cases it should be seen that prices paid are not higher than those allowed by the D.G.I.S. by obtaining his price-lists." The Auditor never said that the prices paid were higher.

It has been alleged that cement worth Rs. 3 lakhs has deteriorated on account of premature purchase. The Audit Report states that about 4,500 tons of cement stored at Maithan was fast deteriorating. In the very next sentence it states that about 3,400 tons were issued to various works and the manufacture of hollow concrete blocks. The balance of 1,100 tons was deteriorating. This purchase had been made at a time when the time lag between order and delivery was at least some nine months. The cement apparently had been ordered for the Maithan and Panchet Hill Works but as the latter had meanwhile been postponed for want of funds, the cement had to be diverted for other works. We are rather inclined to give credit to the D.V.C. for having made attempts to save at least 3,400 tons.

### *Railway Budget*

Railway Minister, Sri Gopalaswamy Ayyangar, has presented the Railway Budget. The main features of the Budget proposals are (1) Increased passenger fares, (2) Inauguration of the re-grouping of the Railway system, (3) Reorganisation of the Railway Board and (4) Rehabilitation of Railways on an extensive scale. The financial position of the railways has very much improved during recent years. Current year's earnings have gone up by Rs. 30 crores. Due to the increase in the Depreciation Fund from Rs. 11.58 crores in 1949-50 to Rs. 15 crores in 1950-51, and further to Rs. 30 crores in 1951-52 Budget. This alone has reduced the coming year's surplus, without taking the increased fares into consideration from Rs. 17.85 crores to Rs. 2.85 crores.

Last year's and current year's surplus stand at about Rs. 14 crores.

The increased fares would bring a revenue of Rs. 19 crores out of which Rs. 17.2 crores will be contributed by third class passengers, Rs. 1.5 crores by inter class, and only Rs. 40 lakhs by the first and second class passengers. The incidence of increase has been the highest on the third and inter class passengers. The arguments put forward by the Railway Minister in support of his proposal for increase in fares are likely to be challenged all-round. His claim that our passenger fares have always been unduly depressed and are among the lowest in the world is somewhat untenable. The fallacy of this claim will become apparent if a comparative fare chart is made of world railways in relation to the per capita national income. Absolute expense figures, divorced from the income level is meaningless. He has stated that "an increase in rail fares, particularly in the two lower classes, will also be anti-inflationary character." We wonder what data the Railway Minister can produce to show that income of the poor and lower middle class people has gone up more proportionately than their expenses. In respect of the utilisation of the larger revenue yield, the Railway Minister says, "The revenues accruing from the enhancement of passenger fares are intended for the stabilisation and expansion of the railway undertaking. It might be pointed out that we shall not in actuality be spending the additional funds that we raise. That is so. But those revenues will go into our earmarked funds and be held to our credit; they will also earn interest from General Revenues until the latter are in a position to release them in future. Until they are so made available, they will serve to fortify the ways and means position of the Government, and Railways should feel proud of the assistance they are able to render to General finance." The Financial Commissioner has categorically stated at a Press Conference, according to the *U.P.I.*, that the enhancement of Railway fares was "dictated more by the general ways and means position of the Government than by the necessities of the Railways." This goes to show that the poor citizen is thus made to bear the brunt of the feckless spendthrift administration's problems.

The Railway Minister has proposed to start regrouping from South India. With the war clouds on the world horizon, the wisest step would have been to undertake immediate regrouping of our frontier railways on the West as well as on the East. The Northern and the North-Eastern Railways should have had top priority. The proposed North-Eastern Railway, as at present constituted with the E.I.R., O.T.R. and A.R., is the most clumsy and unscientific; all movements on these railways are subjected to three widely distant controls which very often hamper vital movements. It



is ridiculous to start regrouping on the safest zone, leaving the precarious ones to the wolves.

We give below the salient features of the Railway Minister's speech :

In presenting the Railway Budget, Sri Ayyangar, referred at length to the proposed regrouping of Indian railways into six major zones and stated that the reactions of the State Governments, Chambers of Commerce, the Railway Labour Federations and other interested parties had been obtained.

He informed the House that the reactions of these bodies were generally in favour of the plan though some adjustments had been suggested by some of them.

He also announced that, with the wholehearted and unanimous approval of the Central Advisory Council, it was proposed to start in the coming year the formation of the southern zone by the amalgamation of the M. and S. M., the S. I. and the Mysore Railways. As all these three railways were at present organised on the district pattern, it was not proposed to disturb that pattern but having regard to the route mileage of the combined system and the volume of traffic, the zone would be divided into three operational regions to provide intermediate co-ordination.

The Minister explained that under this plan not only the carrying out of policy of improvement in the administrative pattern and financial control, rationalisation of workshop and other operational arrangements would be promoted but economies in the management and enhanced efficiency in operation would be secured.

He added that there would be substantial reductions of the overheads of the zone as a result of the fusion of the higher administrative organisations of two or more railways into one. The pooling of locomotives and rolling stock in the larger jurisdictions of the new zones would afford more scope for more intensive and balanced utilisation of power and equipment, thus leading to a reduction in the number of locomotives and in consequence in capital and maintenance costs.

Referring to the various steps which had been recently taken to overtake the problem of overcrowding and improve the comforts and conditions of travel, the Minister said that 126 additional trains, including 41 extensions of existing services, had been introduced and 55 short distance supplementary services for third class passengers had been instituted.

The Minister confessed that the amenities provided up till now were not perhaps on a scale he would like, but the problem was being energetically tackled and a minimum expenditure of Rs. 3 crores would be continued to be earmarked annually for the purpose.

The Minister reiterated that Government stood committed to a policy to continually improve the status and ameliorating the conditions of railway workers. He informed the House that the recom-

mendations of the Central Pay Commission had been extended to all railway employees.

He added that the anomalies resulting from the application of the Central Pay Commission scales had also been examined at great length by the Joint Advisory Committee. The bulk of the recommendations of this Committee had also been implemented at the cost of additional recurring expenditure of Rs. 2 crores.

He informed the House that the provision of housing labour was being maintained despite financial difficulties and better facilities for medical relief and education had also been given. The total bill for the year on labour welfare was 7.95 crores.

Sri Ayyangar said that the relations of labour with management had generally been cordial and there was a growing consciousness of responsibility among the great majority of railway workers and this had now found an expression in an improvement in productivity measured by the yardstick of train miles, vehicle miles, etc., from 69.38 in 1949-50 to 78.1 in 1950-51.

"These facts," said Sri Ayyangar, "are gratifying to contemplate and they will, I hope, prepare Hon'ble members for the one mild shock that I shall be administering to them before I have done."

The Railway Minister referred to the unusual difficulties of an economic character which the country was experiencing. Above everything else, there had been the continued deterioration in the ways and means position of the Government as a whole. Their bank balance was running low and much success had not attended their efforts to raise capital resources in the market.

He told the House that, although the railways had lent impressive support through the earmarked funds balances to the general ways and means position of Government, he had willingly agreed to a limitation of the railways' demands for the allocation of Government's capital resources with a view not to starve or severely to curtail the resources that should be made available for developmental activities in agriculture, industry, other forms of transport and in fact all these governmental activities which ensured for security and economic development.

The immediate problem facing the railways, said Sri Ayyangar, was the magnitude of their rehabilitation requirements. The repairs and replacement of railways' assets had been neglected from the early thirties when they were caught in the doldrums of depression. The emergence from the depression and the attempts made to overtake arrears of maintenance and rehabilitation were rudely interrupted by the war which started in 1939. When the hostilities ended the railways were left with major problems which were not susceptible of immediate solution. Long-term plans of post-war rehabilitation and development carefully drawn up were stultified by the effects of partition.

While during the last three years, considerable

improvement had been registered in spite of tremendous difficulties facing the railways, he added, a good deal of damage still remained to be remedied. The minimum requirements for a period of five years commencing from 1950-51 were 1,250 locomotives, about 60,000 wagons and about 7,500 passenger coaches.

The Minister further observed that the Government could not be content with mere rehabilitation and replacement. The standard has to be raised in every direction so that railways might stand comparison with railways elsewhere in the world. A vast country like India could not continue indefinitely a policy of starving expansion. The need for construction of new lines to fill gaps and to open unopened country was claimed. All these meant a higher level of expenditure in both revenue and capital.

"We cannot," said Sri Ayyangar, "entirely and always count upon the assistance which can be looked for from general finance. It is in this comprehensive context that the Government had taken the decision to enhance passenger fares."

The Minister explained that the proposed enhancement of fares was also otherwise intrinsically justified by a study of the economics of railway operation. The price level in the country had now risen to about 400 as compared to 100 in 1938 which was fully reflected in the increase in the Wage Bill of the railways. The cost of fuel now stood at 471 taking the figure of 1938 as 100. Against all these, the increase in average freight rates and passenger fares were of the order of 73 per cent and 46 per cent respectively.

Passenger fares in India were rationalised on a uniform mileage for all railways in January, 1948. The passenger fare today was only 46 per cent more than the fare in 1938-39. The freight structure was rationalised in October 1948, when some of the unduly low rates were also raised. The overall increase in freight rates works out of 73 per cent in 1949-50 compared to 1938-39. In other words, the incidence of the increase had been borne mainly by goods traffic.

In considering any further adjustment of the freight rates, it was also necessary to bear in mind the possible inflationary stresses and their inevitable repercussions on the price level in the country both of consumer and industrial goods. On these considerations, the Minister said, it would be extremely inadvisable to raise freight rates further in the context of our requirements of additional finance, and necessarily additional revenue would have to be secured by an adjustment of the passenger fare structure. He explained that the passenger fares in India had been unduly depressed and were among the lowest in the world. They did not bear any relation today either to the economic situation in the country or to the economics of railway operation.

"While in all sectors of the economic life in this country," he said, "we have called upon consumers of

goods and services to pay high prices and incur large sacrifices, we have continued to acquiesce in the consumers of rail transport not contributing their legitimate share to easing the burden of large increases in the cost of railway operation." The Minister observed that, although his proposal for the enhancement of fares might produce in the minds of the members of Parliament an unfavourable reaction, he had no doubt that when they had applied their minds to the matter in the light of all the facts, they would give their approval to the increase in fares contemplated, viz., 1 pie per mile in third class, 1.5 pies in inter class, 2 pies in second class and 3 pies in first class, to take effect from April 1, 1951.

As regards the current year, the gross receipts are now expected to rise up to Rs. 263.40 crores or an improvement of about Rs. 31 crores over the budget estimates. The original estimate of working expenses, viz., Rs. 136.59 crores is now likely to rise to Rs. 180.31 crores due to several important post-budget developments. The most important of these are the decision to extend the application of the Central Pay Commission's pay and allowances to the staff of ex-States Railways which came under the control of the Centre with effect from April 1, 1950. Anti-sabotage and other security measures for prevention of accidents and repairs to damages caused by natural calamities which have also led to heavy unforeseen expenditure.

Additional provision had also to be made to overtake arrears in repairs and maintenance of rolling stock and track in view of the rapid deterioration in the international situation. Similarly, the acceleration of the implementation of the adjudicator's award and the recommendations of the joint advisory committee approved by Government necessitated increased additional expenditure which had been provided in the budget.

An additional provision of 13 crores for appropriation to depreciation reserve fund has also been made in the revised estimates of the current year as the appropriation to the fund should accord with the trend of withdrawals from the fund, which is of the order of 35 crores per annum. As a result of the variations, it is now estimated that the surplus in the current year will stand at 14.24 crores against 14.01 crores estimated in the budget. Out of this surplus, 10 crores will be taken to development fund as originally provided and 4.24 crores to revenue reserve fund.

Turning to the financial prospects for the budget year, the Railway Minister did not anticipate any significant variation in the volume of import or export traffic carried by rail. As regards the internal traffic, he stated that though the major industries were maintaining their current position and the crop position next year was unlikely to be worse than that in the current year, there were trends to indicate that we had

reached the peak in our earnings in the goods traffic. Receipts from goods traffic have, therefore, been placed at Rs. 2 crores or about 1.5 per cent less than the revised estimates of the current year.

Accordingly, the total gross receipts, on the present levels of fares and freight rates, would be of the order of Rs. 260.40 crores which is 3 crores less than the revised estimates for the current year. The estimate of working expenses for 1951-52 has been placed at Rs. 186.75 crores which is Rs. 6.44 crores more than the revised estimates of the current year. The increase is mainly due to additional expenditure on staff for Rs. 3.86 crores on maintenance for Rs. 2.66 crores and on freight on fuel for Rs. 13 lakhs. Including the additional earning of about Rs. 19 crores which are likely to result from the enhancement of the fares, the surplus for the year 1951-52 is estimated at Rs. 21.85 crores which is proposed to be distributed between the development fund (Rs. 10 crores) and the revenue reserve fund (Rs. 11.85 crores).

Referring to the reserve funds the Minister stated that the three railway reserve funds were well-stocked and the total of the funds balances at the credit of railway would stand at Rs. 160.88 crores at the end of March, 1952. The Hon'ble Minister told the House that the additional revenue resulting from the adjustments of fare structure would go into these ear-marked funds and be held to the railways credit, for which general revenues would be paying interest until the latter were in a position to release them for expenditure in future. The most important fact to remember, he added, was that no fraction of the additional amounts raised would be annexed by the general finance.

The railways' capital programme in 1951-52 would amount to Rs. 66.5 crores. Out of this Rs. 38 crores would be required under rolling stock and machinery, Rs. 26 crores under works, Rs. 1.5 crores for investments in the shares of Tata Engineering and Locomotive Co., Ltd., and Rs. 0.5 crores in road services. The budget provision in 1951-52 for new acquisitions of rolling stock including the orders placed abroad is Rs. 24 crores.

The most important engineering project included in the budget is the Mukerian-Pathankot project for which a provision of Rs. 200 lakhs has been made in the coming year. Rs. 3 crores will go to passenger amenities and Rs. 4.55 crores for quarters and staff amenities.

The Railway Minister informed the House that the prevention of sabotage had been discussed with all concerned, *viz.*, States Governments, General Managers, security police and others and as a result arrangements had been made for the intensive patrolling of vulnerable railway tracks, for the running of pilot engines where the situation demanded it and for the increased provision of armed guards.

Special devices had also been introduced on certain

railways in order to make the tampering of track more difficult. Railway staff had also been warned to be more vigilant and a larger delegation of powers had been made to responsible officers to take prompt disciplinary action in cases of neglect of duty.

The services of two French railway engineers, one a specialist on locomotives and the other on track, had also been secured through the French railway authorities in order to investigate into the complaints regarding unsuitability of new locomotives and the deficiency in the maintenance of tracks and their report which had already been received was now under the consideration of the Government.

The Minister next referred to the first locomotive which steamed out of the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works on 1st November, 1950, the function is being blessed by the presence of the President of the Republic. He stated that the factory was making good progress, that the targets of production which had been prescribed had been maintained and that 36 locomotives were expected to be turned out in the coming financial year.

The Minister stated that in the past adequate attention had not been paid for improving standard of performance of the metre-gauge systems giving rise to legitimate complaints from the area served by them. He told Parliament that special steps had now been initiated to remove these complaints. One hundred and fifty improved type Y. P. locomotives, 8,000 metre gauge wagons and 250 metre gauge third class bogie coaches had been ordered for the metre gauge systems.

The Minister stated that, with the constitutional changes and with a Minister responsible to Parliament coming to be in charge of the Railways, the functioning of the Railway Board had altered substantially in the new set-up. He said that he had given serious thought to possible changes in the constitution and functioning of the Board and had come to the conclusion that for the time being, no major changes should be made.

The Minister explained that, under the present arrangement, the Chief Commissioner was not in charge of any specific 'portfolio' and was responsible merely for presiding at the Board's meeting and/or overall functional supervision and co-ordination of work. But in the changed constitutional position, overall co-ordination was actually ensured at the Ministers' level and so the need for an officer in the Board who was not burdened with departmental responsibilities was not by any means compelling.

He announced that with the retirement from 1st April, 1951 of Sri K. S. Bakhle, the present Chief Commissioner of Railways—to whom he paid a handsome tribute—the post of the Chief Commissioner would be retrenched, and the Board would be reconstituted with three functional members and the Financial Commissioner.



Railway Budget at a glance (in lakhs of rupees):			
	Actuals 1949-50	Revised Estimate 1950-51	Budget Estimate 1951-52
<i>Traffic Receipts:</i>			
Gross Traffic Receipts	23635	26340	27950
<i>Working Expenses:</i>			
Ordinary Working Expenses	18153	18031	18675
Appropriation to Depreciation Reserve Fund	1158	3000	3000
Payment to Worked Lines	180	24	22
Total Working Expenses	19491	21055	21697
Net Traffic Receipts	4144	5285	6253
<i>Miscellaneous Transactions:</i>			
Receipts	389	29	28
Expenditure	756	633	759
Net Miscellaneous Expenditure	367	604	731
Net Railway Revenues	3777	4681	5522
Interest Charges	2318	....	....
Dividend to General Revenues	....	3257	3337
Net Gain or Surplus	1459	1424	2185

### Communism vs. Democracy

The dictator of the Soviet Union is very reticent in the use of words. Not so President Truman who as leader of a democratic State has to be always explanatory, and invite criticism on his doings and sayings. But Marshal Stalin is freer from this criticism and Communist practice does not allow of any such judgment. His latest interview with the *Pravda* (Truth) correspondent, an "arranged" affair, is a case in point, and the Leader but echoes the general run of the Soviet Press and of the speeches of the Soviet representatives in the United Nations Organization. Their "fellow-travellers" and dupes in the democratic world toe this line, condemnatory of their own leaders and their policies.

In this interview Marshal Stalin has said nothing new except that he has tried to simplify the problem that divides the world into two hostile Blocs. The Soviet Leader appears to think that the differences causing this split have been caused by the "war-mongering" of the democratic Powers, headed by the United States and Britain, against which are ranged the peace-loving States headed by the Soviet Union. As a propaganda stunt this thesis may appeal to many millions sick and weary of the disruption of their habits of life and thought by two World Wars in course of thirty years of the present century. But though there may be "innocents" in India misled by this propaganda and succumbing to it, we are rather sceptical and cynical of its *bona-fides*.

And for this reason if for no others. In the Communist practice the class to which we belong are tolerated simply as dupes and instruments by the dispensers of this world of make-belief. Though Marx and Lenin were "intellectuals" and middle-class "effetes," they knew that only these men and women

could supply the hot gossellers of their materialist faith, and from their ranks would emerge the pathfinders of their adventure. From amongst them came the first "puzzled" revolt against the misery and social injustice brought into a focus by the Industrial Revolution. This sensitiveness has been specially active in the countries under imperialist exploitation. And Communist leadership has seen to it that it is intensified in these areas nursing their loss of self-respect. Hugh Seton-Watson in an article entitled "The Intellectual's Place in Communism" has explained the position thus:

"In England, we are all in the 20th century. The workers can look after themselves without being led forward by intellectual protectors. But still, great scientists and great writers have prestige. If they can be persuaded to speak on behalf of the Soviet Union, their words carry weight. They can sow doubts in the minds of their listeners. They, too, have a place in the Soviet scheme of things.

"The job of the pro-Communist intellectual abroad is to revolt against the capitalist society which surrounds him. His positive beliefs do not matter very much as long as he thinks that Communism would, on the whole, be an improvement. He may pick and choose among the dogmas of Marxism-Leninism, accepting some and rejecting those which do not attract him. He is not required to conform. . . ."

Seton-Watson cites the instance of the great French artist Picasso to drive home his point. He does not conform, he need not conform. "Yet Picasso's name has been a rallying-cry for the pro-Communist intellectuals of France. Is not this inconsistent? No, replies the Communist dialectician. Picasso is faithfully reflecting the chaos and despair of the decaying capitalist society around him, and is quite right to paint in a style which, if practised in Moscow, would be condemned as empty bourgeois formalism."

"But the Communist dialectician, if pressed, would explain that if Picasso were to live for long enough in the Soviet Union, his art would change. According to the official view, the environment would have its effect. He would become a realist painter of Soviet reality, and his subject would be Soviet Man, himself the product of the new Soviet environment, busily building Communist society. Rather a violent adjustment, you may say. And in practice very few prominent Westerners have yet had to make it. Yet it must be made by any pro-Communist intellectual in the West who has occasion to cross the bridge and make his home among the Communist intellectuals of the East. He leaves behind him a social environment where, for him, revolt has been the order of the day—where established beliefs existed only to be questioned."

"Beyond the bridge there lies a Communist society of certainties and dogmas: a world in which the revolution has already happened, in which rebellious intellectuals are no longer the star attractions. The party man, who sticks to the party line, is the man

who wields the influence. And in this intellectual climate, there is no place for the intellectual who does not conform."

Thus it has come about that we are just "accepted on sufferance," to quote Arthur Koestler's words used in the book—*The God That Failed*—a work depicting disillusionment of five other Western intellectuals—Italian, German, French, British and American. And Seton-Watson has analyzed the position for all of us when he says :

"The Communist technique, then is to get at intellectuals in the non-Communist world by appealing to great words like "peace" and "justice" which mean one thing in the languages of the world and another thing in 'communese,' by exploiting their idealism and worrying their conscience.

"But what of the position of intellectuals in the countries which enjoy benefits of Communist rule? What about the intellectuals in Eastern Europe who in 1944 welcomed the Soviet forces as liberators and voted for the Communist in the hope of freedom and justice? What has happened to them now? Above all, what about the position of intellectuals in the Soviet Union?"

Seton-Watson has something to say on the "Peace" campaign inspired by the Soviet Union's immediate followers. It ought to open the eyes of Indian intellectuals who have toppled over one another to sign the "peace pledge" propagated from Bucharest, capital of Rumania, the seat of Communists' intellectual offensive. At present the Communists of all lands are running a "peace campaign" to support Russian foreign policy. It is specially directed at intellectuals in the West who are appalled by the thought that war may again ravage us, whose consciences are uneasy because America has the horrifying weapon of the atom bomb. The Soviet Union has not got so far as America in production of this weapon, so the Communist "peace" campaign concentrates its attack, in the so-called Stockholm Appeal, on this weapon. Even the emotional rhetoric of the Soviet writer Ilya Ehrenburg cannot conceal this ulterior motive of the Soviet.

And then there is Academician Lysenko, who is held up to us as a great pioneer of scientific research and academic freedom. No one could say he is not frank. "It is the sacred duty," he says, "of all upright scientists and intellectuals in every country to explain to the people that by its very socialist nature, the Soviet Union is not and cannot be an aggressor, an oppressor of peoples."

Ours may be, and is, a "class-conscious" interpretation of an anomalous position. But the fault for this does not lie in us; the "comrades" themselves have whipped in us this class consciousness; they have to thank themselves for teaching us this aberration of a genius. But things have more dangerous possibilities as a consequence of the Communist philosophy, adumbrated by Karl Marx, and set in practice by Lenin and Stalin. With a view to an understanding of

these two, we propose quoting from their writings and statements which are today slurred over by Communist propagandists. These will show that neither the Communist philosophy nor their practice are favourable to peace by which they swear today with such violence. The *Communist Manifesto* issued over the names of Marx and Engels made no secret of the purpose and method of the ideology :

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. . . ."

As a faithful disciple, Lenin accepted both this philosophy and practice and is found in his *State and Revolution* to say that "the replacement of the bourgeois by proletarian State is impossible without a violent revolution." (P. 33. Italics ours.)

And Stalin in his *Foundations of Leninism* (p. 20) just indicated the natural corollary in the lines quoted below :

(1) The revolutionary Communist is antagonistic to reform. "To a revolutionary, the main thing is revolutionary work and not reforms; to him reforms are by-products of the revolution. . . . The revolutionary will accept a reform in order to use it as an aid in combining legal work with illegal work, to intensify, under its cover, the illegal work for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie."

In their later writings they elaborated the same thesis proving how insincere and dishonest is the Communist plea that their brand of Totalitarianism and the Freedom of the Human personality and, likewise, that Communist rule and democratic rule over States, can exist side by side. Stalin with brutal frankness has laid the course of conduct for the upholders of these two anti-thetical system. The objective of the Communist strategy is :

"To consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, using it as a base for the overthrow of imperialism in all countries. The revolution is spreading beyond the confines of one country; the period of world revolution has commenced.

"The main forces of the revolution: the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all countries. . . . the semi-proletarian and small-peasant masses in the developed countries, the liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries."—(*Foundations of Leninism*, p. 91)

From this philosophy and practice follow another tactics that has become repugnant to every man and woman, to decent human conduct. This has been described as "patriotic betrayal." A theoretician of Marxism, M. N. Roy, during his days of collaboration with British imperialism in India (1939-1945) indicated it

for us. We will close these remarks with a quotation from him :

"A theory was constructed out of the Russian experience. Collapse of the established State in consequence of a military defeat is the condition for a successful revolution. Therefore in the case of war, revolutionaries should try to bring about the military defeat of their own countries. The theory has come to be known as revolutionary defeatism."

It was this tactics that the Communists in India adopted during the second World War sabotaging and disrupting Indian unity. That should have been a lesson for all Nationalists in India, and the saboteurs should have had a short shrift. But, we have not learnt this lesson yet. The old adage is as old today—*Eternal vigilance is the price for freedom*. That vigilance is more than ever necessary today when the Communist is broad with his insidious ways, his treachery and weapons of betrayal. The wiseacres who are all aflame in defence of the "fundamental rights" of the disruptionists may also pause to consider.

### United Germany

It is the Soviet Union and her dupes and victims in the so-called East Germany that are mainly responsible for the disruptions of this State brought into being by Bismarck about 80 years back. This feeling was rubbed in into the reply of the West German Chancellor Conrad Adenauer when he rejected East German Premier Otto Grotewohl's offer for all German unity talks. The news was released from Bonn, West German Republic's capital on January 15 last.

Addressing a Press Conference he said that Government would only start discussions "with those who are willing unconditionally to recognise and to guarantee a regime based on the recognition of law, a form of Government which respects liberty, the protection of human rights and the maintenance of peace."

He declared, however, that his Government would "leave nothing unattempted to re-establish German unity."

### Germany

Germany is the pivot of peace in Europe both by its geographic position and the inner strength of its people. The defeat in World War I, and the destruction inflicted on her by the victors in World War II have not been able to hold her down. We have often said that it was a question of time when the victors will in the pursuit of their particular interests start to coax and cajole her. The P.M.R. and Reuters correspondent at Bonn, on January 17 last described how the mind of the people had been moving.

The anti-rearmament slogan 'Ohne Mich' (Without Me) seems today to sum up the attitude of an increasing number of Germans towards plans to re-establish a Ger-

man armed force in a European army as now being discussed between the Western Allies and West Germany.

"Allied observers here and in Frankfurt, headquarters of the United States High Commission, believe that the results of a public opinion poll by Germans just published were a fair reflection of the present state of the German mind.

"The results showed that the number of Germans ready to take up arms, already low, was still falling steadily. By November, 1950, the number of Germans willing to fight had dropped to 13.6 per cent from 27.7 per cent in June, 1949. In November, 1950, about 73 per cent said they would refuse to take up arms compared with 60.2 per cent in June, 1949, according to the survey.

"The recent Provincial Parliamentary results in the three American Zone States of Hesse, Wuertemberg, and Bavaria, showed a big swing in favour of Dr. Kurt Schumacher's Social Democrats who decline to support West German rearmament without more 'positive evidence' that the Allies will not leave West Germany 'holding the baby' in the event of sudden Soviet attack.

"More positive support means powerful military reinforcements which would win the first battle east of the Elbe and not the last, according to Dr. Schumacher.

"Anti-rearmament sentiment is being considerably strengthened, Allied observers agree, by the unremitting campaign of Dr. Martin Niemöller, head of the Protestant Church in Hesse, who is the leading non-political opponent of rearmament in East or West Germany.

"The military performance of the United Nations forces in Korea has not impressed the ordinary German with the idea that he is bound to be on the winning side if he fights with the West.

"Further, the suggestion of new four-Power talks with Russia has not been rejected by the more responsible West German newspapers. Germans seem unwilling to commit themselves openly to actions which the Russians might regard as provocative. Most German men have first hand experience of fighting the Russians, and most Germans know that a new war would be immediately fought over German soil."

This interpretation of developments in Germany appears to have a basis of truth as revealed by later observers and commentators. One of these happens to be Mr. Alec Read, at present the "special correspondent" of the Birla group of papers. In his first article on "New Germany" rising out of the wrecks of the Allied bombers, he says :

"Three years have gone by since then and I have visited Germany again but what a different Germany from the one that lay prostrate after her second crushing defeat in a little more than a quarter of a century. The hands of time are once more being reversed. Out of the shattered wreck of what was once Berlin, out of the devastation of the Ruhr, which was first Bismarck's arsenal, then the Kaiser's, then also Hitler's, on the banks of the Rhine as she flows swiftly past the West German capital of Bonn, there is a new Germany



arising that finds herself in the new amazing position of being wooed by the East and also the West.

In the East, in the Russian Zone, a new creed is being preached which is having an enormous and far-reaching effect on German youth. In the West youth is being told: 'You must rise again to defend your country against Communism.' Everywhere I went I was told: 'We do not want another war—.' And some added the words: 'But, of course—.' That came from those who would benefit from this complex situation and who would see Germany once more a military Power in the heart of Europe."

In his sixth article there was a picture of the "bitterness" of defeat and the determination of the people to regain their own. We reproduce here significant portions; "One day during my tour I stood at a window of the office buildings of the Krupps works in Essen. The sky was overcast and a light rain was giving place to snow showers. Besides me was one of the business executives. 'Have you ever seen such a scene of destruction?', he asked, as we gazed out on a wild array of what remained of machinery amidst the rubble of what had once been vast machine shops. 'And the trouble is,' he continued bitterly, 'after having done all that with your infernal bombers, you won't even now leave us alone.' He nodded towards a group of workmen who were engaged in the demolition of the remains of one of the plants. 'Having practically hammered us to death, we simply cannot understand why you British keep up your destruction.'

"He was referring to the long and very bitter question over dismantlement, which has been such a bone of contention. It is being pursued here and there even to this day while the Germans turn round and ask—'How do you expect us to take part in the defence of Europe if you still insist on draining away our life-blood?'

"I saw much evidence of this and also one outstanding facet of German character. Despite deplorable housing conditions, the rising cost in living and the many traces of the mental and moral shocks of the second World War defeat, there is a determination (which one does not always get even in Britain itself) to revive industry. There were cases, in several towns, where the Germans had said: 'Well, if you must remove our plants, you cannot prevent us from putting up new ones.' And there stood the new factories with better equipment than their predecessors."

### *The "Paktoonistan" Movement*

Janab Arbab Quadir, Secretary of the Anjumen-e-Watan of Baluchistan, has, in an article published amongst others in the *Organizer* of Delhi, thrown light on the running sore that the British regime has left by its legacy of the Durand Line. He has quoted from Hungerford Holdich's book entitled *The Indian Borderland* to press forward and justify the claim for a "Paktoonistan" of a people numbering more than 70 lakhs. This British bureaucrat had supervised the demarcation of the boundaries of Afghanistan with

India, Iran and Russia. Commenting on the Line, he said in page 231 of the book:

"He (meaning the Amir) did not like it, but he signed the Agreement all the same: silently reserving to himself the right of disputing the boundary in detail when it should come to the process of actual demarcation." Again on page 230 he writes, "And he had omitted to sign the maps which were supposed to be illustrative of the Agreement."

Justifying the attitude of Amir Abdur Rahaman towards this Boundary Line so-called, the writer continued:

"But Bajor and Swat and the Mohmand country—were they not full of his own people, who being allied to him by ties of faith, of language, and of kinship, should learn to recognise his direct authority?"

"Under any circumstances they were connected by ties of faith and brotherhood with the West and not with the East."

"Swatis and Mohmands are themselves chiefly Afghans, talking the same language, boasting the same descent from the tribes of Israel, imbued with the same faith, acknowledging the Amir as their spiritual head."

"Afridis and Waziris are allied in tongue and religion with Afghans."

With the then (1893) Afghan King in this mood, is it any wonder that successive generations should have resented this imposition? The British authorities were also fully conscious of the affront offered to a people who prized their freedom above all other earthly good, and they had to maintain "full 3 divisions of their army" to keep the peace of the "settled" districts.

The writer remarks on the Pakistani plea of a common religion as follows:

"If this claim were put forward, say 1300 years ago, then I would have had nothing to say against it, but to think that such a preposterous formula is practicable in this atomic age is to put it very mildly, extremely frivolous. According to the new Pakistan doctrine, China has a divine right of ruling over Tibet, Indo-China, Burma, and Thailand, while she herself has a Heavenly Charter to possess Indonesia, the Arab States, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, and Malaya, because they are predominantly Muslim States. I am afraid that either the Government of Pakistan have not studied history at all or are trying again to conveniently forget that a stronger and more religious Government than the infant Pakistan, namely, the Caliphate of Turkey, could not stand the flood of Arab nationalism. The Arabs followed Lawrence and Allenby eagerly rather than submit to, their spiritual and temporal head—the Sultan."

### *Ceylonization*

The All-India Congress Committee during its recent sittings at Ahmedabad during the last week of January last wanted to pass a resolution proposing that the Central Government be requested "to take immediate action to get full citizenship rights for all Indians 'who have been in

Ceylon before 1949 and have completed five years' residence and their dependants who desire to become Ceylolese'."

"In the case of Indian residents who did not desire to become Ceylolese, the resolution stated, their status and treatment should not in any way be different from, or inferior to, that of residents of any other non-Ceylolese nationality in Ceylon.

"The resolution demanded that if the Ceylon Government did not agree to 'this reasonable demand,' the Government of India should arrange to get all the estate labourers, 'who are the real bread-winners for Ceylon,' repatriated to India rather than allow them to 'live a life of permanent slavery' under the most wretched conditions'."

This is an element of exaggeration in the words quoted above, and the injury to about 10 lakh Indians in Ceylon by repatriation would be worse than the remedy. These people and their ancestors had gone to Ceylon because their homeland could not provide avenues of employment.

We are glad, therefore, that it was withdrawn after a speech by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru bringing into focus the crux of the question. He put the matter neatly when he said: "We are apt to forget that in dealing with Ceylon, in spite of very close contacts, cultural, geographical, etc., we have to deal in effect with an independent nation. It is not likely to help much if the A.-I. C. C. issues condemnations of another nation's policy or gives specific directions in regard to it."

### "Indian Opinion"

For some time the *Diwali* Number (November 3, 1950) of this weekly has been lying on our table. The Number has certain articles—"The Ballad of Maqbool Sherwani," the hero of Baramula (Kashmere), "Wake up! Bantu," the majority people in South Africa, "The Poetry of Gujarat"—that have more than a temporary interest.

The paper was founded by Gandhiji in 1903, and since then it has been upholding the traditions evolved by him through the travail of his "experiments" at the end of which shone Truth, the God at the altar of which he dedicated his life and staked all that people hold dear as human beings. May its ministry for Truth and Godliness endure!

### Malaria on the Retreat

The Regional office for South-East Asia of this supernational organization issued a statement on January last from its New Delhi office which contained a gadsome news to malaria-infested peoples of the world. It was given a heading—"Malaria on the Retreat," which our readers will find summarized below:

"WHO experts working with anti-malaria teams in India, Thailand and Afghanistan all report malaria on the retreat in their respective areas of operations totalling 4,000 square miles.

"Although it is still too early, they state, for a scientific assessment of results, observations to date indicate the virtual disappearance of malaria, in some cases after only one year's DDT spraying operations.

"In the Sarapee district of N. Thailand, a WHO-UNICEF malaria control team have recorded a drop in "spleen rates" from 70.5 per cent to 31.4 per cent since March 1950. During the same period, the rates remained constant in non-sprayed areas. These comparative figures are accepted as a positive proof of the efficacy of the control, as spleens enlarged by repeated malaria infections are slow to return to normal.

"In the Terai and Bhabar tracts of U.P. (India) the team's examination of 3,000 infant blood smears shows a reduction in malaria infection from 60 per cent to nil.

"Reports from the Jeypore Hills project in Orissa (India), formerly one of the worst strongholds of malaria, show that the malaria-carrying mosquito has practically disappeared from sprayed villages.

"In Malnad (Mysore) India, a large percentage of babies have always become infected with malaria in their first year of life. Since the commencement of spraying operations, all the new-born babies have remained free from malaria.

"The virtual elimination of the malaria-carrying mosquito from an area of 142 square miles in the Western Ghats (Malabar District, India) gives protection to many hundreds of thousands of population in adjoining areas to which malaria was found to be spreading.

"From the Khundus-Khanabad district of North Afghanistan come equally satisfactory reports of progress made in controlling malaria among a population of 70,000 in the short period of six months after this team first went into the field."

### Economy in Delhi Secretariat

The Estimates Committee of the Indian Parliament has submitted its report recommending a 23-point economy in the Central Secretariat. One of these is that "officers drawing salaries of Rs. 3,000 a month might be induced to surrender voluntarily all excess over Rs. 3,000," as the summary of the report says:

The Committee has also suggested abolition of the post of Additional Secretary on the ground that it is "unnecessary." The posts of Joint Secretary, Deputy Director-General and the like "which are created for supervisory duties should also be done away with." If in exceptional circumstances it becomes necessary to appoint a Joint Secretary, "he should be given independent charge of work and made finally responsible for it."

The Committee's report on the reorganisation of the Secretariat and departments of the Government of

India was presented to Parliament on February 9 last by its Chairman, Deputy Speaker Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

The Committee has called for "urgent and effective action" to reorganise the work of the Secretariat on better and more methodical lines to secure co-ordination of work and unified control over allied subjects and policies. The work initiated in this regard by the reorganisation wing of the Home Ministry should be expedited and decisions taken soon.

The Committee has also urged that a messenger system should be introduced at once and considerable reduction effected in the posts of Class IV servants (chaprasis, jamadars, etc.).

The Committee does not want employment of stenographers as ornaments to Officers and has, therefore, recommended that for junior Officers, a pool of stenographers or steno-typists should be created at the scale of one steno-typist or stenographer for every two or three officers. At present each officer has a stenographer to himself.

Other recommendations are: The old system according to which officers deputed from States to the Centre had to return to their respective Governments after completion of a tenure period should be restarted.

Posts of assistants created for routine or semi-routine type of work should be down-graded and the less important duties entrusted to second division clerks, which cadre should be re-introduced.

The method of disposal of work in the Secretariat should be so revised that as many papers as possible will be disposed of by the Officers themselves at each level.

Secretariat Officers should, as a rule, confine themselves to questions of policy and should devolve complete responsibility upon heads of the subordinate offices to carry out the day-to-day administration in accordance with that policy.

Financial advisers, economic advisers and other advisers should themselves attend to the problems which they have to tackle and their advice should not be circumscribed by the opinion of assistants.

Appropriate rules should be laid down to ensure that no persons appointed under the Central Government on salaries which are disproportionate to their previous salaries in business or under State Governments.

The field of selection for technical appointments should be broad-based and widened so as to include larger categories of officers. Tests for recruitment of persons should be laid down but these tests should not be so hard that it will be difficult to find any one to satisfy the test.

A list of all the technically qualified personnel should be prepared and added to from time to time

so that the list may be consulted when making appointments to the various posts.

In each Ministry a senior officer should be made responsible to see that wasteful methods of working in the Ministry are avoided. Amenities in the nature of library, etc., should be provided to the staff working in a Ministry or Department.

The work load of each person in the office should be laid down clearly and responsibility fixed at each level and on each individual, and steps should be taken to provide appropriate punishments in the case of the defaulters.

Telephones at the residence of the officers should be installed only in such cases in which it is absolutely essential to provide such telephones.

Where telephones are installed at residences, Government should make a rule to pay only for a limited number of calls which should be arrived at by taking an average of the calls that can normally be made on official business on a telephone.

The country will watch with cynical interest how the bureaucrats react to these recommendations. "Yes" or "No," they are being put on their last test.

### *Development Plans for Madhya Pradesh*

The Madhya Pradesh has a clean slate to write its future achievements. It was, therefore, natural that public opinion will demand developments to build up a better life. The local press published the following news on February 4 last:

The Madhya Pradesh Government have drawn up a five-year development plan, estimated to cost Rs. 57 crores and a fifteen-year plan costing Rs. 11 crores to develop the irrigation resources of the State. The plans which have already been submitted to the Planning Commission, will take effect from 1951-52.

The five-year plan lays emphasis on agricultural and "grow more food" schemes (19 crores), completion of thermal projects with a capacity generation of 82,000 kw. (14½ crores), construction of 1,000 miles of new roads in the merged areas and development of communications (two crores), improvement of conditions in the backward and aboriginal tracts of the State (two crores) and industrial projects including Kamptee and Korba coal-fields (Rs. 230 lakhs).

### *Prantiya Raksha Dal*

Uttar Pradesh has been forging forward in all constructive activities. We commend, therefore, the letter that appeared in the *Leader* on February 7 last describing the steps being taken to organize and discipline the youth of the State.

"The 'voluntary semi-military force' of P.R.D. was formed after the partition 'as a second line of defence in urban and rural areas for maintaining law and order.' According to Chief Minister Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, the Prantiya Raksha Dal 'has not only helped effectively in the maintenance of law and order



and in the prosecution of the grow-more-food campaign but has rendered very useful help to the villagers in various spheres of activities.' Its present strength is 624,000. Now, of course, when the entire Raksha Dal will be reorganised as a whole-time voluntary army of constructive workers, it can contribute a lot in furthering projects of increased food production and village uplift, if its discipline is tempered with idealism of national reconstruction. As the Territorial Army is gradually growing as India's second line of defence, every State can form and develop a voluntary army of constructive workers, wholly devoted to executing the schemes of nation-building activities with military zeal. Specially on the food front a whole-time army of constructive workers, raised on a voluntary basis, will be a great asset to the nation, struggling for self-sufficiency in food. In strengthening the village panchayats and popularizing the co-operative movement also such an 'army' can play a vital role.

"In U. P., the Government proposes to increase the strength of P.R.D. to 12 lakhs. It is a bold scheme but attempts should be made to consolidate the present force for fulfilling its new role before enlarging it. A vigorous campaign in the villages by Panchayats and in the cities by Municipalities or other popular organisations can alone create a proper atmosphere for real public co-operation in the formation of a whole-time voluntary army of constructive workers on a large scale. It is difficult to form a strong army and that too of constructive workers on a voluntary basis. An army marches on its stomach! Even an army of constructive workers cannot be an exception to this rule. If the members of this army are to be whole-time workers, the Government or Panchayats or other local bodies will have to give them necessary financial support."

### *Research in Ayurveda*

This problem has been engaging the attention of the practitioners of the healing art and science of Ayurveda. The Governments of Provinces have been known to have set up committees of enquiry, and Ayurveda Boards to regulate, guide and control this system of treatment of diseases. But while our Kavirajas appear anxious to have State patronage and financial help, they are mighty afraid of the State, with its spirit of interference with their secrets. This is the handicap that appears to stand in the way of Ayurveda receiving State help.

But the greatest stumbling block appears to us to be the way in which even the Kavirajas have been developing into practitioners of Western medicine making their system of treatment too expensive for our people, rich or poor. We cannot off-hand suggest a remedy, but we feel that medical people, Allopaths and Kavirajas, must undergo a change of spirit and cease to think that disease is "a vested interest" of

theirs alone, to use the expressive words of a British Prime Minister, Lloyd George.

In view of this state of things the following recommendations of the Enquiry Committee appointed by the Bombay Government raise hopes that Ayurveda will have a fair deal in free India.

The establishment of a State Research Board in Ayurveda and of a Central Research Library is one of the principal recommendations of the Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay, in March 1949, to report on the question of research in Ayurveda. Dr. K. S. Mhaskar was Chairman of the Committee. The proposed research Board is for apportioning and controlling the various sections of research and arranging for the training of research workers.

The Committee is of the opinion that the methods of research in Ayurveda should be in accord with the Ayurveda system itself and the modern methods of investigation should be resorted to whenever necessary. Authoritative versions of ancient Ayurvedic texts, the Committee says, will have to be collected, carefully, edited and published.

It opines that the psychological doctrines in Ayurveda require study as they appear to have already anticipated the modern trends in Western psychology. It further records that the general fundamental doctrines of (1) *Panchmaha-Bhoota*, (2) *Tri-guna*, (3) *Tri-Dosha*, and (4) *Dravya-Guna-Rasa-Vipaka-Veerya-Prabhav* must be clarified. This will help to elucidate Sharirkriya (Physiology) as well.

It also recommends study of Dharmashastras, Smritis, Grihya Sutras, Darshanas, Artha-Shastras, Vedic literature, Mahabharata, Puranas, etc., from the Ayurvedic point of view in order to make Ayurveda clearer still.

The other recommendations of the Committee are for the standardisation of Ayurvedic teaching practice, terminology, etc.

### *Inland Navigation in India*

The British regime generally neglected inland navigation in this country in their obsession with the extension of railways mainly designed to encourage British trade in India as well as to facilitate the export of raw materials that served British industries in their homeland. There were notable exceptions, one of whom was Sir Arthur Cotton; great engineer that he was, he was fully conscious of the value of this means of communication in a predominantly rural country. Their value was also inseparable from irrigation facilities, so much needed in India's economy as the years have demonstrated. In his classic book on the subject written a hundred years back he fought the ruling bias of the British bureaucracy. He failed to carry conviction to them. This story has been brought out in a recent pamphlet entitled "Water Transport in India." The report details the plans that are at present in hand or under contemplation for the development of inland navigation.

The fact that Water Transport had all along been a Provincial subject, has been responsible for the lack of a unified policy and of integrated care and develop-

ment. This difficulty has been remedied under the new constitution which has made navigation on inter-State rivers and waterways a Central subject. The responsibility for surveying, planning and developing the country's Water Transport has been assigned to the Central Waterpower, Irrigation and Navigation Commission.

The construction of the Hirakud Dam in Orissa, for instance, would make the Mahanadi navigable for 300 miles down the sea, the Kakrapara Project in Bombay provides for navigation from the sea-face near Surat up to the reservoir of the dam at Kakrapara and 50 miles further inland. Similarly, the Damodar Valley Project in Bihar and West Bengal envisages the construction of a Navigation Canal linking up the lower Raniganj coal fields with the Hooghly River. The Commission is also actively considering revival of water traffic on other navigable rivers, *e.g.*, on the Ganga, from Buxar to Allahabad, and on the Gohra, up to Bahr-am Ghat. Investigations carried out by C.W.I.C. also show that it is possible to connect the western and eastern coasts of India by inland navigation channels. Similarly, it is possible to connect Assam and West Bengal by a dual-purpose water course.

The pamphlet quotes the opinion of Mr. Otto Popper, a navigation expert deputed by the E.C.A.F.E. in 1950, to advise the Government of India on the development of Inland Waterways, that India's waterways "if systematically organised and exploited, could become equal partners to her railways."

### *The Sindhu Resettlement Work*

We summarize from Press reports the valuable work that is being done by the Sindhu Resettlement Corporation and the Government in course of the port at Kandla in the Bombay State :

"The Government of India have decided to spend Rs. 16 crores on the development of Kandla Port, to implement the suggestions of the West Coast Major Port Committee, which found Kandla to be the best natural harbour on the Coast of Kutch and Saurashtra. The Government appointed a Development Commissioner and foreign firms were asked to submit tenders. The Port of Kandla will replace the loss of Karachi and relieve the bottle-neck at Bombay. It will feed the hinterland of Rajasthan, Delhi, East Punjab, Western U. P., Kashmir, Ajmer, Western Gujrat, Gwalior, as these areas will be hundreds of miles nearer to Kandla than to Bombay. The Government of India are also spending Rs. 12,00,00,000 on the two Railways connecting Kandla with the rest of India. These two factors alone will help make Kutch a land of progress plenty and prosperity."

The Sindhu Resettlement Corporation Ltd., was formed three years ago with the chief object of settling

and re-habilitating displaced persons from Pakistan, particularly the Hindus from Sind. The main function of the Corporation is to build new towns and colonies where plots of land will be allotted to shareholders on easy terms if they undertake to aid industrial, commercial and agricultural schemes and other public utility projects at the places of settlement and thus provide not only shelter but also sources of livelihood for the new citizens. Acharya Kripalani is the Chairman of the Board of Directors. The authorised capital of the Corporation is Rs. 2½ crores. The first issue of one crore of rupees divided in 10,000 shares of Rs. 1,000 each was over-subscribed long back. Now again he permission of the Government of India has been obtained for a further issue of Rs. 1,00,00,000 shares and they will be divided similarly. The Government of India have subscribed 25 per cent to the first and the second issue. The Government of India have also given a loan of one crore and ten lakhs of rupees for the construction of 4,000 simple houses.

"The blue prints of the town of Gandhidham have been prepared according to the plan by the Italian architect Mario Bacheicci. At present two localities in the town have been developed, namely, Sardargarj, named after Sardar Patel for residential purposes and the factory area called Adipur where factories and industries have been started. A small colony of about 12,000 people has already come into existence. The scheme of water supply of Gandhidham is to be carried out in two stages. The *interim* scheme is to yield 1½ million gallons of water per day and the Pilot scheme when completed will yield 4½ million gallons of water per day. Experimental borings that have gone from 600 to 700 feet deep have shown wonderful result. For power supply, a small station capable of generating about 500 KW is in existence. Further generating sets of 750 KW capacity have been indented.

"Along with the material development of the town, very great attention is paid to look after its social and cultural side.

### *Rift in Orissa Congress*

The *Bombay Chronicle* published on January 11 last under this heading news of a rift in the Congress. The Oriya papers did not, however, publish it. The differences that divided the organization were the usual ones, and we will allow the paper's "own correspondent" at Cuttack to tell the story.

Since the departure from Orissa of Mr. Harekrushna Mahatab to Delhi as a minister in the Union Cabinet, the group rivalry inside the P.C.C. is becoming more pronounced and time and again both the parties are looking to Mr. Mahatab for guidance and direction.

It was no surprise, therefore, that the decision to hold a Provincial Congress workers' conference on January 22 at Cuttack which was arrived at by the Chief Minister, Mr. Nabakrushna Chaudhury,

and the President of the Utkal P.C.C., Mr. Biswanath Das, has now become a point of dispute, between the leaders themselves.

It is, however, learnt that the Chief Minister is taking the initiative in convening the workers' conference which will be addressed by the former Congress Parliamentary Chief, Mr. Mahatab, on his way back from Madras.

The differences arising out of the formation of rival Congress Committees, viz., the Town Congress Panchayat and the Congress Workers Committee of Cuttack is yet another serious organisational problem because both the bodies seem to be breaking their heads among themselves for getting the official recognition from the P.C.C.

As matters stand at the moment there is every likelihood of the widening of the rift among the Congress workers of Orissa if the unfortunate situation is not satisfactorily settled by Mr. Mahatab.

We entertained the fond hope that our Oriya brethren were a satisfied body as a result of the consolidation of almost all areas where Oriya culture has been predominant. But that hope appears to be unsubstantial.

### *Andre Gide*

A contemporary of Henry Barbusse and Roman Rolland, this leader of French thought has left the world at a time when it is distraught by conflicting ideals and practices. He had his mind stirred by the 1917 Revolution in Russia just as his predecessors in France had seen in the French Revolution a vision of the Kingdom of God on earth. But he lived to be disillusioned; this process he has shown in his book on a Russian visit describing men and measures in the Communist heaven. But he was a great man who rose above his disappointments in life, and continued to work for the coming of the world's redemption in fields of his own choice.

### *Major M. G. Naidu*

The most handsome memorial to this doyen of medical men in the Hyderabad State has been etched by a contemporary when he wrote: "A man who shunned publicity and consistently refused permission to biographers and compilers of 'Who's Who' has passed away as unobtrusively as he chose to live."

These words testified to the quality of the man who departed from this world on February 12 last. Husband of Sarojini Naidu who predeceased him nearly 28 months ago, the flowering of her personality and of their sons and daughters was made possible by their father's self-effacement.

Leader of all social service activities, one of the founders of the National Medical Association of India, Major Naidu has shown how a sense of duty to God and men could rise over the most adverse of circumstances. In his death Indian society has lost one of those individuals who in their life and thought stood for certain old-world virtues that would remain ever green.

### *C. R. Reddy*

In the death of this noted scholar and educationist at his 70th year India has lost a vivid personality.

After completing his education at the British University of Cambridge with marked distinction, he joined the Mysore Service as Inspector-General of Education in about 1918. Not a little of the educational progress of this "model State" was due to his drive. From that time on he was marked for higher distinction. As Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University he helped its growth during its formative years. And from thence he reverted to Mysore Service where he ended his career as pro-Vice-Chancellor of the University.

His interest in politics was that of an intellectual, and his rugged individuality disabled him for the wider field in India. We mourn the death of a good man.

### *G. H. Langley*

This British educationalist who made his mark in India as teacher of our youth specially as Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University has ended his days in his homeland. His interest in India's higher thought and life was proved by his biography of Sri Aurobindo. To the memory of this relation we pay our tribute.

### *Khurshed Lal*

The death at the age of 48 years only of Khurshed Lal, Deputy Minister of Communications in India, cuts short a career that had immense possibilities of service to his people. We tender to his wife, sons and daughters our condolences.

Born on March 4, 1903 he topped the list of graduates in 1924 from the Lucknow University and then studied law. In 1926 he commenced practice as an advocate in Dehra Dun. He joined the Congress during the Salt Satyagraha campaign of 1930 and was imprisoned in 1932, 1941 and 1942.

In 1931 he became President of the City Congress Committee, Dehra Dun, and except for a brief break for about two years continued as President till 1946.

He took an active part in civic affairs and was Chairman of the Municipal Board, Dehra Dun, from 1936 to 1940. His interests in the wider interests of his people led him to active participation in public life, not alone politics. He was a member of the Jaunsar Bawar Enquiry Committee to enquire into the affairs of this partially excluded area in the United Provinces. In 1940 he resigned from the Municipal Board as a protest against the resolution moved with the assistance of the European and Muslim League members to remove the National Flag from the Municipal buildings. Towards the end of 1946 he was elected to the Constituent Assembly of India. He was understood to have been offered and accepted the post of India's High Commissioner in Pakistan.



# THE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA

## A Constitutional Study

By G. P. SRIVASTAVA, M.A., LL.B., D.P.A., D.F.A. & D.

In a Parliamentary type of Government the office of Prime Minister is the most important of all executive offices. In fact, the Prime Minister is more powerful than the executive head of the State who has only nominal authority and does not exercise real powers of Government. It would be true to say that the Prime Minister is the centre-piece of the whole mechanism of Parliamentary Government. As England was the first country in the world to evolve a Parliamentary system of Government, the office of Prime Minister first came into existence in that country and Sir Robert Walpole was the first Prime Minister during the reign of George II. But for a long time the office of Prime Minister was not recognized in law. It was only in 1905 that the office was officially recognized and in 1917 it was given statutory recognition. Finally, the Salaries Act of 1937 laid down the salary for the office of Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury. As the constitution of the Republic of India has adopted a parliamentary type of Government for this country it is both interesting and instructive to trace the constitutional position and powers of the Prime Minister of India.

Article 75 provides that the Prime Minister shall be appointed by the President. As it is a responsible type of Government depending upon the goodwill and confidence of the legislature the term of the Cabinet has not been statutorily fixed. In fact, it can not be fixed under this system. Therefore, the same article provides that the Ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the President. In actual practice, the pleasure of the President means the pleasure of the Legislature or Parliament which is supreme over the executive. But the expression 'pleasure of the President' has been inserted in the constitution as in law the President is the repository of all executive powers.\* Thus the term of the Prime Minister is indefinite and is dependent upon the fact of his continuing to enjoy the confidence of the legislature. In actual practice, it means that he will continue in office so long as his party forms a majority in the House of the people.

The Prime Minister, like other Ministers, has to take the oaths of office and secrecy before the President. His salary like that of other Ministers shall be determined by the Parliament but until it does so he

would draw a salary of Rs. 3000 per month as laid down in the second schedule of the constitution.

The Prime Minister has five important duties under the constitution. But two of them are really very important. The first is that of recommending the names of other Ministers in his Cabinet. It is provided in Article 75 that the other ministers shall be appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister. This matter depends upon a well-established convention in England. In fact, it is the essence of the Parliamentary system and is found in all countries having a Parliamentary type of executive. In this system after the elections of the legislature are over the Head of the State invites the leader of the majority party in the lower chamber to form Government. In England, this principle has been followed since 1923. When Mr. Bonar Law resigned and the turn of the Conservative Party came for forming Government, many people thought that the King would invite Lord Curzon to form Government but instead he invited Mr. Baldwin who belonged to the same party but was a member of the House of Commons. If the leader of the majority party agrees he submits a list of his prospective colleagues for approval to the Head of the State. The Leader becomes the Prime Minister and the body of ministers is collectively known as the Cabinet. In the matter of choice of other ministers the Head of the State, or the nominal executive as he is called, exercises some discretion. Sometimes he may disapprove any name or press for the inclusion of a new name. But generally the Prime Minister has the final say in this matter. That this will be so in India is beyond doubt because the Prime Minister will have the support of the majority in the Legislature and the President will not find any other member who is able to form an alternative Government.

The second and probably the most important power of the Prime Minister is mentioned in Article 74 (1) which provides that

"There shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head to aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions."

This article assigns to the Prime Minister the duty of helping the President in the administration of the country. In England, the Prime Minister enjoys this status and power by virtue of a convention only and

\* Article 53 (1)

it can not be traced to the letter of law. But in India it has been provided in statute.

Article 78 charges the Prime Minister with three more duties. Firstly, he shall communicate to the President all administrative decisions as well as legislative proposals of his Cabinet. This means that he will serve as a channel of communication between the President and the Cabinet. Secondly, he shall furnish such information regarding the above two matters as demanded by the President. Thirdly, if the President requires—the Prime Minister shall place a matter before the whole Cabinet on which any individual minister has already taken a decision.

(Let us study the position of the Prime Minister *vis-a-vis* his Cabinet. Article 75 provides for the collective responsibility of the council of Ministers to the House of the People. In actual practice in every parliamentary type of Government this responsibility is both joint and several. The Cabinet as a whole is responsible for the policies and actions of the Government. But every minister is also individually responsible for the proper working of the Department. Therefore, the Prime Minister along with his colleagues is responsible for the work of his Government but he is also individually responsible for the Departments which are directly under his charge. At present the Prime Minister has the direct charge of the Department of External Affairs.

In England, the position of the Prime Minister is that of first among equals. But this position has not so far crystallized in India. At least there is one instance which will illustrate this point. On the matter of the Indo-Pakistan Pact of 8th April, 1950, a majority of members of the Indian Cabinet was opposed to the point of view of the Prime Minister who favoured such a pact. But he disregarded the opinion of the majority. As a result two ministers resigned from the Government. Without going into the merits of the case it can be asserted that it was a dangerous precedent for a country which was experimenting with Parliamentary democracy. This shows that the position of the Prime Minister in India is much more than that of equality with other ministers. Perhaps this is so because the Prime Minister is the hero of many a battle fought against foreign rule and due to this fact commands a great popularity in the country. The position of other Ministers as against the Prime Minister is further weakened due to the fact that the Cabinet is a heterogeneous body. It is composed of not only Congressmen but also of non-Congressmen. No doubt, the inclusion of non-Congressmen was an act of great foresight on the part of the Prime Minister and this fact made the Cabinet truly national but the position of non-Congressmen in the Cabinet is very weak.

Another matter that deserves notice in this connection was the position of the Deputy Prime Minister.

Although unknown to the letter of the constitution his position was officially recognized. In fact, he played a very important role in the formulation and direction of Governmental policies. This was due to the fact that the incumbent of that office who was no other than Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel occupied a very important position in the political life of the country. But since his death the post has not been filled and although no definite decision has been taken, it can be safely predicted that it will not be filled now and will fall into desuetude.

But the only rival to the power of the Prime Minister is the President. It is, therefore, necessary to study the powers of the Prime Minister *vis-a-vis* the President in order to have a clear notion of his constitutional position and powers.

Article 77(1) provides that

"All executive action of the Government of India shall be expressed to be taken in the name of the President."

Article 77(2) further provides that the President shall make rules for the authentication of orders and other instruments made and executed in his name. This shows that his powers are intended to be more nominal than real. Article 77(3) provides that

"He shall make rules for the more convenient transaction of the business of Government of India, and for the allocation among ministers of the said business."

But, in fact, he would do so in consultation with the Prime Minister who as the head of the Council of Ministers is charged with the duty of aiding and advising the President in the performance of his duties.

The President has many legislative powers such as those of summoning, proroguing and dissolving the legislature or those of giving assent to a bill, withholding assent or sending it back to the Parliament for reconsideration. But there is no doubt that he will perform his functions in this field on the advice of the Prime Minister. The President, like the British King has also the power of addressing the legislature at the beginning of every session. But the practice in England is that this address is prepared by the Prime Minister. That this will be so in India is obvious. His power to promulgate ordinances during the recess of Parliament is also exercised by him on the advice of the Prime Minister.

But there are many provisions in the Constitution which give the impression that the President is intended to be a real ruler and not a nominal head. One such matter which is found in Article 78 and which has already been referred to is that even after a decision has been taken on a matter by the Minister in charge of the Department the President may require the Prime Minister to place that matter before the whole Cabinet. The second feature is that the acts of the

President do not require the counter-signature of the Ministers which is the practice in all Parliamentary types of Government. It may be argued that this thing is implied in a Parliamentary system of Government but when various other minor details of administrative action have been provided in statute it is not clear why such an important provision has been left out. The third feature of the Constitution is the provision for the impeachment of the President. This also like the above two provisions, shows that the President is intended to be a real ruler because if he is the nominal head of the executive whose acts are countersigned by his ministers there is no need for impeaching him for any constitutional impropriety. Thus, legally speaking, the President is the real ruler.

*Parla* But it is obvious that the Prime Minister will exercise a great influence in the election of the President as the majority of one part of the electoral college, i.e., the elected members of the Parliament will be amenable to his control. Article 53(3) (b) empowers the Parliament to confer by law "functions on authorities other than the President" and as the Prime Minister commands a majority in the Parliament, it is, in fact, he who will determine what functions should be conferred on those authorities. Moreover, being the leader of the majority party in the Parliament the Prime Minister will have an effective

voice in the decision whether the President should be impeached under Article 61 or not if and when such a proposal is brought before the legislature.

Thus although sovereignty resides in the people, the Parliament which is the representative of the people is the real carrier of that sovereignty. It is clear from the fact that it can not only confer powers "on authorities other than the President" but can also increase the number of judges of the Supreme Court. But sovereignty of Parliament means the supremacy of the Prime Minister in the organisation of Government. In fact as the Government of India is of a Parliamentary type there is no real danger that the personality of the Prime Minister will be dwarfed by the Constitutional position of the President. This is clear from the speech of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the Chairman of the Drafting Committee in the Constituent Assembly, in which he said :

"The President of the Indian Union will be generally bound by the advice of his Ministers. He can do nothing contrary to their advice nor can he do anything without their advice."

Ramsay Muir says that the Cabinet is the steering wheel of the ship of state and the Prime Minister is the steersman. This description holds good of the Indian Prime Minister also.

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## LONDON LETTER

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

"The world is so full of a number of things, I am sure we should all be as happy as kings." It is the centenary year of Robert Louis Stevenson, who wrote this children's rhyme, and I was wondering, were he still alive, what he would find to be happy about. Reflection soon brought two men to mind, Sir Benegal Rao and General Eisenhower. Then in the realm of abstract things, we can rejoice that Free Speech still prevails in the greater part of the world. Last but not least a religious revival is well under way—and this time it has the powerful aid of science which seems all the time to be uncovering the underlying one-ness of the universe. (As indeed Charles Kingsley always felt that it would—and that at the height of the hulabaloo which followed on Darwin's assertion of the theory of Evolution, also nearly a hundred years ago).

At first we thought of Sir Benegal Rao principally as a peace-maker and go-between the United Nations and the Chinese Government. We watched eagerly for any news of the response which he was receiving from

the Chinese. Now it becomes clear that the position in the East is most dreadfully entangled and that the United Nations is in very great need of someone who can explain the East and the West to one another. Sir Benegal Rao has put his hand to the plough. He can have had no idea how far his task would lead him. But it would be a wonderful thing for the world if India could assume this role of Mediator and Interpreter. The world is so weary of war but disarmament will never come until we disarm our minds. Russia, straddling Asia as she does, might have been the bridge between East and West. But for too long Russia thought her Revolution was menaced by the outside world and it has led her to make her neighbours into satellites and herself into an imperialism, that hopes to rule the world—and to fight through other people's armies. It may seem an endless and often disheartening journey, but can India begin on a great detente in the Asiatic world?

Not much to the purpose can be said at the



moment about the situation in Korea. General MacArthur seems to be a Nelson as regards being a law unto himself and a very Montgomery as regards making speeches. The point about being a Nelson is that one must succeed. If General MacArthur had made good his boast and ended the fighting in Korea by Christmas, no one would have questioned the wisdom of his plan of campaign. In any event, since he did decide to cross the 38th Parallel, it is no use being wise after the event and crying over spilt milk. It proved to be a disastrous step but, since war was the method, there was nothing inherently "wrong" in his action. As more than one critic has observed, it was no more unreasonable of him to pursue the aggressors into their own territory than it was, in the last war, for us to pursue the Germans across *their* borders. Still the tragedy of Chinese intervention remains. (And how great a tragedy that is for China anyone can see who reads the reports of recent fighting and of the way in which the Chinese hurled away their lives on American guns). History will criticise the policy-makers. Why did they not heed China's warning that she would not stand aside if the United Nations advanced to the Manchurian frontier? We shall not know the answer until the war is over.

But one thing we do see now. Matters might not have fallen out in such a way had China been an undisputed member of the United Nations with a seat on the Security Council. Here it is worth while being wise after the event. To come by way of war to partnership in the United Nations seems a travesty and is some plainly unthinkable. But does it ever work out to put a quarrel into cold storage? Surely the history of our experiences with Germany, and above all with Russia, teach us quite otherwise. We must stop thinking of German militarism and Russian Communism and Chinese Communism and try instead to reach them as individuals. If we never despair of them, they may some day throw up a different kind of leadership who want to try a different kind of approach to us. Thinking along these lines, I would like a copy of the speech made the other day by Lord Samuel—our one philosopher-statesman—to be printed and put in the hands of every member of the United Nations. He believes that the United Nations should include in its membership every nation on the earth.

"I do not believe at all," he said, "in this principle of screened admission to the United Nations, as though we were choosing members for a select club. . . . That is the principle of the one-party legislature. It is a totalitarian principle. It is not democratic. . . . All should have equal rights, whether they agree with one another or not."

Lord Samuel takes a realistic view of Chinese Communism. He does not believe that it is allied to the Russian product. The Chinese, he thinks, are Communists because they are engaged in an agrarian

revolution. And he thinks too that they have probably got a better administration now than they have had for many years. It would indeed be an overwhelming and intolerable disaster if short-term policies on our part were to drive China into an alliance with Russia. As Jugo-Slavia is demonstrating, there is a kind of Communism that can make peace with its neighbours. Might it not be the case that China is going to exhibit yet a third variety? All other considerations apart, it is very hard to believe that China with her long tradition of culture—and her chronic addiction to philosophy—could for long make common cause with the Russian totalitarianism which closes not only its land frontiers but the frontiers of the mind.

War strategy in Korea has gone awry. May defence strategy fare better in Europe this week when the meeting of the North Atlantic Council takes place in Brussels. It is a comfort that it now seems certain that General Eisenhower will be appointed as Supreme Commander of the Atlantic Forces in Europe. General Eisenhower has proved his worth as an outstandingly capable soldier. And to see him on a news reel—or to hear him over the radio—one feels that he would have made an equally successful General of the Salvation Army! He has no wish—or need—to try for effect or cut a figure. He gives the impression of a man who has learned an immense amount from life and whose whole energies are dedicated to the service of mankind. He will have a tremendous task in Europe including that of reconciling France and Germany. France would like a European Army under a European Defence Minister—and Germany would like to stay out altogether if she is only to be allowed to provide troops and not have her own General Staff. As *Time and Tide* remarks of General Eisenhower:

"All his renowned capacity for tactful realism must be concentrated on assisting the French and German Governments in the extremely delicate experiment of co-operative rearmament."

May he succeed. He has a German name and it will be a wonderful feat if he is able to awaken the European conscience of Germany—three times the aggressor in a space of less than eighty years—to a realisation that now she has a chance to redeem the past by taking a part in the preservation of Europe. Anyway, thank God, Eisenhower is coming. There are many in America who think that most of our defence preparations so far are still on paper. But now, to quote *Time and Tide* again, "the task of turning a multi-national conglomeration of soldiers into an effective army" is about to begin.

At any other time than this our heads and our newspapers would have been full of the big item of home news last week, the suspension of Marshall Aid to this country. But the news has fallen very flat. For one thing, if the strange workings of economics have been read aright, we owe this suspension in part to

the tremendous rise in prices which is getting us all down! So though we can never forget our tremendous debt to the United States for Marshall Aid—aid which got us on our feet and saved thousands and thousands of our people from unemployment—we can hardly stop to rejoice at the special circumstances attendant on our improved dollar position. We are everlastingly grateful to America for her unexampled generosity. But very feelingly do we echo Shakespeare:

"Evermore thanks, *the exchequer of the poor!*"

The cost of living is becoming the King Charles's head in every conversation. Everything that's made of anything is going up in price—sometimes, if it happens to be made of wool, by as much as two-thirds. But cotton is bounding up too. The only prices that vary hardly at all are the prices of one's food rations. And the only reason they don't go up is that they are subsidised out of our own pockets in the form of taxation. An article appeared in the London *Evening Standard* the other day entitled "The High Price of Going to Sleep." Item by item the writer went through the cost of equipping a single bed. She demonstrated that whereas in 1939 a single bed could be bought and fitted up with bed-clothes for the sum of £11-2-2, today such a bed would work out at no less than £53-0-4. Laundry charges, amongst other things, are up by 77 per cent. So that keeping the bed up to standard is another problem.

We are in fact, all of us, in a very tight spot and the worst of it is that it is bound to become tighter. Some time before the last War, when rearmament was beginning, we all noticed how prices began to rise. What advance in prices can we expect now? We can only bring down the cost of living by making more and selling more. But how can we do this when we must employ men and materials on the unsaleable goods of rearmament? And how are we to meet the competition that is reviving from abroad, from countries where wages are low compared with ours and whose industry is not taxed to pay the expenses of a free medical service, free teeth and free eye-glasses, subsidised houses and subsidised food, and all the other expenses of the Welfare State? The Japanese, for instance, are flooding the American market with beautiful china dinner services. To pass them off as English goods they have given these products such names as 'Wentworth,' 'King's Court' and 'Citadel.' Lady Violet Bonham-Carter said in Rome recently that all parties in England were committed to the policy of the Welfare State. And indeed no one who remembers the appalling suffering during the years of the great Depression can feel otherwise than that the Welfare State is a good thing. But we are in a dilemma. We cannot give up our Welfare State but as things are this State is yoked to the galloping horse of inflation. Unless we can contrive some means of stopping

the horse, it is going to run us right over the edge of disaster!

However one thing that really is 'free' in this country is free speech and it continues to brighten our darkness. A most amusing article appeared this week entitled 'Crazy Coal' and analysing the situation of our nationalised coal industry. Coal, of course, is no laughing matter. There is an enormous unsatisfied demand for our coal abroad and prices are higher than they have ever been. But we cannot take advantage of this demand—instead we ourselves have to import coal! For the first time in our history the proverb 'carrying coals to Newcastle' has lost its meaning. Various reasons are put forward for the present shortage. In particular it is ascribed to full employment and the fact that industry has been going at full steam. But this explanation does not account for the main, incredible, underlying fact. That fact is that under nationalisation—when 'the miner has become one of the best paid workers in industry, with a priority claim for housing and an assured job'—the output of coal does not reach the figures of the years of unemployment. Production for 1950, it is stated is likely to amount to about 217½ million tons as against 227 million in 1938. In a nationalised industry we are all shareholders and the writer asks: Has our money been wasted? He says he cannot give the answer because 'the only way to approach such a judgment is to compare the working of alternative possibilities in active competition.' But a nationalised industry has no competitors. In fact, he concludes, 'by eliminating competition the Coal Board has not only locked the door to efficiency but has *swallowed the key as well!*' (Italics mine).

And now for a brief inadequate word about the religious revival. Church-goers have for many years been irritated by the parrot cries—from those who would never bother to go there anyhow—that 'the churches could not be emptier.' That the churches *were* emptier was due to changes in our social habits. In the first place, like so much also that has changed in England, church-going was affected by the servant problem. In former times, when the upper and middle classes could all get house-maids, families would troop off to church in the morning and come home to find the Sunday dinner ready cooked for them. Now most of them are maidless and too there is always or almost always a very good service, with excellent sermons, broadcast over the radio. These factors have operated to keep people away from church. But, in spite of this, the churches are filling up again! The Roman Catholic Church, of course, has never suffered in this way. Its members are well schooled from their childhood to make a point of going to church (and never so late as to miss the reading of the Gospel). Now other churches are reporting growing congregations. Recently a friend of mine tried to get into a Christian Science

meeting that was being held in Westminster. As it was a pouring wet night she thought she would be certain of a place. But there was a long queue stretching right down the street and she only just succeeded in getting into an overflow meeting which was packed out too. A Lay Reader, arguing from his own experience, in a letter to the press this week has no doubt that the decline in church-going is much more than arrested. He writes :

"May I cite one figure which I know is accurate and may be taken at its face value? The Church of England Men's Society, without spectacular effort, has added branches at the rate of a hundred a year in each year since the war ended, and is rather more than maintaining that rate in 1950."

It is part of his work to attend a good many different churches and he gives the names of six churches within a few miles of his home that have crowded congregations each Sunday. (Four of these are Anglican, one is Baptist and one Methodist!). Surely these are enough swallows to herald the summer—and silence the parrots !

Some people affect to believe that church-going is escapism. My favoured form of escapism is reading about the past. "The use of history," says Thucydides, "is to light the present hour to its duty." That is true of history but one of its junior branches—biography—has a gentler use. It makes a man feel at home in his environment. At the present time many of us are reading Boswell's recently discovered *London Journal*. He doesn't give us a torch to light us to our duty—far from it!—but it is a torch that lights up the London of his day, a London of dirty streets and jostling chairmen and of poets so thick upon the ground that, as Boswell says, finding poems for the *St. James's Magazine* "is as if one were making a collection of whinstones in Scotland, where you may get them on every field." It is a delight, on a cold foggy evening such as we have been experiencing this past week, to open Boswell's Journal and to fancy him, just round the corner in his lodgings in Downing Street, trying to conquer the town on a meagre allowance of £200 a year. Just up Whitehall lives his friend the Countess of Northumberland—Northumberland Avenue still recalls that the family once had its London house there.

This Countess, like so many of the people who appear in these pages, is vividly etched in. As so often with the aristocracy, she has a very peculiar streak of thrift.

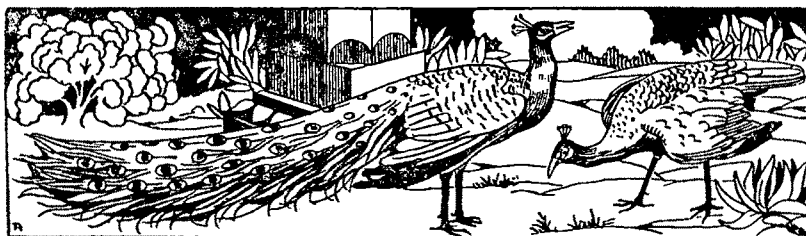
"Why don't you go to Court, Mr. Boswell?" says she, "I'm sure that's a cheap diversion; it costs you nothing, and you see all the best company, and chat away. It is the best coffee-house in town!"

One could rattle on indefinitely—to use a favourite word in the eighteenth century—picking out glimpses of London at that time. None of them are very important—except for the meeting with Doctor Johnson—but one encounters little unforgettable scenes or a record of conversation so real that we fancy the different tones of the speakers. (My favourite memory is of Boswell, in very bad humour, keeping places in the pit at Drury Lane for two friends who can't be bothered to turn up until the last moment. However, he adds balefully, 'I had the satisfaction to see them well-punished, for by staying so late they could scarcely squeeze through the crowd.' Haven't we all been served like that by our friends? But we would not have the same mitigation as Boswell. At least Oliver Goldsmith came into the seat behind him . . .).

May I be forgiven for a last word about Boswell and that is that he and I appear on the roll of members and Masters of the same Masonic Lodge, Canongate Kilwinning, in my native town Edinburgh. Boswell was Master of the Lodge in the year 1773 and I a hundred and thirty-eight years later, in 1911. Boswell loved the Canongate and in his day the Edinburgh Theatre was there. So I will close with a glimpse of Boswell, as a boy, walking down Canongate. "In my boyish days," he writes, "I used to walk down the Canongate and think of players with a mixture of narrow-minded horror and lively-minded pleasure . . ." How many Scottish youths, with too strict a father as Boswell had, have started out in life with these conflicting emotions !

May I send my best wishes for India's good fortune in the coming year.

Westminster, London, 17th December 1950





## PRESIDENT'S RESIGNATION IN THE NEW CONSTITUTION

By PROF. K. V. RAO, M.A., M.Litt., O.E.S.

ARTICLE 56(1) limits the tenure of office of the President to five years, but the President is eligible for re-election any number of times. Originally the Draft Constitution wanted to restrict re-election only for one more term but it was deleted without comment by the Constituent Assembly. It was a good thing that it was deleted for it was meaningless to restrict his term and re-election when he is to be only a mere 'constitutional head.' A President elected a number of times again and again would accumulate experience and wisdom so that he could be a real friend, guide and philosopher to the ministry. On the other hand, thus restricted, a President running a second term may become a bit indifferent as he has nothing to lose. Elective principle acts as a great restraining force as it makes the incumbent seeking re-election to account for his acts of omission and commission before the electorate periodically.

A vacancy in office occurs in four ways: (i) by the natural expiration of the five-year term; (ii) by death or by permanent disability such as total paralysis; (iii) resignation; and (iv) by removal by impeachment. This is covered in the Constitution by Articles 56, 62, 65 and 70. The Constitution provided for an election to take place before the expiration of the normal term of office [Article 62(1)]; and in the case of other vacancies by death, resignation, removal or otherwise, elections will have to take place within six months after the occurrence of the vacancy [Article 62(2)].

The word 'otherwise' in this Article 62 is difficult to understand as causing a permanent vacancy. The Drafting Committee have not explained it. Is it merely a legal safeguard inserted by the lawyer-members of the Committee to cover any unforeseen contingency or were they contemplating anything more mysterious, something like a man becoming invisible, as in H. G. Wells' novel? Another such safety provision is found in Article 70; but we are not discussing a casual or temporary vacancy here.<sup>1</sup>

A President whose period normally expires need not automatically vacate his office; but only a vacancy occurs. He continues in office under Article 56(1)c,

"until his successor enters upon his office." Here 'successor' probably does not mean the Vice-President; for ordinarily the successor is already elected, according to the Draft, under Article 62(1). This is probably intended to cover a contingency of India going without a President in two possible ways. One is temporary inability of the President-elect due to absence from the country at that time or illness, etc., which prevents him from taking the oath and assuming office on the appointed day; the second is an unforeseen permanent vacancy occurring by the death of the President-elect before he assumes the office. In both these cases, the old President continues. A better provision would have been for the Vice-President to step in, for there is another contingency which the fathers of the Constitution have not foreseen, as otherwise they would not have made it so. Suppose the out-going President is very unscrupulous and knows fully well that he has no chance for re-election. He can manipulate remaining in office by dissolving the House of People or some other House of Legislature in the States.<sup>2</sup> It is highly desirable that the Constitution is amended to make the Vice-President, who is only a temporary lease-holder, to step in all contingencies when a vacancy occurs in the office of the President.

One important way in which a permanent vacancy occurs in the office is by the voluntary quitting of office by the President by resigning. This is provided by Article 56(1)(a). This is not an ordinary contingency whereby a President, whether a constitutional head or not, resigns his office for nothing. There must be some contributory causes that leads to that step. Now what are they? There may be four grounds leading to resignation. One is a normal contingency of illness, etc. The second is that it might be something like an 'abdication' which is voluntary, like that of Edward VIII, where the President does not look eye to eye with his ministers and would like to quit instead of creating a constitutional crisis; or, under similar circumstances or otherwise, a President could be asked to resign by the High Command, and he might oblige. The third reason might be an impending impeachment; a President might prefer resignation to

1. One such contingency not covered by Clauses 1 and 2 of Article 65 is probably 'unwillingness of the President' to act. Suppose a President is 'unwilling' to act with a view to paralyse the government. (This is not the same thing as madness though it may be one such kind). Impeachment is both long and difficult and meanwhile administration may suffer. Parliament could provide for such a contingency under Article 70 and Article 71(3). But in such a case another question crops up,—to what extent Parliament will be going against the provisions of the Constitution by such legislation?

2. The question I pose here is this: What is the meaning of 'Electoral College' in Article 54. Does it mean that all the Houses mentioned therein should be there before an election takes place? Say, can an election take place when the House of the People or the Assembly of Orissa stand dissolved? The final answer can be given only by the Supreme Court under Article 71(1). In any case an unscrupulous President can take advantage either by dissolving the House before an election or dissolving some hostile legislatures.

removal by impeachment. The last is, it might be the President might use it as a threat against the Ministry and the majority party on some vital point which might reveal something bad against the Ministers and so might make them reconsider their own stand or voluntarily themselves resign.

Before going into the details of these grounds and the probable circumstances under which each cause occurs, let us have an idea of the procedure contemplated by the Constitution and the issues it raises. The Constitution has laid down a very simple procedure, obviously because the fathers of the Constitution have taken it as a casual, normal, thing requiring no expiation and elaborate examination. On any one of the grounds as stated above, suppose the President has decided to resign. He has simply to write a letter of resignation to the Vice-President, which "shall forthwith be communicated by him to the Speaker of the House of the People." [Article 56(2)]. The Draft Constitution in Article 45(a), following the procedure given in the Report on the Union Constitution [Clause 2(1a)] which was approved by the Constituent Assembly on 24th July 1947, lays down the procedure that the President under his hand address the Chairman of the Council of States and the Speaker. Later on, it has been amended to make the address to the Vice-President and him compulsorily to the Speaker. The following questions of procedure arise out of this procedure and either conventions should be established or the Constitution has to be amended to solve the difficulty, unless meanwhile the Supreme Court decides it finally:

a. When does the resignation come into effect? Is it as soon as the letter is written down; or as soon as the President's letter is received by the Vice-President? Is it necessary that a Gazette Extraordinary should announce it, and who will announce it in the Gazette, the President or the Vice-President?

a. Is the resignation final and irrevocable? Can the President reconsider his decision? And, if so:

b. When does the resignation come into effect? Is it as soon as the President writes his letter, or is it after the Vice-President receives it? Or a Gazette Extraordinary should first announce it, and in this case, who will send it for publication?—the President or the Vice-President? It cannot obviously come into immediate effect in any of the cases cited above, as there is some time-lag between one President resigns and another (the Vice-President) assumes charge after taking the oath under Article 69: and who will be President in the interval? The out-going President, obviously, must remain in office till the Vice-President assumes office by taking the oath. Incidentally it must be deemed to be the meaning of Article 56(1c) that it covers all contingencies mentioned above and that 'successor' there means both the Vice-President, and the President-elect. Now the question is: can the President reconsider his decision and withdraw his resignation meanwhile?

c. The answer to the above questions depends upon the answer to another question that crops up. Is there any question of accepting the resignation; and, if so, by whom? We may understand, by the absence of any provision for acceptance, that the same will be accepted by the Vice-President, and in this case, the incidental question comes whether the Vice-President has got the option of requesting the President to reconsider. To the last question, we may emphatically say 'no'; the Vice-President is not so dignified an officer to exercise such great discretion. From the context, after reading the Debates of the Constituent Assembly on this Article, the President is asked to address the letter of resignation to the Vice-President because he is the person to step into the shoes of the President and who could also write to the Election Commission to get ready for the election of a new President. We could have easily accepted this view, but for another question that is raised below.

d. What is the purpose of communicating the news of resignation to the Speaker of the House of the People? There was no valid and convincing reason given for this particular provision in the Article.<sup>3</sup> It might be just an accident that this provision remains from the original which suggested that the President should address letters to the Chairman of the Council and the Speaker of the House, as the Presiding officers of the two Houses of Union Legislature. It was then amended that it should be addressed to the Vice-President as the succeeding Officer and then the latter should inform the Speaker because it is simply desirable and for no other reason.<sup>4</sup> But there must be some sub-conscious reason why the Speaker alone should be singled out; but we are not able to find it out. What is the Speaker supposed to do them? Is he, or even for that the Vice-President, supposed to place it before the respective Houses? and, if so, what are they to do if the Houses are not in session? And lastly, will the Houses of Legislature have the power (right) or the duty to consider the letter and discuss it and even come to a decision, i.e., can they refuse to accept the resignation? This question becomes especially relevant when proceedings for impeachment are going on in the Legislature. Can the House, for instance, refuse to accept the resignation and proceed with impeachment?

The Constitution should have clarified these points. And if the intention is that the resignation should take immediate effect as soon as the letter is received by the Vice-President, then it should have been stated to do so and then the Vice-President should have been asked to communicate the same at once to the Election Commission. Thus the election machinery for the next election should have been set in motion.

3. In actual fact the matter was treated rather lightly by the House. One Member suggested by an amendment that the letter should be addressed to the Indian National Congress. *Debates*, Vol. VII, p. 1021.

4. The mover of this amendment said: "It is better, therefore, that provision should be made that one person should receive the resignation and be responsible to set the machinery in motion to fill the vacancy. And that person is most properly the Vice-President. I have therefore provided that the Vice-President should receive the resignation. But at the same time it is desirable that the Speaker . . . also should know it." *Debates*, Vol. VII, p. 1020.

Now let us examine in some greater detail the plausible grounds on which a President would be tempted to resign such a high post. Illness could be dismissed as most improbable. To start with, no weak man on death-bed would have stood for election, and not much energy is required to carry on the duties of a 'constitutional head.' If the illness is serious enough, then he can temporarily go on leave, as our constitution, unlike the American one, creates also a temporary vacancy and thus enables the President to go on leave. Human nature being optimistic, no President would resign his post on grounds of illness; he would at the most go on leave, thus creating a temporary vacancy. If the reasons are strong differences with the Ministry or the majority party, and the President wants to quit quietly, then it is all right and no difficulty arises. (This the President would do only if his own party is in power and it is strong enough to make him resign). So also when the President resigns rather than faces an impeachment.

But suppose some high principles are involved and the majority party is not his, then resignation would come in handy when the President wants to bring a constitutional issue to a head and wants the dispute settled by the Legislature. Sometimes on particular occasions, the President might feel that he is in the right and ministry is in the wrong. It may not be serious enough to dissolve the House. Again it might be the Ministry is not treating him well; an autocratic Prime Minister might not be carrying his duties under Article 78. He cannot dismiss the Ministry as he (the Prime Minister) has a strong majority in the House. Moreover, such a dismissal would turn out to be a challenge to the sovereignty of the House, as the House would be completely ignorant of the issues. As it is, the President has no constitutional way to bring his grievances to the notice of the Legislature, the immediate masters; the Courts are forbidden to enquire into the matter under Article 74(2). We do not know how the Constitution expects the President to enforce Article 78. One way is for the President to disregard the advice of the Ministry (having a majority in the House, otherwise it could be dismissed) but then he would be impeached and he has to stand as an accused. The other way is resignation; the Ministry would then be the accused. Resignation might be used as a mere threat, or the President might resign, explain his stand and again stand for election. Let us examine them both.

The threat of resignation is a great weapon, if properly used. A President with a commanding personality could use it with great advantage. It may amount to a threat of abdication found in England and once or twice Queen Victoria used it to carry out her will.<sup>5</sup> The threat of resignation on particular

issues might wring out some important concessions from an otherwise recalcitrant ministry, and in case of serious differences the President should be given a chance of bringing these differences to the House of the People which could decide who was in the right—the President or the Ministers—either by accepting the resignation or refusing it by simple majority. In the latter case, he might dismiss the Ministers and choose another.<sup>6</sup> From this point of view, Article 56(2) could have made it obligatory for the letter to be placed before the House of the People which should then decide whether to accept or reject it or request the President to reconsider the decision. (Rejection is to be used in case of impeachment proceedings before the House). In case his point of view is not accepted by the House, he can still appeal to a bigger electorate—after all the House of People is not the final authority on constitutional delicacies—by standing again for election; the letter of resignation and the subsequent discussion in the House would place the issues clearly before the country for the electors to judge. In case he is elected again, he might then justifiably dissolve the House and ask for another election. A threat of resignation would be a great weapon against a corrupt and unconstitutional ministry backed by a strong but blind, or as Jinnah used to call, brute majority. The President also requires a weapon in case his ministers violate the constitution and the House backs the ministry which the country would not. Resignation along with the suggested procedure would serve the purpose. Therefore, I suggest that Article 56(2) should be amended thus: "Any resignation addressed to the Vice-President under Clause (a) of the proviso to Clause (1) shall forthwith be communicated by him to the Speaker of the House and the Speaker shall forthwith place it before the House of People for its acceptance."\*

constitutional except as a mode of emphasising the strength of the feeling in the matter."

6. It is not the same thing as his dismissing the ministry before resigning and forming another. In this case, the issues would not be before the House. If he is definitely in the right, then the President might be requested to reconsider his decision, which amounts to a vote of no-confidence in the Ministry.

\* The reader will not be able to appreciate the true spirit of this article unless he understands the truth of the following: i. The no constitution is capable of laying down every detail of its working; it will leave some leeways; ii. That no conventions can be binding on the people unless forced by strong circumstances and organised public opinion; iii. that our constitution does not necessarily bind our President to be 'nominal,' but it leaves it to circumstances; iv. that in politics there is a regular struggle for power between parties, between groups within the parties, and between individuals within parties and groups; that is the only realistic approach to politics; and v. that there will be a period of such struggle between the President and the Prime Minister before the issue is finally settled whether the President is bound by the advice of the Council of Ministers or not. This article of mine envisages the use of resignation by the President during such periods of struggle, especially when the President and the Prime Minister belong to two different parties.

5. See A. B. Keith : *England from Victoria to George VI*, Vol. I, page 141. But Keith thinks that such royal threats were "un-



# CENSUS OPERATION

By Dr. PURNENDU KUMAR BOSE,  
Calcutta University

In India, Census may be well compared with the appearance of a comet on the horizon. Just as a comet appears on the horizon after long intervals, stays for a few days attracting attention of the general public and then disappears, leaving almost no impression so also does the Indian Census which is taken at an interval of ten years. During the Census year people become interested for the time being, show an extra amount of enthusiasm but the whole thing is temporary, the exuberance dies out only after a few days. Most of the people in India fail to realise the real significance of Census. They only think that Census means the counting of people, they are not in a position to connect census with the developmental projects of the Government. Two things are essential for making the census a success. They are: (i) Enumerator, (ii) Citizen. Unless the two co-operate whole-heartedly the census cannot be perfect. I believe, in India, the second one i.e. the citizen is more important than the first. People ought to understand clearly why the census is taken? Unless this is clear people's co-operation can not be expected. In the United States of America, which is one of most advanced countries of the world, this difficulty is also similarly felt though in a lesser degree. This is evident from the following statement by H. L. Dunn, Chief Statistician for Vital Statistics, United States Bureau of Census :

"The problem involved with making Census data available to the public are primarily psychological ones . . . True there are plenty of headaches in terms of budget, publication, analysis and presentation of statistical material. But these things can be solved by buying trained brains and skilled hands, by turning them loose to do a job the best they can. But to understand the audience for this material is a more difficult matter. One which is hemmed in by barriers of ignorance, indifference, distance and prejudice. If the Bureau is to reach its audience and make its data truly available its primary task is to understand the people whom it would serve and whose needs it desires to satisfy. It must interpret its data in the light of what they are. Of how they live and feel and dream. In other way can the gap be bridged between supply and demand."

In America, the census operations are now considered as a continuous process. By continuous process I mean that throughout the year they are collecting information, not as in India at intervals of ten years.

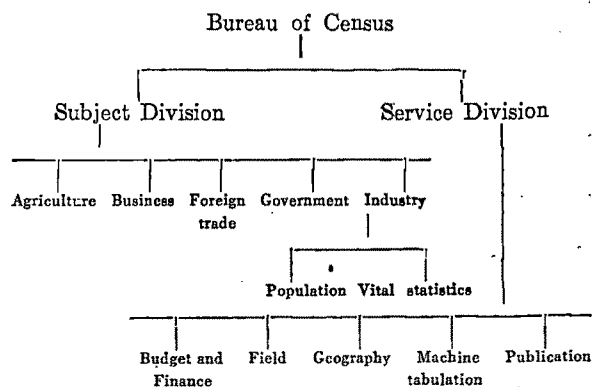
This year in the Independent Sovereign Republic of India we shall have the first Census. In order that this census may be a success all citizens should co-operate earnestly so that Government can collect correct figures which they can unhesitatingly utilise for their future planning.

I shall try to give you in brief: (i) An account of the census operations in the United States of America

because here it is done most methodically using modern statistical methods, (ii) A Summary of the Indian Censuses in previous years and (iii) Future Recommendation. The subject under discussion is very vast; so it is not possible to give an exhaustive study of the different aspects at such a short space.

## AN ACCOUNT OF THE CENSUS OPERATIONS IN U.S.A.

In the United States of America, there is a permanent department under the name Bureau of Census. In the Bureau of Census there are broadly two divisions: (i) Subject Division and (ii) Service Division. Under subject division there are seven items and under service division there are six items. This can be diagrammatically shown as :



Each Sub-division is under the charge of a Chief (scientific man), besides these officers there are five more Senior Officers (all technicians) and a Director. This is in short the administrative set-up of the Bureau of Census. From the list of items given above it will be clear that the Bureau of Census in the United States covers a very wide field. Let us now turn to the activities of the Bureau. As in India, in the United States also there is decennial census. At intervals of ten years there is a complete census and in the inter-censal period the Bureau collects information under the above heads. In our country we understand the need of a department of the above type in the census year but we fail to understand the necessity of the department in other years. The collection of information should be up-to-date so that we can use this in war-time as also in peace-time with complete reliance. The following quotation may be of interest :

"The principal changes in the work of the Bureau of the Census during the past year were brought about by the termination of hostilities and of wartime controls, the need for statistics to aid planning for reconversion, the development of a comprehensive, balanced, permanent Census program geared to peace-time needs . . . needed to furnish new statistical bench marks for Government, business and private research".

Firstly, we shall consider the normal activities of the Bureau and then we shall discuss in brief how the decennial census is arranged in U.S.A.

#### NORMAL FUNCTIONS OF VARIOUS SUB-DIVISIONS

(i) *Agriculture* includes for the year under review the total number of farms and lands in farms. It also includes detailed information on acreage and production of specific crops and live stock in each county. Additional information such as land use, value of land and buildings, farm dwellings, farm population, farm labour, farm equipment, farm facilities, value of farm products sold, etc., are included.

(ii) *Business* : It includes the series of monthly, quarterly and annual reports relating to retail and wholesale business and to the flow of certain commodities through the distribution system.

(iii) *Foreign trade* : It includes matter like adjusting foreign trade reports, statistical classification of domestic and foreign commodities, etc.

(iv) *Government* : It includes analytical reports on State expenditure, State surpluses, State debt, City capital outlay, City debt, etc.

(v) *Industry* : It includes surveys in the manufacturing fields. In a particular year, work under this head is clear from the following sentence :

"The principal efforts in this subject during the past year involved taking over certain war agency surveys which were being discontinued by them and initiating new surveys of commodities for which production had been virtually suspended during the war."

(vi) *Population* : It includes preparation of inter-censal and post-censal estimates of population. During the decennial census, complete count of the population of the United States is done but from year to year the net increase or decrease in the number is furnished by the department.

(vii) *Vital Statistics* : It includes "processing, analyzing and publishing the essential national statistics of births, deaths and still births. In addition, special statistics of motor vehicle accidental deaths, the 10 per cent mortality analysis and various current reports are compiled and published."

In the above paragraphs I have tried to explain in brief the various activities of the different branches under subject division. I believe now it is clear that a permanent Bureau of Census is essential for the country. About the second main division, namely, Service Division, I will not try to explain as it is mainly administrative.

Now I shall try to place before you something about the decennial census in the United States of America. United States of America is a country with a population of 13,16,69,275 and an area of 30,22,387 square miles. The last census was taken in 1940 and this year they will take a fresh census.

"In the United States, the Census of population has been taken every tenth year since 1790. This is a function of the Bureau of the Census, where statistical and administrative activities are carried on by a staff of about 3,000 employees. A large number of this permanent or quasi-permanent staff engaged in different tasks throughout the various stages of preparation, tabulation and other censal and post-censal operations, aside from the special census force engaged periodically for actual work in the field.

"In the 1940 Census, more than 1,20,000 enumerators were employed. Written examinations to test the ability of enumerators in the use of Schedules and instructions and moving pictures to show practical angles of the work and determine an efficient selection were important features of the organisation of this census. The country was divided into enumeration districts, each of which contained, on the average about 1,200 persons. Maps of these districts were prepared and furnished to enumerators who visited each place of residence and entered in the schedules the householder's answers to queries. On a small number of topics the questions were asked of only a 5 per cent random sample of the population, a procedure which permitted the broadening of the scope of the census to obtain additional information at a minimum cost. The enumeration was completed in about two weeks in urban areas and in one month in rural areas. The general results were published in several regular volumes, within about three years of the enumeration period."

The above extract is taken from *Census Costs in the Ten American Nations*.

The total amount which was spent in 1940 for decennial census is \$3,66,08,496. This comes to nearly .278 dollars per capita. In the preceding paragraphs census operations in the United States have been explained. The need for a permanent Census Bureau is now felt by all advanced countries of the world. The whole idea of explaining the activities of the Bureau of Census is to illustrate how the collection of information is actually done and how they are useful for the administration of the country and also for proper planning.

#### A SUMMARY OF THE INDIAN CENSUS IN

##### PREVIOUS YEARS

The first census in India was taken in 1881 and the last census was in 1941. That is, up to now we have seven censuses. This year we shall have the eighth census or in other words the first census in Independent India.

Census in India was started by the British Government, so naturally it followed the British model. In England, Census is taken at an interval of ten years. The whole country is divided into districts and sub-districts and each division is in charge of an official. About 40 thousand enumerators are employed in each census, they distribute the schedules and collect an exhaustive information in every building. Almost the same procedure is followed in India.

## INDIAN CENSUS : ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENT

(a) *Census Act* : Before census is taken in India, *Census Act* is passed by the Government. By this Act :

"Every military officer, every person in charge of lunatic asylum, hospital, workhouse, prison, reformatory, a lock-up, or any public charitable, religious or educational institution, every keeper, secretary of a boarding house, lodging house, emigration depot or club, every manager or officer of a railway or any commercial or industrial establishment and every occupant of immovable property where at the time of census persons were living, was, if required by district magistrate or Provincial Government, under legal obligation to perform the duties of a census officer in relation to the persons who at the time of the census were under his command or charge or inmates of his house or were employed under him."

(b) *Staff* : Central Government appoints a Census Commissioner to conduct the census. Under him the administrative arrangement is as follows :

Census Commissioner

Provincial Superintendent

District Census Officer—Collector

Charge Superintendent—Kanungo

Circle Supervisors

Block enumerators

Block enumerators are mainly village headmen, village school masters and also patwaris. They all perform their duties as part of their ordinary day's work. Thus census is conducted mainly by honorary workers. Before these enumerators start their work, they are properly trained. They are asked to fill up some schedules to see whether their training is satisfactory or not.

## CENSUS UP TO 1931

The work is divided into two parts, preliminary and final. Each house in a particular block is marked. A separate house is decided on the basis of "chullah." Usually the preliminary census is taken a few weeks before the actual census. The enumerator goes to a particular house and fills the form. This is carefully checked by supervisors and other officers.

"The actual census usually relates to a particular night. On the night of the census the preliminary record is made up-to-date. Names of persons who have left their houses or died are struck off from the list and those who have come from outside or are born are entered in the list."

The enumerator prepares a statement showing the population of the block. Each enumerator submits his records to the Circle Officer, following the hierarchical process shown above. Provincial totals are calculated and are published in the form of separate volumes.

1941 CENSUS (*Census Report*)

"The 1941 Census operations differed widely in their circumstances, methods and outcome from those of the previous decades and taken all over must represent the most difficult operation of that long and honourable series.

"The first point of comment is that this census saw more changes in methods than had previously taken place in the whole 70 years since the census began. The chief was the abolition of the old one-night theory of enumeration and the next was the abolition of old *Schedule* and the conducting of enumeration straight on to the slip which was later sorted to produce the various tables. Connected with the list was the complete centralisation of printing, the removal of any written language from the enumeration slip and a variety of other connected and consequent changes which produced not only efficiency but substantial economies amounting to over a lakh of rupees. The first main change enabled us to relate the enumeration far more closely to the existing systems and agencies of the country and brought down the number of enumerators from two millions to one and for British India from 1½ million to 2½."

Under this system the census was extended over a period and it was taken on ordinary residence basis. Suppose a man whose residence was in Calcutta, he would be counted always in Calcutta, no matter whether on the census day he remained in Bombay or in Madras. Another innovation in 1941 census was that every 1/50th slip was marked. The idea was to estimate the population on the sample basis and to see whether the sampling method would be suitable for this purpose.

The different tables which were included in 1941-Census were as follows :

- (1) Area, Houses and Population.
- (2) Variation of population during fifty years.
- (3) Towns and villages classified by population.
- (4) Cities classified by population with variation since 1891.
- (5) Towns arranged territorially with population by communities.
- (6) Community.
- (7) Variation in population of selected tribes.
- (8) Summary figures for provinces and States by district.

## FUTURE RECOMMENDATIONS

(a) Census operations in India should not be a temporary one. Realising the importance of census a permanent department should be established immediately. If future planning in India is to be done on a sound basis then a Bureau of Census on the lines indicated above should be set up.

(b) In England and in America trained enumerators are appointed on a paid basis but the enumerators here have to do the work in addition to their normal work. Thus the enumerators are careless and often commit blunders. The following sentence is interesting :

"In India which is, no less than a Continent, the vast army of enumerators appointed, gets only paper certificates in lieu of the service rendered."



Indian census is unpaid. The census reports may continue to pay glowing tributes for the efficient work done by the enumerators but the fact remains that the majority of enumerators take census as a burden forced upon them against their wishes.

This mental outlook should be changed for efficient work. This can only be achieved if proper remuneration is given to all workers concerned. This will further offer an incentive to the educated public of this country and they will render their services. In former times Census used to be taken more as a "show" than for any real purpose. In Free India we hope this will be changed, and trained and efficient enumerators and supervisors with proper remuneration will be employed. Unless this is done we cannot expect good census.

Now we shall turn to some of the operational aspects of the Census.

(c) Sampling methods applied to Census work. Suitable sampling techniques should be evolved for Census work. This is intended for two purposes: (i) to estimate the population in the intercensal and post censal period. (ii) Many items can be estimated with lesser cost.

In 1940, in the United States, Sampling in conjunction with the census was tried. Following are very valuable observations by M. H. Hansen, Statistical Assistant to the Director :

"In planning the 1940 census of population it was clear, because of the limits placed upon the census by available time and money, that it was impossible to include for complete Census enumeration a number of inquiries urgently needed by both Government and private sources. It was also clear, however, that many of the desired statistics could be collected if sampling techniques were employed."

It was possible to design a highly efficient sampling technique for use in conjunction with the 1940 Census of population because the complete census itself provided a prelisting of the population of the United States. A 5 per cent sample was pre-designated by requiring supplemental inquiries to be asked of all persons whose names fell on specified lines of the Census Schedule. The sample so drawn provided a representative cross-section of both persons and families in the United States.

The introduction of sampling techniques into the 1940 Census of population made it possible to increase the number of inquiries by approximately 50 per cent and thus, tremendously to increase the amount of information collected with no appreciable loss in the accuracy of the data and at considerable savings in the cost of the enterprise to tax-payers.

Moreover, the use of sampling in the census made possible the preparation of preliminary returns on the basis of a specially prepared set of sample punch-cards for the persons enumerated on the sample lines of the schedule fully eight months in advance of complete

tabulation. Thus it was possible to serve quickly the vital public need for accurate statistics on employment, unemployment and the age, sex and colour composition of the population. Finally, the use of sampling in the census made possible a considerable increase in the scope of cross tabulations of basic social and economic characteristics of the population.

In 1950, the Bureau of Census in America is using the sampling techniques in greater details. From the preceding paragraph it is clear that sampling methods provide the following advantages :

(i) To increase the number of inquiries, i.e., to increase the information collected with no appreciable loss in the accuracy of data and at considerable savings in the cost.

(ii) Reports can be published within a short time.

As regards the accuracy of sample census estimates the following illustration may be interesting. In 1944, in some congested areas in the United States sampling technique was used to estimate the population. The following table gives the estimates with error:

Areas	Estimated 1944 civilian population	Average relative sampling error in per cent
Charleston S. L. Area	167,195	.8
Detroit-Willow	2,658,700	.8
Hampton-Road Area	496,790	.6
Los Angeles Area	3,356,969	.7
Mobile Area	233,891	.8
Portland-Vancouver Area	660,583	.7

In the table it has been shown that error has not exceeded in any case 1 per cent.

In India in 1941-Census, every 1/50th card was marked and was kept separately. With these slips, Government of India with the help of the Indian Statistical Institute is now trying to estimate the different characteristics of the population. I suggest that in this year's census, sampling techniques should be employed in conjunction with the complete population census. In analytical statistics, theory of sampling is highly developed and with the statistical experts in the country I believe we can collect very useful information with considerable lesser expense.

(d) United Nations set up a Population Commission to select subjects on which internationally comparable information in the population census is to be taken in or about 1950. The object and the number of subjects may be quoted from the proceedings of the report of the Sub-committee, dated 19th May, 1948 :

"The object of the Commission in preparing this list of subjects and the accompanying explanatory notes are to provide a frame-work for the development of comparable data on the more important matters of demographic interest and thus to lay a sound factual ground-work for the work of the Commission. The Commission feels that the development of comparable data on these topics is essential for the consideration and solution of world population problems. The recommended list of subjects is presented below, without regard to relative

importance : 1. Total population, 2. Sex, 3. Age, 4. Marital status, 5. Place of birth, 6. Citizenship, 7. Mother tongue, 8. Educational characteristics, 9. Fertility, 10. Economic characteristics—(a) total economically active and inactive population, (b) occupation, industry and industrial status, (c) population dependent on various types of economic activities, (d) agricultural population, 11. Urban and rural population, 12. Households (including relationship to household head).

"It is understood that it will not be practicable in some censuses to obtain data on all these topics and that in many censuses it will be undesirable to include subjects not mentioned in the list. The Population Commission agrees with the opinion expressed in the report of the third session of the statistical commission, that statistics on total population, sex, age, marital status and economic characteristics are specially important."

The important items which the Population Sub-Commission has recommended for inclusion in the census operations should be clearly explained so that there may not be ambiguity.

(i) Total population means population living in the country as a whole at the time of census. Foreign military and diplomatic personnel located in the country should be excluded whereas military and diplomatic personnel of the given country located abroad at the time of the census should be included.

(ii) Sex.

(iii) Age: The population should be classified by age in terms of completed years at the last birthday. In our census-table this is omitted. This is very important because if we want to construct life-tables we cannot do it if the population is not classified according to age. To calculate the expectation of life which is so vital for Insurance Companies this is indispensable.

(iv) Marital status: Data should be provided for these four marital status—(a) Married, (b) Widowed, (c) Divorced, (d) Single.

(v) Economic characteristics: (a) Economically active population, (b) Inactive population.

It includes : (1) persons engaged only in house-work at home, (2) students, (3) inmates of penal, mental, and charitable institutions, (4) all other persons not engaged in economic activities such as retired and disabled persons and those who derive their income from rents, royalties, dividends, pensions, etc.

(c) Occupation, Industry and Industrial status.

(d) Population dependent on various types of economic activity.

(e) Agricultural population.

The detailed explanatory notes on different items have been given by the Population Sub-commission, here I have mentioned only a few.

Considering the importance of Census, Government both at the Centre and in the provinces should carefully plan the method of procedure. The points which I have raised as a form of recommendation should be carefully considered. The different items can be summarised as :

1. There should be a permanent Bureau of Census.

2. It should be a paid Census. No honorary workers will be allowed.

3. Proper sampling techniques should be employed.

4. Different items on which information will be collected should be chosen from the list recommended by Population Sub-commission set up by U.N.O.

We the citizens of free India hope that this year's Census will be a real Census in the true sense of the term where both the Government and the people will co-operate with sincere interest.\*

\* Subject-matter of a talk given in Indian Association on 8th May 1950.

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## INDIAN ECONOMY UNDER INDEPENDENCE

By MRITYUNJOY BANERJEE, M.A. LL.B.

It was our poet Rabindranath Tagore who predicted on the 1st of Baisakh, 1348 B.S. that

"The wheels of Fate will some day compel the English to give up their Indian Empire but what sort of India will they leave behind, what stark misery? When the stream of their centuries' administration runs dry at last, what a waste of mud and filth they will leave behind!"

It is about three years and a half since the British left India. The question is, have we been able to recover from the rot, are we on the road to our long-dreamt-of Ram Rajya? For an answer to this question it is necessary to analyse the progress we have achieved or deterioration we have suffered so far in some of the major sectors of our national economy.

### NATIONAL INCOME

The national income of British India was estimated by Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao at Rs. 62 per head in 1931-32. On the basis of Dr. Rao's estimates an economist arrived at the figure of Rs. 213 per head for the Indian Union in 1947-48 (*Commerce*, Annual Number, 1948). According to the *Eastern Economist*, Annual Number, 1948, it was Rs. 160 per head in 1947-48. Three different official estimates of national income have come out recently. The per capita income for provinces of the Indian Union was estimated by the Economic Adviser to the Government of Madras at Rs. 228-10 for 1949-50; that for Bombay, by the Provincial Bureau of Economics and Statistics at Rs. 249-2 for

1948-49; while according to the Ministry of Commerce, Government of India, the national income of the Indian provinces stood at Rs. 204 in 1945-46, Rs. 228 in 1946-47 and Rs. 272 in 1948-49. In other words, averaging these different estimates, the current national income of India comes to about Rs. 220 per head per year. But this refers to nominal national income, that is, to national income in terms of money. Money itself has fallen in value. Prices have risen more than four times from what they were in 1931-32. Therefore, there has not been any appreciable increase in India's real income so far.

The per capita incomes of other principal countries at present stand thus :

	Rs.
United States . . . . .	4,643
Canada .. .. .	2,826
Denmark .. .. .	2,647
United Kingdom .. .. .	2,356
Australia .. .. .	2,160
Ceylon .. .. .	300
Philippines .. .. .	228
Pakistan .. .. .	225

## AGRICULTURE

The agricultural situation may be judged from the following estimates of area and yield of principal crops for the Indian Union :

(Area—in 1,000 acres)

	1947-48	1948-49	1949-50	Percentage increase or decrease in 1949-50 over 1947-48
<b>Rice—</b>				
Area	60,818	70,275	71,660	+ 18
Yield (in 000 tons)	19,534	21,725	21,913	+ 12
<b>Wheat—</b>				
Area	20,353	21,875	23,627	+ 15
Yield (in 000 tons)	5,389	5,472	6,110	+ 13
<b>Sugarcane—</b>				
Area	4,047	3,791	3,641	- 10
Yield (in 000 tons)	5,803	4,993	4,904	- 16
<b>Groundnut—</b>				
Area	10,079	9,145	9,672	- 4
Yield (in 000 tons)	3,411	2,896	3,399	- 4
<b>Tea—</b>				
Yield (in million lbs.)	568	595	580	+ 2
<b>Raw Cotton—</b>				
Area	10,932	11,293	11,793	+ 8
Yield (in 000 bales)	2,116	1,767	2,165	+ 2
<b>Raw Jute—</b>				
Area	652	834	1,158	+ 78
Yield (in 000 bales)	1,696	2,055	3,117	+ 84

(Source : Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India)

Thus it appears that there has been a considerable improvement in production in respect of raw jute and an appreciable one for rice and wheat. The production of raw cotton and groundnut fell in 1948-

49 but has improved again in 1949-50. In the case of raw cotton it is higher than in 1947-48 but of groundnut, it is lower. The production of sugarcane has been falling year by year. Another noticeable feature is that in the case of rice the increase in yield has been made possible by a larger increase in area, while the decrease in yield of sugarcane has been larger than its decrease in area. This shows that there has been a fall in the average yield per acre of these two crops.

## INDUSTRY

Industrial production stood as follows in recent years :

	1947	1948	1949	First nine months of 1950	Percentage increase or decrease in 1949 over 1947
Coal (in 000 tons)	30,073	29,822	31,457	23,994	+ 4.6
Steel ingots and castings (in 000 tons)	1,256	1,252	1,353	1,054	+ 7.7
Cloth (in million yards)	3,816	4,338	3,904	2,762	+ 2.3
Jute (in 000 tons)	1,051	1,048	946	622	- 10
Sugar (in 000 tons)	925	1,075	1,045	780	+ 13
Caustic Soda (in 000 tons)	3,314	4,333	6,303	8,094	+ 92.2
Paper and paper-boards (in 000 tons)	93	98	103	81	+ 13.8
Cement (in 000 tons)	1,441	1,553	2,102	1,911	+ 45.9

(Source : Ministry of Industry and Supply)

Thus compared to 1947, the production of cement and caustic soda has increased substantially ; of sugar, paper and steel appreciably ; coal and cotton textiles, slightly ; while production of jute manufactures has actually fallen much. There has been a fall in production of cotton textiles and sugar in 1949 compared to 1948. On the basis of available records for the first nine months of 1950 it may be estimated that the production of coal, steel and paper will be slightly higher in 1950 than 1949, caustic soda and cement much higher and cloth, jute and sugar lower.

## INDUSTRIAL PROFITS

The position of industrial profits has been as follows :

(Base 1928=100)

	1939	1946	1947	1948	Maximum reached and year
Iron and Steel	289.3	293.7	249.6	278.0	402.2 (19-2)
Jute	13.6	56.4	42.5	49.0	56.4 (19-6)
Tea	96.2	191.5	208.4	123.3	219.5 (19-2)
Cotton	154.5	631.9	490.9	846.9	988.9 (19-3)
Sugar	179.4	219.2	308.1	685.1	685.1 (19-6)
Coal	139.1	276.5	239.4	280.1	359.7 (19-5)
All Industries	72.4	160.2	134.0	181.7	181.7 (19-3)

(Source : Ministry of Labour)



Thus the profits of all the industries have been higher during the period of Independence than on the eve of World War II, except in the case of iron and steel where they are lower by a few points only. Profits have been higher in 1948 than 1947 for all industries except tea. The cotton industry has earned in 1948 nearly double its profits in 1947 and more than five times the pre-war profits, while sugar industry more than double the profits of 1947 and about four times the pre-war profits.

#### INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES

The average number of stoppages per month due to strikes has stood as follows :

1939	34	1947	151
1943	60	1948	105
1945	68	1949	77
1946	136	1950 (First 9 months)	82

The average number of man-days lost per month has stood as follows :

1939	416	1947	1,380
1943	195	1948	653
1945	338	1949	550
1946	1,060	1950 (First 9 months)	1,098

This shows that both the number of disputes and the number of man-days lost reached their maximum in 1947, they have been steadily declining since then but they suddenly jumped up in 1950. During the first nine months of 1950 as many as 9,886 man-days were lost, raising the month's average 1,098. The long strike in Bombay during August and September was principally responsible for this situation. Except for this extraordinary development, it may be said that the labour situation, though on the whole worse than during or before the last war, has still been improving slowly.

#### PRICES

The index-number of wholesale prices, as compiled by the Economic Adviser to the Government of India, has moved as follows :

(Base August 1939=100)

	Annual Average			23rd Dec.
	November 1947	1948-49	1949-50	1950
Food articles	294.8	382.9	391.3	419.7
Industrial raw materials	377.9	444.8	471.7	536.4
Semi-manufactured articles	252.5	327.3	331.6	350.9
Manufactured articles	283.2	346.1	347.2	350.3
General index	302.2	376.2	385.4	411.5

The prices in India are the highest among principal countries of the world and price variations are also the highest. They remained fairly stable in the first eleven months of 1947, rose sharply after decontrol in November, 1947 and have been rising slowly and almost steadily since then. The present price-level is more than four times the level in August, 1939; two times that in December, 1942; and about one-third more than what it was on the eve of Independence.

Stabilisation of the price-level, not to speak of lowering it, has been the main cause of headache to the Government whose measures like price control, rationing concessions to industry and relaxation of import restrictions have alike failed to check the rising spiral.

#### FOREIGN TRADE

The over-all position of India's foreign trade has stood as follows :

	(Valued in lakhs of Rupees)		
	1947-48	1948-49	1949-50
Total Imports	4,86.43	6,65.59	5,57.9
Total Exports	4,03.19	4,50.61	483.2

Balance of trade	-83.24	-2,14.98	-74.7
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Her sea-borne trade in merchandise, both private and Government, has been as follows :

	(In lakhs of Rupees)			
	1938-39	1947-48	1948-49	1949-50
Imports	155.55	398.62	518.32	560.0
Exports	169.83	403.41	423.32	483.2

Balance of trade	+ 14.28	+4.79	-95.00	-76.8
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India's trade with Pakistan has stood thus :

	(Valued in lakhs of Rupees)		
	1948-49		1949-50
Imports	105.17		43.58
Exports	74.01		41.40
Balance of trade	-31.16		-2.18

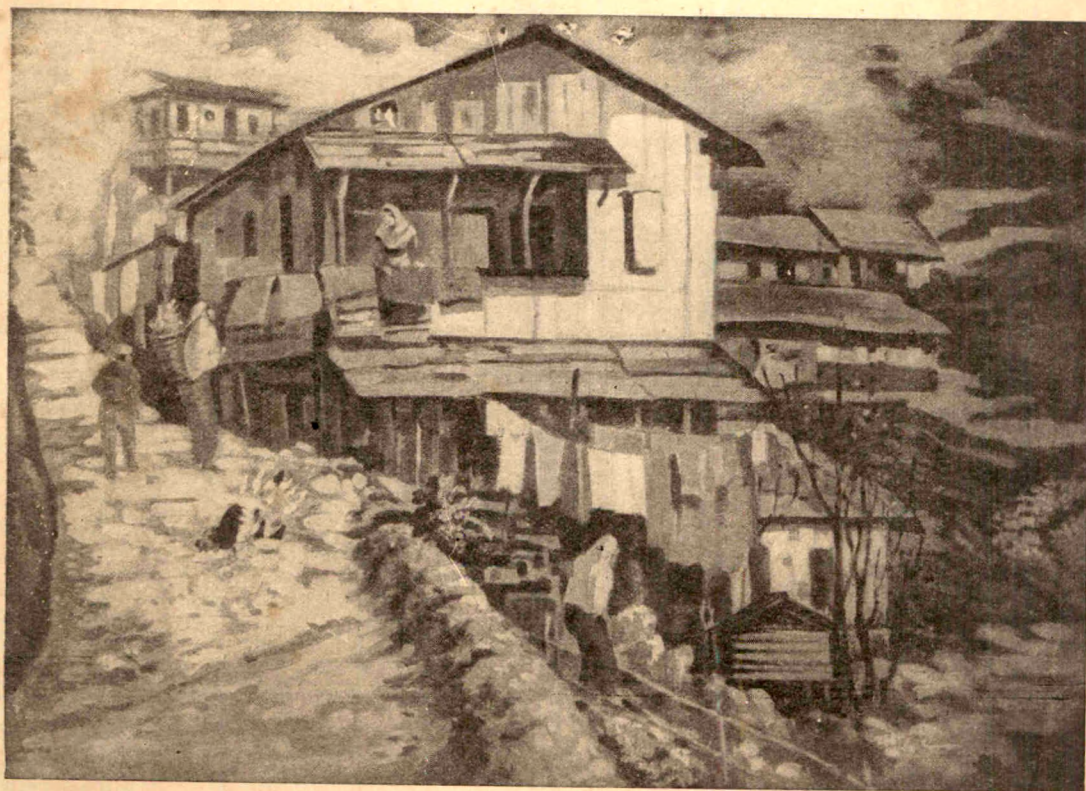
Thus her balance of foreign trade, including trade by land, has been negative during the three years of her Independence, but the deficit which increased much in 1948-49 has been lowered substantially in 1949-50. This is the direct result of devaluation of the Rupee which was adopted on September 19, 1949 and which has, on the whole, proved beneficial to India's foreign trade. The balance of trade on current account in the 12 months almost preceding devaluation, viz., October 1948 to September, 1949, was negative or adverse to the extent of Rs. 248.8 crores while in the corresponding period following it, viz., October, 1949 to September 1950, it has been positive or favourable to the extent of Rs. 65.9 crores. Similarly, in the capital account there has been a favourable balance of Rs. 34.7 crores in place of an adverse balance of Rs. 245 crores.

#### CONCLUSION

Considering the multitude of accumulated deficiencies that have been inherited and new handicap that have cropped up since Independence, the trend of Indian economy during the past three years has no been on the whole unsatisfactory nor altogether discouraging either. As our new Finance Minister has said the economic situation is difficult but not desperate. In some of the items of agriculture and industry particularly, tea, raw jute, cement, caustic soda and coal, the production figures are highly encouraging. In respect of agriculture it has to be remembered that a

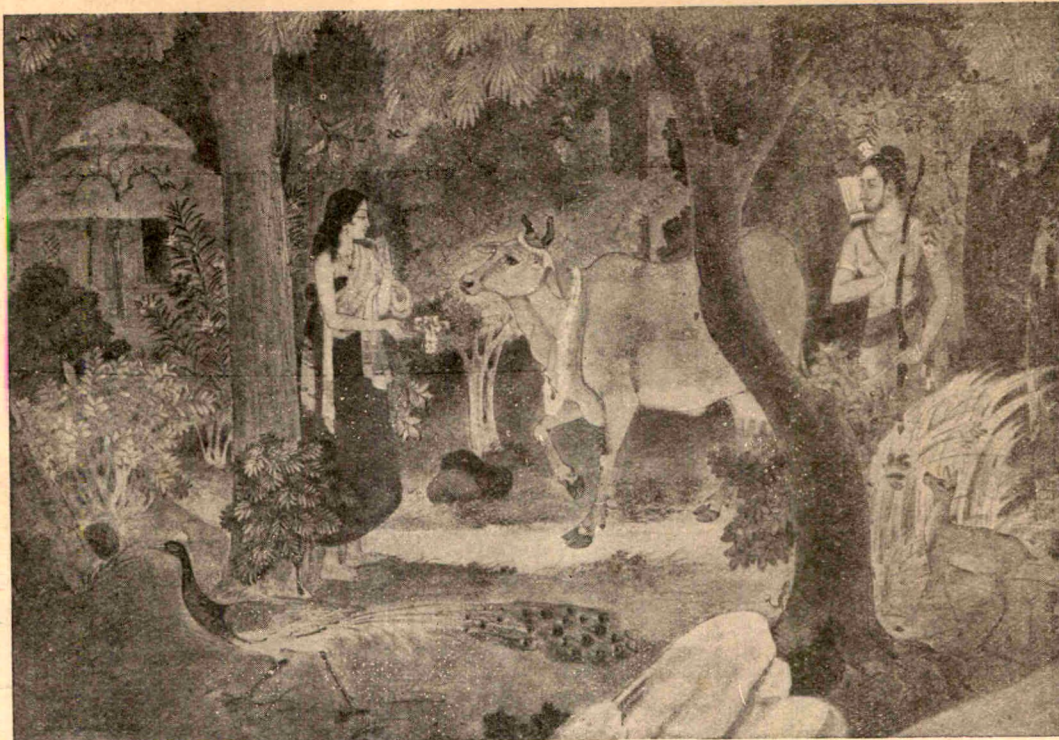


Spring Festival  
By Nandalal Bose



Bhutia Basti  
By Ramendra Nath Chakravorty





The cow served by King Dilipa and Queen Sudakshina  
By Satyendranath Banerji



Angling (Coloured Wood-cut)  
By Haren Das



partition India retained 77 per cent of the population which has been augmented further by mass migration of refugees, but she got only 73 per cent of the total area, 72 per cent of the rice area, 70 per cent of the wheat acreage and 70 per cent of the irrigated land. In these circumstances the achievements in the agricultural sector generally are not too little. In industry the recent production trends are quite promising and the tempo has only to be pushed up further by a return of confidence in the investment market and a peaceful labour situation. Our foreign trade position has improved tremendously and the latest figures are record ones in India's history. One disconcerting element, however, in the economic situation is the demon of high prices which appears to be the villain of the piece. It is the most important factor which is damaging the entire economy. It is because of high prices that the increase in our national income is rendered meaningless in terms of reality and the standard of living is so low. If prices rose to that extent only which was

necessitated by shortage in supply or increase in demand or both, prevalent in the post-war era and no more, the situation would have been a tolerable one. A considerable portion of the price-rise is speculative and has been caused by non-economic factors. The responsibility for these is not merely Governmental. It has to be shared by the people, too. High prices above the controlled level are charged and paid also by our countrymen, exclusive of the Government. There is dishonesty to the right, corruption to the left; profiteering here, and blackmarketing there. This makes clear the truth that national economy is inextricably mixed up with national character. National character is again the sum-total of individual character. Ultimately the task of lifting the country out of its economic difficulties devolves on every man and woman of the country. Independence has brought on new responsibility. If each one is true to this new sense of duty, economic recovery will not be difficult in any way.

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## BRITISH PRESS : IS IT REALLY FREE ?

By NIKHIL RANJAN RAY, M.A.,

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### I

WHILE flinging the common gibe at the Russian Press that it is a propaganda arm of the Communist regime and serves only State-manufactured opinions, British newspapermen and politicians insist that the British Press is absolutely free. This claim for the British Press, however, is much too extravagant. If the Russian Press is designed primarily to serve "the interests of the toilers" and "strengthen the socialist social order",<sup>1</sup> its counterpart in Britain is mainly an instrument of the financial interests for the propagation of their views and the upholding of the capitalist social order. In fact, free Press in a class-ridden society is a chimera. In every country, whether it is a Fascist dictatorship, a "proletarian dictatorship," or a "liberal democracy" the Press is principally a means in the hands of the dominant class for the dissemination of news and views accordant with that pattern of culture and society which guarantees its dominance.

A free Press serves no particular class; its allegiance is to the whole society. It presents news accurately and

serves as a national pulpit from which all shades of opinions can be voiced without let or hindrance. It does not black out news or suppress opinions because they are subversive of the interests of any particular class. A free Press is the mirror and pulse of the national life; it is the warden of public conscience and exponent of public opinion. It is the one means through which the freedom of the people to know, speak and criticise can seek realisation. Judged by this standard the British Press falls far short of the requirements of a free Press. Those who assert that the Press in Britain is absolutely free really refer only to its comparative freedom in relation to the State and overlook its servility in relation to the financial interests. A free Press not only enjoys immunity from undue governmental interference, it also functions as an impartial agency for the dissemination of news and opinions without being subjected to any pressure from the financial interests. It is no exaggeration to say that the British Press is a virtual prisoner in the hands of the financial interests. It is an outstanding fact of the modern newspaper industry of Britain that the ownership and control of newspapers and periodicals, with a very few exceptions, are concentrated in the hands of a few big combines in which half a dozen Press Lords, such as Lord Rothermere, Lord Kemsley, Lord Camrose, Lord Beaverbrook, Lord Illiffe, etc., are the central figures. A brief account of the ownership and control of the Press in Britain may be attempted here.

1. Andrei Vyshinsky, Soviet Foreign Minister, in his *Law of the Soviet State*, writes : "Freedom of speech, of the press, . . . are the property of all the citizens in the U.S.S.R., fully guaranteed by the State upon the single condition that they be utilised in accord with the interests of the toilers and to the end of strengthening the socialist social order."

## II

The main groups that monopolise the ownership of the "big" Press differ considerably in their structure. While there are some which are very ramified and control every process from the manufacture of newsprint to the publication of every variety of newspapers and periodicals, there are others which have no ramifications and whose interests do not extend beyond the publication of a few dailies.

## CONSERVATIVE PRESS

*Harmsworth Group*: The oldest of these groups is what is conveniently described as the Harmsworth group, to which the main inheritance of the two Harmsworth brothers, Viscount Northcliffe and the first Viscount Rothermere, had descended. This group comprises mainly four companies, namely, Associated Newspapers Limited, Daily Mail and General Trust Limited, Daily Mirror Newspapers Limited and Sunday Pictorial Newspapers Limited.<sup>2</sup> In addition to the publication of such national papers as *Daily Mail*, *Overseas Daily Mail*, *Sunday Dispatch* and the *London Evening News*, this group owns or controls a host of Provincial newspapers and periodicals. Besides, it has large interests in a number of paper mills.

It is difficult to trace where the real financial control of the group lies. Lord Rothermere has substantial direct holdings in both Associated Newspapers Limited and Daily Mail and General Trust Limited but they are comparatively small. The directoral connections of the companies of the group however are a fair indication of where the financial control can possibly lie. Lord Rothermere

2. Associated Newspapers Ltd. owns the *Daily Mail*, *Overseas Daily Mail*, *Sunday Dispatch* and the *London Evening News*. Through subsidiary companies it also owns or controls a host of provincial newspapers and periodicals. It owns *Gloucestershire Echo*, *Cheltenham Chronicle*, *Citizen*, *Gloucester Journal*, *Stoke-on-Trent Evening Sentinel* and *Staffs Weekly Sentinel*. It has a direct controlling interest in *Hull Daily Mail*, *Grimsby Daily Telegraph*, *Sports Mail*, *Hull and Lincoln Times*, *Saturday Telegraph*, *South Wales Daily Post*, *Herald of Wales*, *Derby Evening Telegraph* and *Express*. It has also an interest in the *Leicester Evening Mail* and the *Bristol Evening World* and *Evening Post*. In addition it controls Empire Paper Mills Ltd., and has a substantial holding in Anglo-Newfoundland Development Co., with which it has an agreement to purchase all its requirements of newsprint until 1958.

Daily Mail and General Trust Ltd. is primarily a shareholding concern, and holds more than a third of the deferred shares of Associated Newspapers. It has also a large interest in Bristol United Press Ltd. which runs *Bristol Evening Post* and has a direct controlling interest in *Bristol Evening World*.

Daily Mirror Newspapers Ltd. owns *Daily Mirror* and has a direct controlling interest in *Lincolnshire Echo*; it has large holdings in Albert E. Reed & Co., Ltd., (Paper Mills), Anglo-Canadian Pulp and Paper Mills Ltd., Daily Mail and General Trust Ltd., Associated Newspapers Ltd., and Sunday Pictorial Newspapers Ltd. which publishes *Sunday Pictorial*.

Sunday Pictorial Newspapers Ltd. publishes *Sunday Pictorial*, and has large shares in Anglo-Canadian Pulp and Paper Ltd., in Associated Newspapers Ltd., and Daily Mail and General Trust.

The *Western Morning News* (published by the Western Morning News Ltd. in Plymouth) with its associated papers, such as the *Cornish Evening News*, *Cornish Guardian*, *Western Times*, *Tiverton Gazette*, *Wellington Weekly News*, etc., is under the control of another branch of the Harmsworth family.

is chairman of both Associated Newspapers and Daily Mail and General Trust Limited. In addition, he is chairman of British Movietone News and a director of Gaumont Picture Corporation Limited. Besides, he is on the boards of Anglo-Canadian Pulp and Paper Mills Limited and Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company. The Vice-chairman of Associated Newspapers, K. A. Layton-Bennet, holds eighteen other directorships, including several investment trusts, and insurance, hotel, rubber and other companies. On the board of Daily Mail and General Trust the smell of rubber is strong. Its Vice-chairman, Sir Samuel Hardman Lever, is a director of three companies of the Dunlop group. With him on this board is F. A. Szarvasy, who is also connected with the Dunlop group, investment trusts and banking. In addition, Szarvasy is deeply involved in South Wales, being chairman of the vast Amalgamated Anthracite output. Directoral connections with *Daily Mirror* and *Sunday Pictorial* are maintained by F. A. McWhirter, managing director of Associated Newspapers, who sits on both boards, which in turn are strongly interlocked under the same chairman, H. G. Bartholomew. The circle is completed by A. S. Fuller who is a director both of the *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Mail and General Trust*.

*Kemsley and Camrose Groups*: The second great Press trust and the greatest rival of the Harmsworth group is what was formerly known as the Berry group which split into three separate groups under the two Berry brothers, Lord Camrose and Lord Kemsley, and Lord Illiffe in 1937.

The key company in the group is Kemsley Newspapers Limited. It owns *Daily Dispatch*, *Empire News*, *Evening Chronicle*, *Sunday Chronicle* and *Sunday Times*; and has a direct controlling interest in a large number of papers.<sup>3</sup>

The second main group is that of Lord Camrose whose daily newspaper interests are confined to the *Daily Telegraph* of which he is proprietor and editor-in-chief. Lord Camrose is also chairman of the vast Amalgamated Press which publishes over a hundred and fifty weeklies, monthlies and annuals. The company, among other subsidiaries, has a direct controlling interest in Imperial Paper Mills Limited (Gravesend) and owns about three quarters of the ordinary shares of Kelly's Directories Limited, which publishes over one hundred Directories and has a direct controlling interest in Fixol Stickphast Limited, two subsidiary printing companies and owns all shares of Associated Illiffe Press Limited.

The newspaper interests of the group which centred round Lord Illiffe has shrunk considerably since his temporary 'retirement' in 1939. In 1937 when the original

3. Namely, *Daily Graphic* and *Sunday Graphic*; *Newcastle Journal* and *North Mail*, *Evening Chronicle*; *Sunday Sun*; *Glasgow Daily Record*, *Evening News* and *Sunday Mail*; *Sheffield Telegraph* and *Independent Star*; *Yorkshire Herald*, *Yorkshire Evening Press*; *Evening Gazette*; *Northern Daily Telegraph* (Blackburn); *Aberdeen Press* and *Journal*, *Evening Press*; *Middlesbrough Evening Gazette*; *Stockport Express*.

Berry group split up Kelly's Directories passed under the control of Lord Illiffe but control reverted to Amalgamated Press in 1939. Publications of the group now includes *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, *Birmingham Post*, *Birmingham Mail*, *Birmingham Weekly Post*, etc.

The holdings of the Berry family in its companies are enough to give it an effective control over the publications of the group.

The Financial News Limited forms the core of another small group. This company publishes the *Financial Times*, owns a fifty per cent interest in the *Economist*, all shares of the Investors Chronicle Limited, all shares of the *Practitioner*, and a substantial interest in Moody's Economic Services. The chairman of the group is Major General G. P. Dawnay Day and Company, the City financial house.

**Express Group :** The Express group organised under Lord Beaverbrook almost qualifies as a trust since it owns *Daily Express*, *Sunday Express*, *Evening Standard* and has a controlling interest in the *Glasgow Evening Citizen*. Of the 408,000 ordinary shares of London Express Newspapers Limited in which the voting rights are concentrated 136,507 were held by Lord Beaverbrook in 1941 and 154,200 by Control Nominees Limited.

#### LIBERAL PRESS

Provincial Newspapers Limited is what remains of the great group which was formed by the Inveresk paper interests in the twenties under William Harrison. Today Inveresk group controls four evening papers (Provincial), their local sporting papers and a number of weeklies. It also holds some shares in Hull and Grimsby Newspapers Limited.

Chairman of the board is Sir Herbert Grotrian. He also holds the chairmanships of United Newspapers Limited, Argus Press Limited and Argus Press Holdings Limited in which he has a large interest. On the board are also B. H. Binder, who is connected with a number of South American railways and British Breweries, rubber, insurance, property and investment trusts, and Sir Harry Britain, Tory M.P. for Acton, 1918-29, one of the founders of the Anti-Socialist Union.

Westminster Press Provincial Newspapers Limited is the last survivor of another group of Liberal tendencies, originally known as the Starmer group, which owned the *Westminster Gazette* and had an interest in the *News Chronicle*. This company owns eleven morning papers, seven evening papers and one Sunday paper. The group has always been closely identified with the Rowntree (cocoa) and Pearson (contracting and electrical) interests.

Two important London Dailies, *News Chronicle* (morning) and *Star* (evening), are controlled by the Daily News Limited which has no further newspaper interests. Control of this group is clearly in the hands of the Cadbury family.

In the periodical field the Odhams Press occupies

a position next to the Amalgamated Press of the Camrose group. Its newspaper interests consist in the publication of the *Daily Herald* and *The People*.

Today the only national papers independent of the above combines are two dailies—*The Times* and the *Daily Worker*—and three Sundays—*The Observer*, *Reynolds News* and the *News of the World*. Both *The Times* and *The Observer* are closely associated with the Astor family.<sup>4</sup>

There is also a large number of independent Provincial papers some of which are of national reputation, e.g., the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Yorkshire Post*, the *Scotsman*, the *Glasgow Herald*, the *Liverpool Post* and the *Birmingham Post*.

The word "independent" has little meaning as applied to many of these papers. *The News of the World* has an authorised capital (£2,500,000) larger than that of some of the groups. Besides, a Tory newspaper representing big industrial interests remains Tory in inclination and affiliation whether it stands on its own or whether it is part of one of the big chains.

#### LABOUR PRESS

Labour is represented nationally by the *Daily Herald*, *Daily Worker* and *Reynolds News*. Control of these papers is vested in their readers, in part directly in the case of the *Daily Worker*, through the Co-operative movement in the case of *Reynolds News*, and through the T. U. C. in the case of the *Daily Herald*. The position of the *Daily Herald* is peculiar. Its body is owned by a capitalist combine, and its soul by the T. U. C. The Odhams Press holds 51 per cent of its shares but policy control lies with the General Council of the Trade Union Congress who hold the remaining 49 per cent of the shares. There are also Labour weeklies and monthly periodicals which flourish in a large number of localities.

Monopolistic tendencies are also evident in the Indian Press. At present there are five groups of papers owned or controlled by five families. (a) Birla family owns *The Hindustan Times* of Delhi, daily and weekly; the *Leader* of Allahabad; the *Searchlight* and *Rashtrabani* of Patna; *Jagriti* (Bengali monthly) of Calcutta. It is reported that this family has also a controlling interest in Bombay's Bharat group of papers, started by Mr. Dayabhai Patel, son of Sardar Patel. (b) Dalmia family owns the *Bennet Coleman* publications of Bombay which include *The Times of India*, (and will include the *Times of India*, Delhi, to be started soon) and *Satyajug* (Bengali) of

4. In the field of finance and British public life the Astor family is well-known. On the death of the first Viscount in 1929, his American fortune alone was estimated at £22,000,000. By the middle thirties, besides Lord Astor in the House of Lords, the family held three seats in the Commons (Lady Astor, the Hon. J. . . Astor and the Hon. W. W. Astor) and a daughter of Lord Astor's was married to another M.P. (Lord Willoughby de Eresby). Throughout the late thirties, the influence of the family and the "Cliveden" set, named after Lord Astor's country house, on the Chamberlain Government became well known.



Calcutta. The *Indian News Chronicle* of Delhi till recently belonged to this family. (c) Goenka family owns the *Indian Express* and *Andhraprava* of Madras; *The National Standard of Bombay*; and the *Eastern Express* of Calcutta. (d) The Amrita Bazar group belonging to Sir Tushar Kanti Ghosh of Calcutta includes *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and *Jugantar* (Bengali) of Calcutta; *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and *Amrit Patrika* (Hindi) of Allahabad. (e) The Ananda Bazar group belonging to Sri Suresh Majumder includes *Ananda Bazar Patrika* (Bengali), *Hindusthan Standard* and *Desh* (Bengali weekly) of Calcutta. Starting of an English daily in Delh. by the group is reported to be in preparation.<sup>5</sup>

The growth of powerful chains of newspapers creating a monopoly of ownership has certain far-reaching consequences involving considerable loss of freedom on the part of the British Press. First, there has been a gradual reduction in the number of papers consequent upon amalgamation, absorption and extinction. In 1921 there were 12 morning papers and 6 evening papers in London; now there are 9 morning and 3 evening papers. In 1921 there were 45 morning papers and 88 evening papers in the Provinces (English); now there are 18 morning and 65 evening papers. In this process of absorption and extinction many papers of real worth have gone to the wall. Disappearance of such papers as *Westminster Gazette*, *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Daily Graphic* (old) is a real loss to the reading public of Britain. In the United States also the same tendencies are in evidence. In 25 years since 1921 the total number of newspapers there had been halved, and the situation is such that today there are 10 whole States in which there are no cities with competing newspapers.<sup>6</sup>

Second, there is a marked decline in the editorial standard. Nowadays editors of assertive personality and independent mind are at a discount. Newspaper proprietors rather prefer "scribbling lackeys" who would toe the marked line without demur. As Wickham Steed, former editor of the *London Times*, said :

"Newspaper proprietors today dislike editors and editorial writers of strong personality. They prefer that their own personalities should be served by expert scribes who can be trusted to advocate whatever the view the proprietors may wish to proclaim."<sup>7</sup>

Referring to the cause of the serious decline in the quality of British journalism in the past thirty years Michael Foot, the noted editor of the *Evening Standard*, said :

"It is due to the decline in the power of the editor, and the encroachment of the authority of the newspaper proprietors. Thirty years ago, many of the great editors of the great dailies were well-known

people throughout the country. Today, very few of their names are known; in fact, many of them are little more than stooges, cyphers and sychophants."<sup>8</sup>

Third, the sum of money that has to be risked in starting a new daily with any hope of making it stand on its own feet is so enormous that the door of the industry is virtually closed against a new-comer. The result is that the competition is limited to the existing papers. Since the first World War only one full-scale national paper, the *Daily Herald*, has been established. Though this paper derived substantial goodwill from its official connection with the Labour Party yet the Odhams Press had to spend £2,000,000 to make it self-supporting. Very truly the *London Economist* said, "There are very few industries which impose an entrance fee as high as this." It may be noted that most of the sum has to be spent not on capital goods (plant, etc.) but in building up goodwill. In getting a foothold a new paper has to fight fierce 'circulation war' against powerful well-entrenched enemies. In order to beat their rival papers not unoften resort to such journalistically unworthy devices as offer of various inducements in the form of "insurance benefits," "free gifts," "competition coupons," etc., to "registered readers." According to the *Economist*, in pre-war days, of the total production cost of £3,000,000 of a paper with a circulation of 2,000,000 "Readers' Insurance" normally absorbed £100,000 and canvassing and publicity £300,000.<sup>9</sup> In the beginning of this century the proprietors of the *Daily Tribune*, a London morning journal of a serious type, had given up the unequal struggle after they had poured £600,000 into it.<sup>10</sup>

Fourth, in news, leaders and features variety has yielded place to dull uniformity. Today the different links of a chain are little more than the same edition under different titles. In most cases the functions of the editors of chain newspapers are mechanical and consist in carrying out instructions and policies dictated from a central source. An ex-editor wrote :

"With some years of experience as editor of a daily newspaper in a large provincial city, I am well aware of certain undesirable aspects of the group or 'chain' system of ownership, such as the subordination of editorial to the managerial (i.e., commercial) status, the standardised service of leading articles and political commentaries to all the group newspapers from a central source, the directoral instructions as to the news 'slants', the lack of genuine local roots involved in multiple proprietorship and the interplay of group finance with its tendency towards amalgamation."<sup>11</sup>

### III

Ownership and control seldom part company. He who pays the piper calls the tune. In the case of the British

5. Cf. Subhash Roy's article on "The Indian Press Owners and Reuter" published in *Swadhinata*, 21st October, 1946, and S. G. Roy's "Free Press in India" published in *The Republic*, December, 24, 1949.

6. Cf. Mr. Michael Foot's speech in the House of Commons.—*Hansard*, Vol. 428, No. 206, 29th October, 1946, p. 464.

7. *The Press*, p. 173.

8. Cf. His speech in the House of Commons, *Hansard*, 29th October, 1946, Vol. 428, No. 206, p. 469.

9. 2nd January, 1937, p. 4.

10. 9th January, 1937, p. 52.

11. Cf. *The Press* by Wickham Steed, pp. 83-84.

12. Letter from "An Ex-Editor," *The Times*, 30th July, 1946.

Press also it is the proprietor who sets the tone of the paper and controls its editorial policy. And since all the important papers, with a very few exceptions, are owned by big trusts or by wealthy persons (as in the case of *The Times* and *The Observer*) the views and opinions that find expression through their columns are those of the financial interests. As Francis Williams, editor of the *Daily Herald*, said :

"The modern editor has become primarily an executive carrying out policies laid down for him by his proprietors and voicing, in so far as the newspaper he edits attempts to form public opinion, their judgments. It is the voice of Lord Beaverbrook that is heard in the *Daily Express*—which indeed is stamped throughout with his brilliant, dangerous and irresponsible personality—the voice of Lord Rothermere and his friends that comes to us through the *Daily Mail*, the voice of Lord Camrose that is heard, tuned to a slightly dignified note, in the columns of the *Daily Telegraph*, and the lighter tenor of his brother, Lord Kemsley, that inspires each morning the readers of the *Daily Sketch* and of the other Kemsley newspapers."<sup>13</sup>

Lord Kemsley admitted that he had instructions to his editors that the editorial policy of his papers should have a "wide general regard for Conservative interests" which he conceived "to be the best for the country."<sup>14</sup> He assured the recent Royal Commission that it was quite unnecessary for him to tell his editors his views on any subject since they were all "men with similar ideas to my own."<sup>15</sup> Lord Beaverbrook is said to be in the habit of "talking his editors out of it" if their views on Empire Free Trade do not coincide with his.<sup>16</sup> He has also declared that the main purpose which he seeks to fulfil through his papers is 'propaganda'.<sup>17</sup>

The newspapers and periodicals representing the capitalist interests are not only the vehicles of the ideas and opinions of those interests but also a means of propaganda against their political opponents. Since Labour assumed control of the destinies of the nation the capitalist Press has been bitterly hostile to the Government always endeavouring to discredit it in the eyes of the public. In a booklet published by the Labour Research Department it has been remarked that the "Labour Government, elected with a clear mandate, stands confronted with, in the main, a bitterly hostile Press tightly organised both nationally and locally, which reflects not the interest and the aspirations of the British people or of any considerable section of it, but purely those of large-scale capitalism."<sup>18</sup> The capitalist Press

does not see eye to eye with the Labour Government, for the conception of socialist Britain which is allged to be the creed of the Labour Party is completely excluded from the philosophy of the capitalists. Having lost control of Parliament capitalists are striving to direct public attention from Parliament to the Press which they are seeking to develop into a rival forum. Now they fight national issues not so much on the floor of Parliament as on the columns of their papers. In debating national questions they do not adequately represent the views to which they are opposed; they misrepresent their opponents in order to show that the latter are wrong and make themselves appear infallibly right. They show scant regard for truth. If truths do not serve their purpose they invent falsehoods. If facts do not agree with their policy, they suppress them and invent new ones as it suits their policy. In 1946 the Attorney-General of England remarked: "They distort the facts; they suppress the news upon which free opinions can be freely formed. They refrain from publishing information which might conflict with their particular opinions."<sup>19</sup> In 1946 the *Daily Graphic*, in an attempt to discredit the Labour Government, published a circumstantial and wholly apocryphal report of a cocktail party to be given by Mr. Shinwell (the then Minister of Fuel) for "1000 guests" to celebrate the transfer of the coal industry to State ownership. On the eve of the October election of 1924 Conservative Press published a forged letter known as "Zinovieff letter" which raised in the minds of the electorate a suspicion of Russian influence in Labour's counsels. The publication of the "Red Letter" had the desired result: it destroyed all chances of Labour victory. In condemning a section of Conservative Press for its vile and vitriolic attack against that group of Conservatives which was led by Mr. Baldwin (later Lord) when in early twenties the lute of the Party exhibited a rift, he said: "The papers conducted by Lord Rothermere and Lord Beaverbrook are not newspapers in the ordinary acceptance of the term. They are engines of propaganda for the constantly changing policies, desires, personal wishes, personal likes and dislikes of two men. What are their methods? Their methods are direct falsehood, misrepresentation, half-truths, the alteration of speaker's meaning by putting sentences apart from their context, suppression and editorial criticism of speeches which are not reported in the paper. What the proprietorship of these papers is aiming at is power, but power without responsibility, the prerogative of the harlot throughout the ages."<sup>20</sup> Indeed, "processing" of facts of which Wickham Steed so pompously accused the Russian Press and Government recently is a common practice with the partisan Press and Government in every country, not excepting Britain.<sup>21</sup>

13. Cf. *Press, Parliament and People*, p. 174.

14. Cf. Mr. Davies' speech in the House of Commons. Mr. Davies quoted Lord Kemsley. *Hansard*, 29th October, 1946, Vol. 428, p. 459.

15. Cf. *Pro Bono Publico*, *The New Statesman and Nation*, July, 1949, p. 4.

16. *Ibid.*

17. To the Royal Commission he said, "I run them purely for the purpose of making propaganda and with no other motive."—Reported in *The Statesman* (Calcutta), July 1, 1949.

18. *The Millionaire Press*, p. 3.

19. *The Daily Herald*, July 20, 1946.

20. Quoted by Mr. Davies in the House of Commons. *Hansard*, 29th October, 1946, Vol. 428, No. 206, p. 460.

21. Cf. "Processing" Persons, Parties and History (an article) by Wickham Steed: *Pakistan Observer*, November 22, 1947, (Mofussil).

Next to proprietors it is the advertisers who exert potent influence on the newspaper Press of Britain. Revenue from advertisements has long been the mainstay of newspaper enterprise in Great Britain. Popular papers draw about half their income from advertisements, and class newspapers three-quarters or more. Without advertisement revenue it is wellnigh impossible for a paper to become self-supporting. Dr. Max Grunbeck in his *Die Presse Grossbritanniens* observed :

"The economic success of an English newspaper is so overwhelmingly dependent upon its advertisement columns that the advertiser has been able to develop into a Press dictator who, as such, plays a part far more dangerous than that of the State since in the majority of cases his influence is secret, entirely selfish and not susceptible of control. Besides, the whole make-up of the English popular papers is to-day the clearest example of their economic dependence upon advertisements. So advertisers exert influences which, in effect, are scarcely less efficacious than restrictions of newspaper freedom by the State itself."

In 1938 after Munich the British Government had to prevent three prominent British public men from returning to office under German pressure. When this news was broadcast the whole nation became greatly incensed. But hardly a hint of the enraged public feelings did appear in the Press. For certain advertising agents warned papers that advertisements would be withheld from them should they "play up" the international crisis and cause an alarm which was "bad for trade."<sup>22</sup>

While pointing out that the indirect influence of advertising was more subtle and extensive, Mr. Ivor Thomas, who is rather an apologist for the capitalist Press, said:

"A newspaper that receives a large revenue from company prospectuses may have an unconscious bias in favour of our present financial system; and the paper carrying frequent advertisements of patent medicines may, without any conscious deviation from rectitude, give too little weight to the medical professions views on such goods."<sup>23</sup>

In stressing the subservience of the British Press to financial interests Bernard Shaw observed :

"As people get their opinions so largely from the newspapers they read, the corruption of the schools would not matter so much if the Press were free. But the Press is not free. As it costs at least quarter of a million money to establish a daily newspaper in London, the newspapers are owned by rich men. And they depend on the advertisements of other rich men. Editors and journalists who express opinions in print that are opposed to the interests of the rich are dismissed and replaced by subservient ones. The newspapers therefore must continue the work begun by the schools and colleges; so that only the strongest and most independent and original minds can escape from the mass of false doctrine that is impressed on them by the combined and incessant suggestion and per-

suasion of Parliament, the law-courts, the church, the schools, and the Press."<sup>24</sup>

With the increasing dependence on the advertisement revenue for finance the Indian Press is also showing signs of its subservience to the advertisers. In November, 1949 Calcutta editors at a meeting agreed upon a 'code of behaviour' for the Press to 'combat Provincialism.' On the face of it the attempt was a laudable one. But subsequently it transpired that behind this move there was the threat of the Calcutta Marwari business firms to withhold their advertisements from papers which would publish news, and make comments, tending to accentuate provincialism.

#### IV

In April, 1947, following a vote in the House of Commons the Labour Government appointed a Royal Commission to inquire into the ownership, finance and control of the British Press in order to devise means for maintaining freedom of discussion in the Press by freeing it from capitalist control. The Commission which submitted its report in June, 1949, however 'vindicated' the Press and cleared it of all charges of dishonesty, misrepresentation of facts and doctoring of news in the interest, and at the dictation, of proprietors and advertisers. They held that "free enterprise in the production of newspapers" was "a pre-requisite of a free Press, and free enterprise" would "generally mean commercially profitable enterprise in the case of newspapers of any considerable size and circulation." They added that the Press gave "good value for money" and that soaring circulations were proof that the public was being given "what it wanted." "Indeed," as the *New Statesman and Nation* remarked, "no more respectful whitewashing of large-scale capitalist enterprise in the production of newspapers could have been expected, had the Commission been appointed not by the sixth George Rex but by the first Baron Kemsley."<sup>25</sup>

It needs no emphasis—since the bubble of the nineteenth century individualism was long pricked by new and inevitable developments in the industrial sphere—that while free enterprise in the publication of newspapers is an essential condition of a free Press, freedom of enterprise can be maintained only by delivering the Press from the shackles of Capitalist domination, by creating conditions which will rule out the development of trusts. As P.E.P.<sup>26</sup> observed, "The economic accident which

24. *The Intelligent Women's Guide to Socialism, Capitalism and Fascism*, Vol. I (Pelican edition), Chap. 19, p. 77.

25. July 2, 1949, p. 4.

26. In 1938 there was an expert inquiry into the working of the British Press by "Political and Economic Planning."

The details about the ownership of the British Press refer to the year 1946, and are obtained from such sources as the debate on the British Press held in the House of Commons on the 29th October, 1946, *The Press* by Wickham Steed, *The Millionaire Press* published by the Labour Research Bureau, *The Newspaper* (Oxford Pamphlets on Home Affairs) by Ivor Thomas and private information.

22. Cf. *The Press*, Wickham Steed, Penguin edition, pp. 249-50.

23. *The Newspaper* (Oxford Pamphlets on Home Affairs), p. 24.



links the function of reporting, interpreting and commenting on news with the running of a large-scale, highly capitalised industry, is having some unfortunate results, and we doubt whether a Press subject to these conditions can fully satisfy democratic needs." The same view found expression on an international plane in a resolution of the International Congress of Journalists at Copenhagen in 1946. The resolution was as follows :

"This Congress recognises that Press freedom can never be fully assured while newspapers, news-agencies and broadcasting system are solely in the

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hands of individuals or private monopolies with no responsibility to the people, and it recalls that freedom of the printed word has been used in the past not for the benefit of humanity but against it, and therefore recommends the appropriate departments of the United Nations and of the W.F.T.U. to consider an international investigation on this question....."

The contention of the Commission that the increasing circulations reflect the fact that the public gets what, if wants hardly needs rebuttal. When it has no alternative choice the public has to swallow whatever rubbish is served to it.

## BERTRAND RUSSELL

By PROF. P. P. MEHTA, M.A.

AMONG thinkers and writers who tolled the death-knell of Victorianism, its prudery and its snobbishness, Bertrand Russell, along with Dean Inge, H. G. Wells and Bernard Shaw, stands pre-eminent.

It must have caused many a literary critic a pleasant surprise to learn that the 1950 Nobel Literary Prize was awarded to Bertrand Russell, whose thought-provoking writings have greatly influenced the world in the spheres of mathematics, logic, sex, marriage, society, education and philosophy. His writings show a clear, nay crystal-clear, intellect probing into a subject and whatever theme he handles, we find that this 78-year-old philosopher goes straight to the heart of the subject and puts forward his own conclusions, and completely independent ideas, even if they shock the entire world.

Lord Russell whose grandfather was Lord John Russell, who successfully piloted the Reform Bill of 1832 comes of noble family with liberal political traditions. His father had destined young Bertrand to have free education; but the trustees waived aside this provision and Bertrand Russell got the usual religious education, which did not have much influence on him.

His first wife was Alys Whittall Persall Smith, sister of L. P. Smith. It was during the time of his first marriage that Russell's most important work in mathematics, logic and philosophy was finished. *Philosophy and Mathematics, Principles of Mathematics, Introduction to Mathematical Philosophy* are works of sterling merit and scholarship. When the World War I broke out, Russell opposed conscription as a conscientious objector and courted jail and fine, over and above losing his job. But his independent ardour kept him undaunted. In 1921, his first marriage,

which was childless, was dissolved. The period of his first marriage coincides with the period of his most important work.

His second wife was Dora W. Black and the education of his children focussed Russell's ideas on the problem of education. He tried his hand at schooling on his own lines—an experiment which was as novel as it was strikingly original. His books *On Education, Education and Social Order* and others enunciate his theory of education in which, entire emphasis is laid on development of instincts of children. At the same time, his *Marriage and Morals* created a sensation of the first order in the thinking world. His ideas on sex, trial marriages, etc., are not only in advance of the society today, but are equally bold and original. To an Indian mind, which believes in the sanctity of married life, this Bohemian attitude of this strange philosopher, who believes in free love and ultra-marital sex-relations, would seem shockingly vulgar. So it did to the whole world at that time. During this period his bold ideas touched many subjects and the result was *Sceptical Essays* and *Conquest of Happiness*. This marriage, too, was dissolved in 1932.

In 1936, he married Helen Patricia Spence and a period of quiet and deep thinking followed. He was appointed Professor at New York City College in 1940, but the court revoked his professorship on the ground that he advocated trial marriages for students. When recently asked about the incident in America where he is now on a lecture tour, he replied, "I am not mad at anybody—except the Catholic Church." In 1940, when German bombers were showering death on London every night, he renounced his pacifism and was a staunch advocate of war and patriotism. His other works comprise *An Inquiry into Meaning and*

*Truth, Human Knowledge, History of Western Philosophy*, etc. On the radio, he made a deep and lasting impression with the Reith lectures by delivering six broadcasts on "Authority and the Individual," which came as "a revelation to a great many of those who listened to them of the sheer power of mind to marshal highlights of history and contemporary facts into a coherent pattern of thought which could be understood and grasped by any reasonably intelligent human being."

He is, as his writings show, a champion of humanity and freedom of thought. There was a time when he had praised Russia sky-high; but one visit to Russia and he did not flinch from renouncing his views and two years ago lecturing to a London audience he had declared :

"Either we must have a war against Russia before she has the atom bomb, or we will have to lie down and let them govern us."

His views on individual liberty are radical and wherever he finds that individual liberty is curtailed, he is out to battle it with his keen intellect.

So vast is the bulk and so keen is the insight that half a century of writing has made Earl Russell one of the greatest thinkers of England. His keen intellect has evolved a system of education in which all-sided development resulting in good citizenship is the aim for a child's progress. He believed that healthy minds went with healthy bodies. He did not conceive an entirely uncontrolled child. According to him, a child should be trained up to be a good citizen, knowing full well its civic responsibilities. Along with freedom, Russell emphasizes some observances like personal cleanliness, regular bedtime, etc. Ideal character depends upon vitality, courage, sensitiveness and intelligence.

"What I suggest is that no one should learn how to obey and no one should attempt to command."

He also believed that Arithmetic was no test of a student's intelligence.

"Arithmetic did nothing to cultivate it. . . ."

Universities should not only carry on pursuit of learning and research, but also train people for certain professions."

Thus admitting the need of vocational training he points out the advantages of liberal education against utilitarian education.

He had shocked the world by his views on marriage, sex and morals. Four fundamental trends can be found in his thinking on sex: better sex education pre-marital sex-relations; freedom to have outside sexual relations for married couples and better facilities for divorce. Thus he strikes at the very root of the Christian idea of morality by advocating intercourse outside marriage.

His stupendous work in the field of philosophy proves beyond doubt the creed he professes—the creed of modern analytical empiricism. His work "has given the whole philosophical enquiry a grand tidying up" in the course of which, he has made some original discoveries of permanent importance.

His views have been attacked by staunch supporters of religion and morality. "I hope that every kind of religious belief will die out," says Russell. His *Western Philosophy* is a stupendous work full of originality, learning and clear-sightedness.

The fine and graceful style in which his ideas and his concrete examples are clothed, lends a literary charm to his otherwise philosophic stuff. His lucid extraordinary prose, like the prose of Dr. Radhakrishnan, carries wit and irony, fine images and deep thought. The classical economy of words and logical marshalling of thoughts are simply wonderful.

Suffice it to say that Bertrand Russell represents an attitude of scientific scepticism, which leads to objectivity, understanding and balanced judgment. His views on sex, society, mathematics, politics, etc., may not all have been accepted on all hands today, but English society, English customs and English outlook have undergone a subtle change which can be easily traced to the influence of Bertrand Russell, the white-thatched English aristocrat, who has been acclaimed as one of the greatest thinkers England has ever produced.







Anandapur  
By Ramendra Nath Chakravorty

## FIFTEENTH ANNUAL EXHIBITION OF THE ALL-INDIA ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS, CALCUTTA

By RAMENDRA NATH CHAKRAVORTY

THIS year the Annual Exhibition of the Academy was opened by the renowned artist Sri Jamini Roy on December 16, 1950 amidst a huge gathering. Due to the sad demise of our beloved Deputy Prime Minister

The chief characteristics of this year's exhibition are its all-India character and a judicious selection of exhibits from artists and sculptors of talent from all provinces and groups in Bombay, Madras, Delhi,



Kanchanjanga  
By Nandalal Bose

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel it could not be opened formally in accordance with the programme pre-conceived by the Academy.

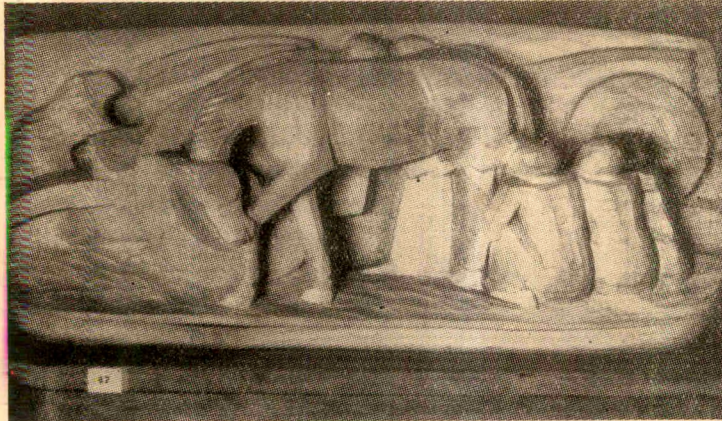


Dr. K. N. Katju  
By Indumati Laghate

Lucknow, Indore, Hyderabad, Bihar, Amritsar and from many other places including our local exhibits and exhibits from Santiniketan. Dr. Nandalal Bose,



after many years of absence, has appeared again and enriched the exhibition by sending four of his recent exhibits. From the exhibits selected and displayed it leaves not a shadow of doubt that the Academy has no 'ism' and stands for all groups—everybody may take it as his own organisation catering for the aesthetic requirements of the country.



Massaging the horse  
By Dhanraj Bhagat

The mode of hanging and arrangements of exhibits is an art to be learnt and plays not an insignificant part in the success of an exhibition. The Academy authorities in their zeal of having an exhibition of an all-India character have not lost sight of this most important item—every exhibit has been hung in its proper place and surroundings under sufficient light and against white background without jeopardising the effects of its neighbour. This harmony in the arrangements of exhibits and their quality have attracted numerous visitors to the exhibition every day and elicited appreciation from all.

All branches of art have been allotted a place in the Exhibition Hall with a representative selection from each group giving the general public an idea of the artistic development of this country, nay, of the different provinces as represented in the exhibition and the different artistic currents prevalent all over India. We had in the exhibition over 600 exhibits executed in various media on a variety of themes to suit the requirements of all. The number of visitors attracted to the exhibition every day has fully justified the aims and objects of the Academy.

Generally, in small exhibitions it pains one to find a fashion prevalent among young artists of present-day 'groups' to start on an experimentation before they have acquired any knowledge of the craft through a disciplined training and it has almost been a fashion for those who have just been able to learn something, to unlearn it quickly for the simple reason of finding

out new expressions in art for a quick publicity in the Press by any means. This undesirable ambition for name and fame at this stage of their career through such hasty propaganda takes away their patience, and thus they lack interest for hard work which is so essential for a strong foundation during their training period. Art cannot develop overnight and to be an artist one has to be a craftsman and a draftsman first. This truth should never be overlooked by any one who takes up this subject seriously. Another thing to be remembered is that our artists today are very much active in absorbing foreign influences in their



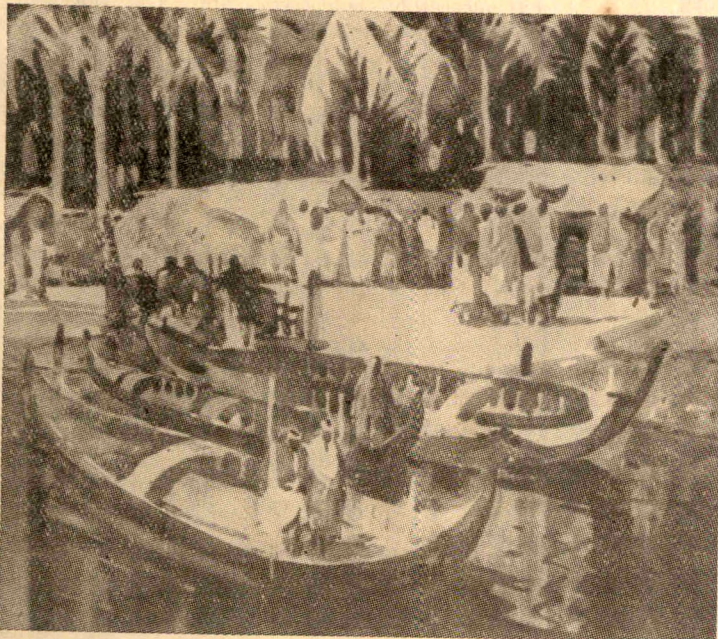
Hemanta  
By Ramkinkar

work and feel proud if they are able to do it, while on the other hand it seems they lack understanding of our own traditions and seldom like to study the superb specimens of art and sculpture scattered all over our country. We should not be misunderstood as ones against any progressive move. We fully realise what modern art movement has contributed to the world and it is also an established fact that the famous





Vegetable market  
By G. D. Paulraj



Village on the canal  
By K. C. S. Paniker

modernists of today have found out their new expressions by constant practice and also by taking inspirations from the examples of the past. Dr. K. N. Katju, Governor of West Bengal, expressed the same opinion while awarding medals and prizes to the successful candidates at the Academy Banquet held on Friday, the 12th January, 1951. In course of his speech His Excellency said :

"Young painters should try to draw for inspiration India's heritage and traditions, probably the richest that any nation possessed. It would almost be a tragedy if the young painters were to look to the West for inspiration. In fact, in every branch of national progress the people of India must not look too much to the West."

In this connection one sad thing must not escape our notice. Our artists who are toiling day and night towards the fulfilment of their their cherished object have



not yet been granted the status due to them. Appreciation is the life-breath of art and when it is lacking, art is sure to suffer. It is, however, a discouraging fact that most of our artists for want of encouragement and support are compelled to take recourse to some sort of profession for meeting their daily necessities of life and this sort of diversion is not at all conducive to artistic development. It should be honestly felt that works of art should have a place at home. There should be schemes to beautify our public institutions and there should be a public demand for the spread of the objects of art at every walk of our life. These

enterprises will not only make our homes and city beautiful but will encourage development of artistic merits of our country to a standard which was once achieved by us in the past. From our heritage of artistic tradition we should create the present to be worthy of our National Government. True culture of a nation can be judged by its art and literature and regeneration of a nation can be effected through the regeneration of its art.

The photographs of exhibits published in this connection will give an idea of the standard of exhibits displayed in the Academy Exhibition.

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## THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

By MAX LERNER

As the inscription over the entrance proclaims, the Nation's highest tribunal assures to the American people "Equal Justice Under the Law."

### I

"The life of the law," wrote young Oliver Wendell Holmes, long before he became a famous justice on the United States Supreme Court, "has not been logic: it has been experience." Anyone familiar with the Supreme Court's history knows how truly Holmes was right. The Court is not a temple to cold and formal logical principles revealed from on high to a cult of prophets and priests. Its history is replete with quarrels and conflict, with trial-and-error fumbling by very human men. But in this history is distilled the social experience of a great democratic people.

The idea that the gleaming marble Supreme Court Building houses is more enduring than the building itself. The idea is simple—respect for a man's rights and freedoms under the law. It is also fragile, as every social heritage is fragile; for it can be undermined by an accumulating contempt either for freedom or for man's dignity, or it can be blown sky-high by the explosive power of human hatred. But in America so far it has lasted.

One day in the spring of 1949, the Supreme Court marshal had a visitor, an earnest little man with frayed trousers and cuffs. He had a well-worn folder full of papers, and was pulling them out eagerly. The little man had a grievance about some building lots, and there were men he wanted to bring to justice. How should he go about getting his case directly to the Court? The marshal explained there was no way of starting it in the Supreme Court. He had to start in a lower court, and then if it involved a Federal question, or a Constitutional problem of interpreting State or Federal powers, it might finally reach the Court. The man left, murmuring his intent to get the case there somehow.

Perhaps he was eccentric. But he was not wrong, and however unimportant he might be, the knowledge that the Supreme Court was there to protect his rights made him in one sense the equal of any man in the nation.

The knowledge that there is a highest tribunal to which even the lowliest and most abused can appeal makes every American feel more secure. The Supreme Court is not a tribunal for social uplift, and often the consequences of its decisions are tragic. But while it is concerned with establishing general rules that will apply to all cases, clearly and with justice, it is not blind to the social experience of the ordinary American people. Nor is it afraid to protect the lowly against the strong—even against the Government itself.

The quarter million people who visit the Supreme Court every year come for some visible sign that will confirm this sense of security they get from the Court. Probably few of these visitors realize how much of the power of the present Court is the result of a historical accident. The U.S. Constitution provided for three branches of the Government, but it did not say explicitly that the Court's interpretation of the powers of the other two should be final and prevailing. But the Court was lucky in having a man of immense strength of mind, Chief Justice John Marshall, who almost 150 years ago asserted the doctrine of judicial supremacy, making the Court the final arbiter of the constitutionality of acts of the U.S. Congress, and made it enduring.

Visitors to the U.S. Supreme Court find a small courtroom with heavy red velours draperies which are like a backdrop in a stage setting against which a great dramatic performance is enacted. Exactly on the hour, at noon, the curtains part in the center and the Chief



Justice and two others appear; at almost the same moment, on the left and right, the other justices enter in groups of three. ✓

Everyone stands, the marshal intones "oyez oyez," the justices apply themselves to the briefs and papers before them while page boys scurry about bringing them lawbooks or carrying notes from one to another; the new members of the bar are presented for practice before the Court, the appellant's attorney begins his argument and has not gone very far in it before the members of the world's most powerful tribunal are tearing away at him and each other with questions, objections, and gibes.

The ardent followers of the Court are there in the reserved pews—the lawyers and law students, the law secretaries and law clerks of the justices, the visiting dignitaries from business or law firms or trade unions and a sprinkling of Government officials. Their number swells when a big case is to be argued, involving much money or power, or a "hard case" involving hair-trigger questions of Constitutional meaning.

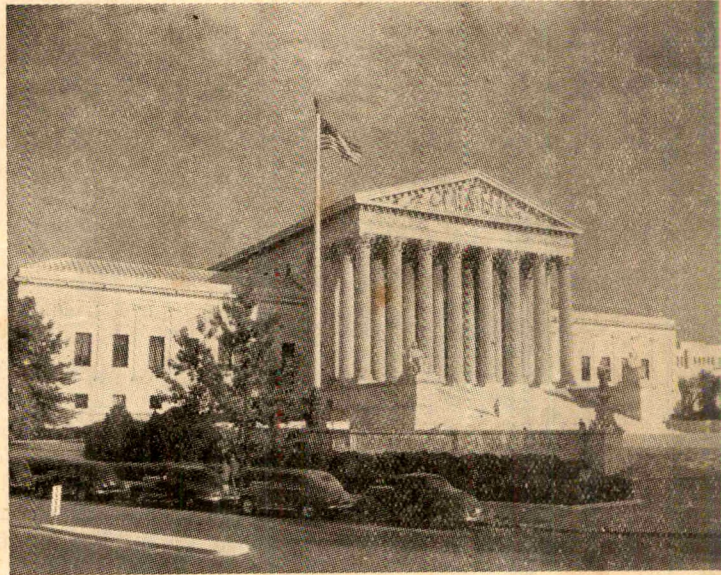
The rest of the audience is less knowing, but it forms a cross section of America. Here is a couple from the midwestern section of the United States, probably on their first Washington visit. Here is a gentle-faced Jewish mother with her son of college age. Here are a Negro, his young wife, and two small daughters. Here are two nuns in black robes, taking notes in little black books. Here is a row of girls on a holiday visit from a boarding school. Near them are the knotted hands and alert faces of two workmen, probably minor officials of a trade union. The audience strains to follow the technical language of the discussion, but most end by giving up the sense and remaining content with the magnificent outward show.

The Supreme Court has developed its fixed conventions. It receives no cases except after passing on petitions for review. The judges work on them during summer vacations, or whenever they can through the year, for the task of passing on them is ever present and exhausting. If three judges agree, the case is put on the calendar to be argued. The judges hear arguments for two weeks a month during the Court term (which begins the first Monday in October of each year and continues as long as the business before the Court requires, usually until about the first of June), then study the cases and write their opinions

the other two weeks. They have a chance to study the lawyers' briefs before the arguments are heard. They come to court with questions in their minds, and some ply the lawyers with questions.

The Court gathers each Saturday for private conference on the cases before it. Saturdays are the days that test the strength and mettle of a Chief Justice, for he must hold down the dissents if possible and keep cases moving so that the schedule is not clogged.

In the voting the judge most recently appointed to the Court votes first—so as not to be overawed by his seniors—and the Chief Justice votes last.



The Supreme Court of the United States in Washington where decisions vital to the individual and the nation are made

Actually, however, after the discussion by the others, the newest appointee knows pretty well what each vote will be, and, if he has kept score in his mind, he knows whether his vote will break a tie and make a majority. After the voting the Chief Justice assigns the drafting of the Court decision to a member of the majority whom he chooses. If he is not himself in the majority, it is assigned by the senior justice who is.

The last stage is complex and often prolonged. The judge reviews the opinion which has been assigned to him to work on, chooses the arguments he wants from the briefs or the discussions, reads the chief precedents that come closest to the case, and has his assistants digest others. Once the opinion is drafted, it goes to the Court printer, is set up in large type, with wide margins, and is circulated to the whole court. Each judge sends the draft back



with brief or long marginal comment. The author of the draft then may decide to rewrite it and circulate it again. Sometimes the draft will win over a marginal voter, or lose one, shifting the majority and minority. Sometimes the drafting judge will himself change his mind in the process, and someone else is assigned.



This plaque in the door of the Supreme Court of the United States in Washington depicts the signing of the Magna Carta

At some point the other judges decide whether they will concur, or write separate concurring opinions, or write dissents. There may be more than one dissent written. The opinions are handed down on three Mondays a month. Each judge may choose to read his, or (what is more frequent) summarize it orally, sometimes putting in verbal asides not in the printed version. Once the opinion is released, the comments of editorials, columns, and law journals begin, and may continue for years, decades, or even centuries. The bound volumes of decisions are constantly thumbed, constantly argued over.

There is probably no comparable situation in the history of government where a body of men is subject to so close and exacting a scrutiny of their work over the generations—a scrutiny for logic, for consistency, for break or continuity with tradition, for personal creativeness, for social utility. This is what gives the Court its strength and prestige. More important than an army or a police is the knowledge that the U. S. Supreme Court has the hearts and minds of the people with it.

## II

Every strong institution has its personal legendary to back it up. In the case of the U. S. Supreme Court the legendary figure has become Oliver Wendell Holmes. A play has been done about him (*The Magnificent Yankee*), and a popular biography by Catherine Drinker Bowen (*Yankee from Olympus*). A vast novel by Carl Sandburg (*Remembrance Rock*) includes him as a main figure, and there are numberless anecdotes. He had the advantage of dying very old, at 93, and he never lost either his sense of humor or his perspective. He went to Harvard University, at Cambridge in the northeastern State of Massachusetts, knew Ralph Waldo Emerson, American essayist, poet and philosopher, at his father's table, fought in the American Civil War, was three times wounded.

Handsome, literary, and brilliant, Holmes' career from a law-school post to the Supreme Court seemed inevitable. What made him great was that for all his background, and his basic economic conservatism, he held the Court's function in a free society higher than his own preferences. He wanted the Court to leave a large margin of tolerance for the errors of social experiment, and for "free trade in ideas . . . in the competition of the market."

But the chief elements in the Holmes' popular legend center around his human qualities. He avoided reading heavy economic tomes in favor of French novels, or philosophy. He had a way with the ladies, and an eye for pretty ones. Holmes stayed on the Court until almost the end, but even at the age of 90 he was alert, although feeble.

The average age of the members of Supreme Court now is just less than 60. Age is a factor in social views, but far from a decisive one. What is really decisive is the experience and training and background of each judge, and the intellectual temper of the period.

In the deepest sense, however, the life of a Supreme Court Justice is always a lonely one. It includes political chastity, and obedience to the tradition of isolation from controversy. This is especially hard for a Court made up like the present one, and accustomed to an active life in the midst of great affairs.

It is always hard to predict what will be either the direction or the destiny of this institution, which has outlived its detractors, disillusioned its enthusiasts, disappointed the cynics, and outwitted the self-assured predictors. Yet as we try to pierce the future, we can be certain of one thing about the U. S. Supreme Court. Nowhere in the world can one find a high judicial body which so truly represents the democratic principle in the sense that it comes from the ranks of the common people, yet so heroically makes the effort of



detachment from ordinary passions. Nowhere can one find a group so deeply committed to the proposition that the law must protect even the poorest and humblest with the same armor with which it invests the rich and the proud. Out of the struggles of our

century the Court has emerged with an idea about modern America to which it clings tenaciously: that only a secure people can be free, and only a people which passionately cherishes its freedom can be great.—From *Holiday*. *No Singa*

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## SINGARA—THE FRUIT

By MURARI PROSAD GUHA, M.A.

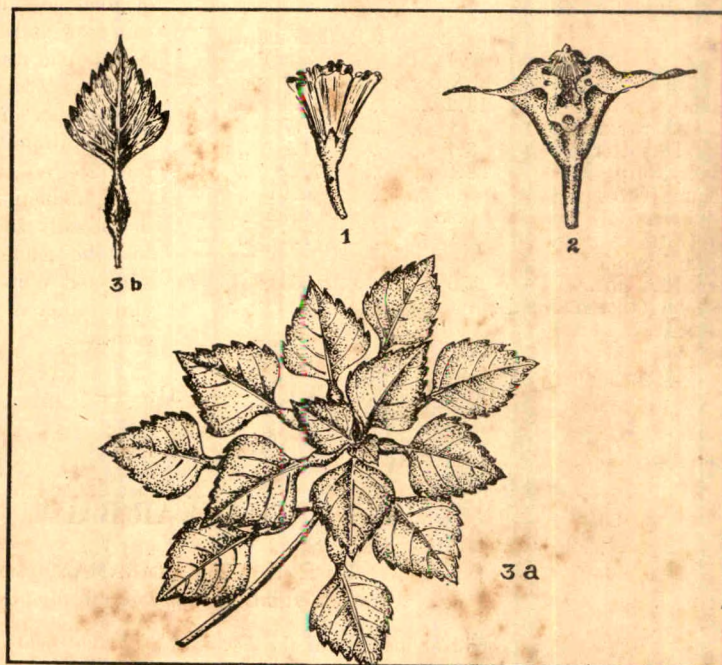
In early winter the fruit stalls begin to be filled up again, though mostly with fruits of foreign origin, but our *Singara* or *paniphal* though appears in the market during this time (November-December) is a fruit of our country and the other tropics.

This fruit derived its name *paniphal* or water-chestnut from its development in water and the angular horned shape of the fruit gives it the name *Singara*. Probably the hot *singaras* prepared from wheat flour and fried in ghee for our breakfast or evening tea which we relish throughout India, derived this name for its similarity in shape with this fruit, which in ancient India had a special place of its own. Our Anglicized countrymen started to despise everything Indian even the Indian fruits. But the shortages are reminding us of those true friends who never can forsake us.

*Singara*, botanically known as *Trapa bispinosa* Roxb., belongs to the family Onagraceae and is a floating herb found in *jheels*, ponds, tanks and lakes throughout India and Ceylon and also in tropical Africa and South-East Asia including Malaya. It is very often met with in the wayside ditches of the railway tracks in our country. There and in similar other water areas they are cultivated for the delicious fruit. And the cultivation of this plant in India is known from very ancient times; even *Ain-i-Akbari* (1590) mentioned levy of revenue on this crop and it clearly reveals the flourishing condition of it at that time.

The fruit is a bony four-angled indehiscent nut with a thick coat (pericarp) containing only one seed. On removing the coat the white fleshy kernel becomes

visible and this is usually eaten raw. The kernel is hard, fleshy with high percentage of water and has a cooling effect on the stomach. Sometimes, after soaking overnight they are boiled in water and then made into



The Singara plant

(1) The white-petalled flower with four sepals is shown. (2) The fertilized mature fruit with two of the persistent sepals turned into spinescent horns. Through the beak at the top the radicle comes out during germination. (3a) A partial view of the arrangement of the leaves on the surface of water as seen from above is shown. (3b) The leaves are villous beneath which has been shown in a solitary leaf reversed. The petiole of the leaf has a spongy swelling near its apex

a curry. Where this is grown abundantly, the high starch content of the fruit is also utilized for the preparation of flour which is used in making *chapattis*. Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar have got large areas under this crop, also Kashmir is famous



from old times for the cultivation of *Singara*, and the best variety there is the *basmati* (after the rice of that name). In West Bengal there are small patches of cultivation and the supply to Calcutta is supplemented from Bihar and U.P. and the variety common in Calcutta is the deep-green two-horned *Patnai*. The total supply of *Singara* in Calcutta market from the different sources in Bengal (*viz.*, Das Nagar, Dum Dum, Rajarhat-Vishnupur, etc.) is approximately 2,500 mds. annually. The yield per acre water area being 12-15 maunds of raw fruit usually.

Cultivation of *Singara* has been neglected like other crops in our country. Planned cultivation and supply of planting material may pave a long way for the easing of the tension in the food front, as this fruit not only yields a large quantity of flour or fruit, when taken raw, but the food value is also very high contained in the fresh fruit or the flour as will be revealed from the following comparative table taken from the Health Bulletin No. 23:

	Singara (dry)	Wheat flour(atta) (whole)
Moisture	13.8 per cent	12.2 per cent
Protein	13.4 " "	12.1 " "
Fat (ether extracted)	0.8 " "	1.7 " "
Mineral matter	3.1 " "	1.8 " "
Carbohydrate	68.9 " "	72.2 " "
Calcium (Ca)	0.07 " "	0.04 " "
Phosphorus (P)	0.44 " "	0.32 " "
Iron (Fe) gms.	2.4 " "	7.3 " "
Calorific value per 100 gms.	336	353
Carotene (International Vitamin A units) per 100 gms.	Trace	100
Calories per ounce	95	

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Usually at the end of January the fruits are scattered over the water of the *jheels*, etc., where it is to be planted and then pressed in the mud, where it germinates, the radicle (primary root) coming out through the short cylindric beak at the top of the fruit. The water should generally be shallow and about breast-high. Within a month after planting they start growing and soon cover the water surface. At the beginning of the monsoon they are transplanted after thinning out the overcrowded areas. After the end of the monsoon the 4-merous flowers comes to age and their white petals can be seen from a distance floating on the surface of the water among the green leaves and in October the fruits set in. And the fruits are available in the market during November and December.

*Singara* can be grown with ease and without any special care and needs no manuring. These points are of great consideration to our poor cultivators and they can grow at least a small quantity of this fruit in their ponds and ditches and tanks. In West Bengal with some districts having more ditches and tanks than the number of homesteads, it is a matter of great consideration, specially because, it is also a problem province not only politically but from the points of food production as well. Nursery units may be started in specially suitable areas and supply from these areas may be made throughout the country in small but scattered units which in no time will cover up the entire area if conditions are favourable and if we are earnest.

## THAKKAR BAPA

By S. R. VENKATARAMAN, B.A.B.L.,  
*Servants of India Society, Madras*

THAKKAR BAPA was a prominent member of the Servants of India Society for about thirty-seven years and its Vice-President during the last eleven years. His broad human sympathies led him into beneficent activities and his life was one of ceaseless and tireless striving to serve the under-privileged in society. Early in life, he engaged himself in promoting elementary education and forming co-operative societies among the working classes. Later, the promotion of the well-being of the Harijans, the Adibasis and women became a passion with him. He organised relief measures also to help the poor and the suffering and the victims of disasters caused by fire, flood, famine and earthquakes. In his last days, the cause of the displaced persons equally claimed his attention. Though the Servants of India Society since its inception was engaged in social ameliorative work in

different fields, under the guidance of the late Mr. G. K. Devadhar, whom Thakkar Bapa claimed as one of his Gurus, it was Thakkar Bapa who gave a new impetus and momentum to these activities, more by his own personal example than by his speeches, writings or exhortations. In connection with his work he travelled all over the sub-continent of India several times, most of it in third class crowded compartments, buses and bullock-carts, pack ponies, camels, boats and dandies, at an age when lesser spirits than his would have shuddered to travel under such conditions. His love for the backward and the under-privileged was so overpowering that he had no time to think of the hardships and privations involved in such journeys.

Thakkar Bapa is one of the three leaders of Sourashtra, who have been the architects of modern India.



Mahatmajī fought and secured freedom for the country; Sardar succeeded in welding together the scattered units of India of different ideologies and varying levels of administration into one compact and integrated whole. Thakkar Bapa, the true social engineer, canalised the forces of patriotism generated by Pujya Gokhale and Gandhiji into channels calculated to promote the social, educational and economic progress of the backward section of the population.

For, he was convinced that unless the backward sections of the population were also brought up to the level of the average citizen, the freedom we have won would not be safe for us.

Thakkar Bapa was eminently fitted in many ways for the work he had set before himself. Having become a widower early in life he had no encumbrances and no worldly ambitions. He was endowed with a good physique and robust health. Referring to his secret of his health in one of his letters written to me from Chorvad in Sourashtra where he was convalescing, Thakkar Bapa wrote as follows :

"In my school up to the age of 16, I was not specially fond of any games, except those which were enforced in the school, that is only cricket. After the age of 20, when I was in service, and up to 43, I was constantly on outdoor service, and as such had to ride, walk long distances or do rough hard work. Moreover, my first wife was sickly and so Brahmacharya was compulsory. During my second married life which was short it was no married life. This is the only secret I can think of."

He combined with his good constitution a soft and tender heart which would not see the sufferings of people till something was done, and an indomitable will and determination not to rest till the sufferings of the people are alleviated. His transparent sincerity and integrity of character, his simple living and high thinking, his infinite capacity for taking pains and genius for planning and executing schemes of uplift work on an All-India basis, his scorn of a life of ease and comfort and love of hard work, all these had earned for him a unique place in the heart of a grateful people as the foremost humanitarian and social engineer of the age. In truth he ranks among the world's greatest humanitarians and social workers. What Wilberforce, Dr. Barnardo and Earl of Shaftesbury are to England, what Dr. Kagawa is to Japan, what Booker Washington is to the Negroes and Albert Schweitzer is to the Africans, that Thakkar Bapa is to India.

This is not a vain-glorious claim that we make for Thakkar Bapa. The fact that during the latter part of his life when most people would have gone into retirement, Thakkar Bapa took with enthusiasm the work of organising the Harijan Sevak Sangh in 1932 when he was 62 and the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund in 1943 when he was 74, especially when his hands were full with the work of the Bhil Seva Mandal and organising relief works in other parts of India, is a tribute to his passionate desire to spend himself in the service of the poor. Later, he was responsible for starting the Adim Jati Seva Sangh of which he himself became the Vice-

President. Unlike many office-bearers whose connections with organisations were only nominal Thakkar Bapa's with everyone of the organisations with which he was connected were very intimate and vital. He knew all the details about the working of the organisations and directed their activities with zeal and firmness and expedition. Lesser men than Thakkar Bapa would have quailed under the burden of administering these associations with far-flung branches all over India needing his personal attention and touch in the execution of the programmes and feeding them with funds. In fact, Thakkar Bapa thrived on work and flourished on more work.



Thakkar Bapa  
(Seventy-five years young)

Thakkar Bapa is no more. To mourn his death is not the way to pay our tribute to him. The best tribute to Thakkar Bapa's memory is that every admirer of Thakkar Bapa must become in his own life a miniature Thakkar Bapa in his chosen field of public work. May the tribe of Thakkar Bapa increase and thus may his work and memory be ever kept green.



## INFLUENCE OF INDIAN ART IN TIBET

By DASARATHI ROY

Before the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet, Bon was the religion of its people. It was a ritualistic religion. The followers of this religion worshipped spirits and devils. Rites were performed in gloomy caverns. The dark chambers and the altars on which sacrifices were offered were lighted by fitful flames of dim fire. The worshippers sacrificed beasts and even human beings to their awful deities. But in the middle of the seventh century a great king came into power in Tibet. He was Srong-tsan-gampo, the greatest of all

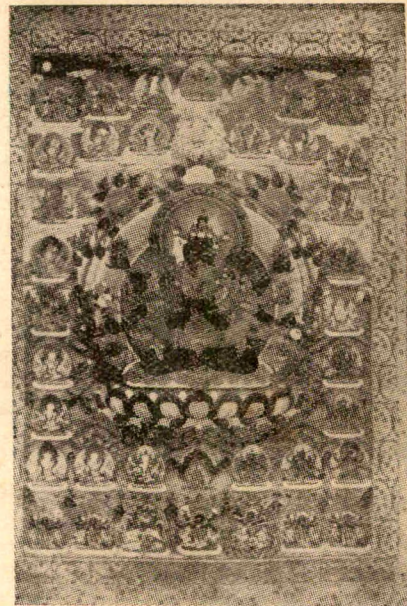
to Lord Buddha and helped by several images, introduced Buddhism into her husband's country. Soon after, Tri-tsun got the assistance, in this great task, of Wen-Cheng, the Chinese wife of Srong-tsan-gampo, whom he had married in 641. But it was not Buddhism only that was introduced into Tibet. Nepal, then a dependent State and a part of the Tibetan empire of Srong-tsan-gampo, greatly influenced the life of the new Tibetan capital at Lhasa. Nepalese arts, which were essentially Indian in character, were eagerly



Saint Padmasambhava or Guru Rimpoche, founder of Mahayana Buddhism, went from India to Tibet in the eighth century A.D.  
(A Tibetan Thangka)

the Tibetan kings. He was a great soldier as well as an able administrator, and the Tibetans regard him as the political founder of their country. Srong-tsan-gampo visited Nepal in 639 A.D., and his visit to that country was destined to influence the future development of Tibet. It was through the efforts of a daughter of Nepal that the transformation was brought about.

Amshuvarma, the then king of Nepal, had a very beautiful daughter, Princess Tri-tsun. The Tibetan king was fascinated by the beauty of this Nepali princess and he took her off as his bride to his capital at Lhasa. But the Tibetan king brought away from Nepal more than he knew, for it is said, Tri-tsun with the aid of a wonder-working begging bowl that once belonged



One of the ten forms of Goddess Kali  
(A Tibetan Thangka)

assimilated, and it was due to Queen Tri-tsun that the art of India has remained dominant in Tibetan craftsmanship.

The spread of Buddhism, which had its beginning in the time of King Srong-tsan-gampo, continued up to the twelfth century. During the course of these five hundred years many Indian Buddhist scholars came at the invitation of different Tibetan kings to Tibet and influenced that country with Indian religion, art and literature.

The introduction of Buddhism in Tibet coincides with the foundation of the Pala empire in Bengal. During the reign of the Pala kings from the eighth to



the twelfth century, we find the renaissance of Buddhism for the last time in India. Some of the Buddhist monasteries that were founded by the great kings of the Pala dynasty were the greatest centres of learning in India. The Buddhist monastery of Atantipur, founded by the first Pala king Gopala, and the universities of Bikramsila and Paharpur together with the already existing university of Nalanda, became the chief seats of Tantryana or Tantric Buddhism. Under the Pala kings, the Buddhist pantheon was enriched by various icons, and *asanas* and *mudras* made the figures beautiful. In the monastic establishments of the Pala period was created a religious art, rich and varied, and it was strongly influenced by Tantric inspiration. This art, comprising stone

tsan-gampo, he established there many monasteries which became famous seats of Tantric Buddhism. The most famous of the monasteries that were founded by Padmasambhaba is the Samye monastery. It was esta-



"Galden Lhajyama" or the saint Sonkapa, founder of the Gelupka sect in Tibet  
(A Tibetan religious banner)



Prince Gautama Buddha. This statue in the Jokhang Monastery, the chief temple of Lhasa, is a specimen of Indian sculpture in Tibet

lished in 870 A.D. and is still the chief centre of Tantric Buddhism in Tibet. It is stated that the Saint



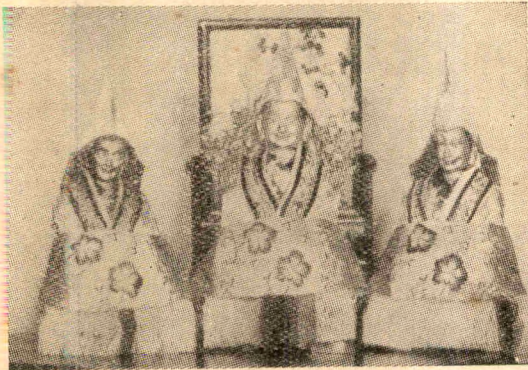
A Tibetan painted religious banner showing Lord Buddha with a thousand hands and a thousand eyes

sculptures, moulded images and religious paintings, was distinguished by its perfect execution, and it was this art of India that entered Tibet. Some forms of art reached directly through Indian Buddhist monks who visited Tibet and some reached through Nepalese artists. The main themes of the Pala Art were the principal events of Lord Buddha's life; a host of Ishta-Devatas (tutelary deities) of Tantric Buddhism were also its subject. The statues and stone figures, cast images and painted religious banners of Tibet distinctly show this form of Indian art. The Tibetan metal images known as *Shar-ri* and the painted religious banners of Tibet known as *Thankas* have been deeply influenced by the Indian style of the Pala period. When the great Indian Tantric Buddhist monk Padmasambhaba went to Tibet at the invitation of Thri-sroa-de-tsan, a worthy successor of Srong-

Padmasambhaba having subdued the devils and evil spirits of Tibet compelled them to erect the Samye monastery. After the completion of the monastery Padmasambhaba found his wealth exhausted and



the spirits and devils brought the Saint huge quantities of gold from the Malgro Lake and thus enabled him to present many Indian statues made of solid gold which are still to be found there. Atisha Shri Gnan Dipankara, the great Bengali Buddhist monk, went to Tibet in 1042 A.D. and he brought with him many cast images of the Pala period. The carved figures and cast images brought by Padmasambhava and Atisha Sri Gnan Dipankara were the source of inspiration to the Tibetans who imitated the style in this sphere of art.



Tsongkapa with his two disciples. A fine specimen of Tibetan metal cast image after the Indian style ..

The *thankas* or the painted religious banners of Tibet are importation from India via Nepal. These *thankas* show the gods and the saints in conventional attitudes; episodes from their lives are also represented. Many of the *thankas* depict Tantric tutelary deities and Indian saints who had spread Buddhism in Tibet. These *thankas* are regarded so sacred by the Tibetans that when a Tibetan dies a *thanka* has to be painted for the occasion, depicting a saint on it and the saint so depicted is believed to intercede for the deceased when the departed soul stands before the judgement seat and to assure its rebirth in the human or even a higher world. The *thankas* are to be met with in every Tibetan monastery and in private chapels of the people.

The art of miniature painting which was popular in India in the 11th and 12th centuries was imitated by the Tibetans. Illuminated manuscripts of Tibet are directly descended from this Indian art.

In the field of Tibetan architecture, Indian influence is quite evident. In building temples and monasteries the Tibetans followed the tradition of the Indian guild work. It is interesting to note that Drepung, the biggest monastery of Tibet, nay, of the whole world, was built after the fashion of the now-defunct famous Buddhist monastery Sridanga Kataka of Orissa.



A tutelary god of a Tantric order  
(A Tibetan Thanka)

Tibet is the Land of Religion and her art is a religious art which is a tributary of Indian art. Modern Tibetans are not aware of the Indian influence in their art and hence all metal images and paintings are called *Bal-Bris* or Nepalese art by the Tibetans. It is India that has moulded Tibetan art under her strong influence in the same way as she has moulded the religion, culture, literature and alphabet of Tibet.





## IN PRAISE OF ARTISTS

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

HAVING lived the greater part of my seventy summers in company with pictures and in intimate contact and communion with them, I have developed a mighty horror of talking in the presence of pictures. To do so, I verily believe, is an insult to artists and a blasphemy to Art.

To do little and to talk about it in amiable exaggeration is the business of politicians and statesmen.

To talk nothing and to do marvellous things and to set them down in the silent but eloquent language of form and colour is the business of the artists.

If there are exaggerations in these canvases they are exaggerations with a spiritual intention—to glorify and sublimiate Truth in artistic emphasis. Except when impatiently listening to deputationists and agitators, our ministers and administrators incessantly indulge in the one-way traffic of words, words, and words, drowning their victims and burying the slender voice of Truth under the volley of their atom bombs.

But our poor but honest artists after recording and presenting the most valuable Truth of this life and of the other life in the heavens, in the speechless voice of their brushes, shut their mouths in life-long silence, listening with the patience of Job to the most harsh and unkind criticisms of their judges, their critics, their newspaper-men, their would-be buyers and, sometimes, their jealous brethren.

Rabindranath Tagore has recorded a happy homily on hard-hearted judges and harsher critics :

"They know not how hard it is to master  
The brush and the colours,  
They condemn as jokes and funs  
Our tearful labours!"

But the greatest artists never seek an immediate word of praise or appreciation, or a ready-made reward, prize, or gain, but are prepared to wait in pious resignation in the infinity of space and of time, for the advent of his *Samana-dharma*<sup>2</sup>—his spiritual twin, who may turn up from a far corner of the earth after the lapse of many centuries, for,

"Time, indeed, is limitless and verily expansive is the lap of Mother Earth!"

And, I verily believe that to many artists who have missed any of the rich prizes provided by our president, the lady bountiful or even a smiling glance of the judges or the critics *today*, richer prizes may be in store *tomorrow*, for, time is the best judge, as we

know time has upset the wrong judgments of the best judges of Art, armed by the steel armour of their own prejudices, and, unable to see new ways of putting them into practice.

To the lucky exhibitors who have secured today shining medals and brilliant awards, I may perhaps offer a word of warning that these prizes may not be a ready passport to popular or universal recognition of their merits *tomorrow*. For, I have known many winners of prizes and certificates of merit who have pined away all their lives failing to secure purchasers for their pictures or popular appreciations of their works.

Yet these tentative, perhaps erroneous judgments and erratic awards of prizes have their values, for, they help to attract the attention of the general public, the potential patrons to real works of Art, and make many haters of pictures to become lovers of beautiful forms and colours. For, to the average man with no passion for beauty, and indifferent to the higher needs of life, this magnificent feast of form and colour provided by the president and the distinguished members of her committee offers a happy haven of refuge—a temporary paradise, where we forget the many miseries of our life, the irrationalities of the ration-shops and the soaring prices of our winter-cloths.

I am told that a very large number of our citizens have thronged into this corridor of convincing canvases to learn by seeing, to acquire knowledge without tears, for, many of these pictures can teach us things and offer lessons, which none of our teachers in schools and colleges can do, namely, to know and love all our brothers and sisters, to obliterate racial differences, to banish colour-bars, to chide away religious rancours, to tolerate music before mosques, and animal slaughters before temples, in short, to bring harmony and concord among the distracting discords of life and the many warring dogmas and doctrines, and, above all, to learn to worship the beauties of this earth, in the expansive canvases of God's landscapes, "for, what God paints in one day, humanity cannot paint throughout eternity."

And the role and career of all artists through the ages have been to catch and record a fraction of the fleeting beauty which eludes them in the creations of God.

For, as St. Thomas Aquinas has said, "Art imitates Nature in her manner of operation," that is to say, God in His manner of creation, in which He does not repeat Himself or exhibit deceptive illusions, in which the species of things are confused.

I hope, we have succeeded in persuading to come to this show a fraction of the large body of our half-educated and misguided youths, who

1. ओरा त जाने ना तुलि आर रं कि कठिन वश् करा

आमादेर काय, ओरा भावे—मस्करा ।

2. सुमान-धर्मा 3. कालोह्यम् निरवधिः विपुला च पृथ्वीः



throng into the cinema-halls in vain search for beauty in spurious pictures and who injure their eyes and powers of vision, and, sometimes, damage their morals in incessantly looking at machine-made pictures and camera-made abominations. For, our scriptures enjoin:

"Oh ye gods ! give us the power to listen only to noble and auspicious words, to look with our eyes only on things of beauty and of sublimity."

Photographers have all along attempted in vain to imitate Rembrandt effects and Holbeinesque lines and forms. With all the latest claims of colour-photographs and the perfection of the photographic lenses, the makers of cinema-pictures have failed and

will continue to fail to catch a fraction of the qualities, which our great artists, here, provide in their intriguing colour-schemes and in their mystic compositions of the harmony and melody of lines, mocking the efforts of the camera and the machine.

May the eyes of our artists ever continue to see visions and render the eternal and the invisible in terms of the visible.

And may our critics and *rupa-rasikas*, the sympathetic connoisseurs of Art, for ever continue to bow their heads before the masterpieces of our artists in worship and in adoration!\*

4. भद्रं कर्णेभिः शृणुयाम देवाः

भद्रं पश्येमाक्षभिर्यजत्रा ।

\* A lecture which was not delivered at the Dinner given by Lady Mookherjee, President of the Indian Academy of Art, Indian Museum at Calcutta on the 12th January, 1951.

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## AMERICAN FOOD FOR INDIA

By J. J. SINGH

I am glad that the Government of India has asked the United States Government to help India in purchasing two million tons of food-grains on a long-term credit basis, besides what the Indian Government will be buying itself.

I say I am glad because my colleagues and I have felt for some time that the continued shortage of food, and such low rationing as ten to twelve ounces a day, for hundreds of millions of people, was bad for the health and morale of the people, as well as for the stability of the Government. We have all along felt that empty stomachs make easy victims to vicious propaganda, either of the extreme right or of the extreme left. And that, if help were needed to better the lot of millions of men, women and children, there was no reason why such help should not be asked for—at least as a lesser evil.

It will be recalled that at the time of Prime Minister Nehru's visit to the United States, in the months of October and November, 1949, talks were started that, perhaps, a barter arrangement could be made whereby India would get one million tons of food-grains and the United States would get mica, manganese, and some other raw materials from India. We all had hopes that this so-called barter deal would go through.

Months went by and reports started appearing in the Press that, because of various limitations and difficulties in increasing the production of mica, manganese, etc., and because of the danger to the general economy of India in pledging shipments of these vital materials for years in advance, the deal was off.

I went to Washington in January, 1950, to check up if a way could be found to get out of these

difficulties and secure the very much needed food-grains for India. I found that there was enough favorable sentiment amongst some Senators and members of the House, that if a Bill had then been introduced in the Congress, to sell India a million tons of food-grains at half the market price and for a ten to fifteen years' credit, the Bill had a fair chance of passage. But inasmuch as this arrangement had to be contracted between two governments, non-governmental people like myself, or non-governmental organizations like the India League of America could come into the picture only if the Indian Government were agreeable to the proposition. So, I passed this information to the Indian Embassy officials in Washington and I believe, after consultations with the Government of India, they decided not to seek such aid through any congressional act. Naturally, I dropped everything.

After the Assam earthquakes, and reports of floods in Eastern Punjab and severe drought conditions in some parts of Bihar and Southern India, we were convinced that the food situation in India would worsen. In view of that, the India League of America called a special meeting with the object of activizing all avenues for getting assistance from this country.

We invited Mme. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, the Ambassador of India in Washington, to come to our meeting and give us authentic and the latest detailed information about the impending food crisis in India. Mme. Pandit accepted our invitation but, unfortunately, had to cancel it later on. However, I was requested to go to Washington to secure the necessary information.

I had long talks with a high Government of India official who was then visiting Washington, and an Indian Embassy official. Once again, I was discouraged from getting a resolution moved in the United States



Congress whereby India could buy food-grains here on a long-term credit basis and at very much reduced prices. As I recall it, their argument was that food shortages in India will continue to exist and that it was a "recurrent" problem. I was told that what India needed was tractors, fertilizers, tube-wells and other agricultural machinery with which arid land could be brought under cultivation and India could become self-sufficient in food. Once again, my colleagues and I had to drop this matter because, as I have stated above, without the assent of the Government of India, we, the non-governmental people, could not move in the matter.

So, now that the Government of India has made a definite request, we are at last at liberty to work on this question.

However, this time it is not going to be easy.

The sole object of writing this piece is to warn my countrymen not to be over-optimistic about getting these two million tons of food-grains. The reasons for my words of caution are as follows:

I understand that President Truman is in favor of making an outright grant of two million tons of food-grains instead of selling it to India on a long-term credit basis. That is most excellent. It is also excellent that Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, is in complete agreement with the President of the United States, and he and his colleagues of the State Department are fully aware of the food crisis in India and are most anxious to help India in averting serious famine conditions.

As a result of my recent talks in Washington, I have gathered that they all feel that, taking everything into consideration, a straight grant would be much better than any kind of loan or deal. In other words, the United States will have to spend approximately two hundred million dollars (almost 96 crores of rupees) for these two million tons of food-grains and make a present of it to India.

But there is something that our people in India have to understand. The fact that the Government of India has made the request, the fact that the "Administration," as represented in this case by the President, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of Agriculture, are all in favor of giving this grant does not mean that it will be done.

We in India were for so long under a virtual dictatorship and got used to the *Hukam* of the British Viceroy that it is hard for us to realize that the President of the United States cannot issue any *Hukams*, in such cases.

Our people have to know a little more about the Constitution of the United States of America.

And, according to the Constitution, legislation will have to be moved in the Congress of the United States for this grant. The grant could come from already appropriated funds, such as that of the

Economic Co-operation Administration (ECA), or a bill for a new appropriation will have to be moved. If the United States Congress, which means the Senate and the House of Representatives, does not pass this legislation, then there is nothing that the President of the United States or the Secretary of State or anyone else can do. This is something that our people must understand.

The chances of "India Aid" legislation passing in the present Congress are, at present, 50-50. It is possible that they may become better, but it is also possible that they may become worse. And, I am afraid, a lot will depend upon the foreign policy of India, especially with regard to Korea, aggression of Communist China, and India's role in the United Nations.

In the last Congress, passage of such a Bill would, in my opinion, have been a little easier. I think in the last Congress, especially if the Bill had been introduced in the early part of 1950, the consideration of the Bill would have been on a more humanitarian basis than on a political basis. But with the Korean war, where thousands of American boys have died and are dying, there would be very few Senators and Representatives who would think in terms of humanitarianism only.

Last week, when I was in Washington, I checked around and found that if an India Aid Bill is brought before the Congress, there will be an unprecedented debate on all issues relating to India. It will give chance to friends of India to say friendly things and to those who are inimical to India to attack India. There is no doubt in my mind that the question of Kashmir will be brought up. One of my Senator friends told me that we should be prepared for a washing of dirty linen on the floors of the Senate and the House. I told my friend that we were not afraid because India has nothing to hide.

In view of this, it has been considered advisable by the friends of India to do a little more "polling" of the Senate and the House before the Bill is even introduced. Because we are all agreed upon one thing—the Bill should not be introduced if it has little chance of passage.

As your readers are well aware, there is a great deal of criticism and disappointment at India's attitude towards Communist China. Some of the criticism is ill-tempered and not at all justifiable. But one has to understand and take into account the emotional state of mind that prevails in the United States today. One may say that this extreme emotionalism, bordering on hysteria, is not warranted. But then again, we must face the fact that it is there. And it will be under these conditions that the members of Congress will act upon the Bill.

No one wishes to suggest that India should change its basic foreign policy or its belief in certain principles



or act against its own national interests for the sake of two million tons of food-grains.

But we must remember that the United States, too, has similar rights. And it is natural to assume that if the majority of the members of the Congress would deem India's foreign policy as injurious to United States interests, then they will not be inclined to sell out two hundred million dollars.

I will give you an illustration: Last week in Washington, everywhere I went, Mme. Vijayalakshmi Pandit's interview over the television program called "Meet the Press" on December 31, was thrown at me. It is a very popular program and many Senators and Congressmen and State Department people and others had seen it. On this program, Mme. Pandit said that, in her opinion, "War was a greater threat to India than Communist domination in Asia." The inference drawn was that India would much rather be under Communist domination than be a party to a war. Then again, when asked whether crossing of the 38th Parallel by the Communist Chinese troops constituted an aggression, Mme. Pandit answered that the United Nations forces went beyond the 38th Parallel, too, and so the Chinese Communists have a "come-back," and they can say that it was no more an aggression for them to cross the 38th Parallel than when the United Nations forces went beyond it. The inference drawn in this case was that Mme. Pandit was equating the crossing of the United Nations forces and the crossing of the Communist Chinese forces. Now this may be the Government of India's policy—I would assume that Mme. Pandit, as Ambassador of India, would not

make such a public declaration unless she were sure that it was in conformity with the Indian Government point of view.

But then the question is: Is it reasonable to expect Americans, who do totally disagree with this attitude as expressed by Mme. Pandit, to give such large-scale aid to India?

I am told that a very high United States Government official, commenting on Mme. Pandit's television talk, said:

"We cannot ask the Ambassador of India to say this or not to say that. She is perfectly at liberty to express any opinion she so wishes. But statements like this are making the job of the United States Government to get a Bill through very difficult, to say the least."

Another official is reported to have said:

"Another statement like that from Mme. Pandit, or some such policy statement from India, and the United States Government will have to reconsider whether the Bill should be introduced or not."

He added:

"Not that we in the Government are disturbed about India's attitude because we know that, in the final analysis, India will be on the side of the democracies. But the question is, will the Senators and the Representatives feel that way? And it is they who will have to decide on the fate of the Bill."

Well, this is the story. And I have considered it my duty to bring it to the notice of the Indian public. Needless to add that the India League of America will strive hard and do all it can so that this very much needed aid is obtained from the United States.

New York, January 12, 1951.

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## WHAT RANSOM FOR MANCHURIA?

By NORMAN CLEAVELAND

*Member of U.S. Reparations Mission in Korea and Manchuria during 1946*

THE fate of Manchuria is a warning to all the world, but particularly to Asia and Malaya, for in Manchuria the true nature of communism was exposed, both by the Soviets and their stooges, the Chinese Communists. Judging from the comments made in Singapore about Manchuria the Chinese Communists in Peking are now dancing to the Kremlin tune just as were Chinese Communists in Manchuria during my visit in 1946.

Having travelled extensively in Manchuria and Korea during 1946 as a member of the United States Reparations Mission under the leadership of Ambassador Edwin W. Pauley who was President Truman's personal representative on reparations, I have irrefutable evidence that Soviet activities in Manchuria were the most destructive ever taken on Chinese territory by any European power. Not only were these Soviet activities the most destructive, but they were imperialistic in its most aggressive and sinister form.

I personally had several extended interviews with Communist leaders in Manchuria, including General Lin

Piao and Li Li San. Li Li San was the predecessor of Mao Tse Tung as Communist leader of all China. I was particularly interested in talking to these men and other Communist leaders to determine whether their fundamental loyalties were to the Chinese people or whether they too were fanatic Communists of the type familiar in Europe and America, Communists who would betray their own country or even their own families to further the interests of the Kremlin. There were many in America during 1946 who pictured the Chinese Communists as merely agrarian reformers and not subject to control from Moscow.

After numerous prolonged discussions with Chinese Communists I was fully convinced that as far as the controlling leadership of the Communists was concerned the interests of the Kremlin were paramount; that deceit, treachery, and the ruthless use of violence were normal methods to serve their lust for personal power by advancing the interests of Moscow.

The Soviets entered Manchuria three days after the



first atomic attack on Hiroshima and the day before the Japanese agreed to the Potsdam ultimatum. Five days later the Japanese formally surrendered. During these five days of technical hostilities the Soviets occupied the northern portion of Manchuria and met resistance at only a few points. When even the technical hostilities ceased the Soviets quickly occupied all of Manchuria with ample forces to deal with any emergency. For all practical purposes the Soviets did not control Manchuria until after the war was over.

They promptly undertook to dismantle and destroy the industrial capacity of the country. The Japanese had highly developed a well-rounded industrial economy in Manchuria based largely on the coal, iron, and other abundant natural resources. Manchurian industry played a major part in the Japanese war effort. The industrial capacity of Manchuria would have been invaluable in the rehabilitation of China after eight years of devastating war waged by the Japanese on Chinese territory. The Soviet destruction of Manchurian mines and industries has set back the industrial development of China at least a full generation and possibly a great deal more, for the Soviets now hold Manchuria for ransom from China with the eager connivance of the present rulers of China.

I received the first of many shocks in Manchuria upon my arrival at the Mukden airfield in early June of 1946, about two months after the major military forces of the U.S.S.R. had been withdrawn. Close by the airfield were the ruins of the Northeastern University. It was obvious that these ruins had once been handsome brick and reinforced concrete buildings and that the buildings and grounds generally would have been a credit to any community in the world. The full impact of what I saw did not strike me, however, until I became familiar with the terms of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance, and associated agreements, which had been signed on August 14, 1945, the day before the Japanese formally surrendered and four days after they had accepted the Potsdam ultimatum to surrender. This treaty was announced to the world over the Moscow radio on August 23, 1945, by which time the destruction of Manchurian industry was under way. The preamble states that this treaty was being entered into in accordance with the spirit and principles of the Charter of the United Nations to establish "good neighbourly postwar collaboration" between the two countries.

I observed sessions of the United Nations from the public gallery during its organization in San Francisco in April 1945 and am familiar with the lofty idealism proclaimed during its organization. Even before the first atom bomb explosion the main hope for the future of mankind appeared to depend upon the wholehearted acceptance by the nations of the world of the ideals proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations. The signatures on the organizational documents of this noble institution were hardly dry when the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance was signed in Moscow upon the conclusion of negotiations in which Marshal Stalin,

Foreign Minister Molotov, Dr. T. V. Soong, and Wang Shih-Chieh had participated. The Treaty was signed by Molotov on behalf of the U.S.S.R. and Wang Shih-Chieh on behalf of China.

According to the terms of this treaty and associated agreements, the U.S.S.R. obtained a naval base at Port Arthur, 50 percent of the port facilities at Dairen, and joint control for 30 years of principal Manchurian railways. These and other concessions obtained by the U.S.S.R. would certainly be considered imperialism in a less enlightened age and when expressed in less idealistic terms, for these very agreements reaffirm the historic fact that Manchuria is an integral part of China.

In return for these very substantial concessions on Chinese territory, the Soviets had promised "good neighbourly postwar collaboration." Article VI of this treaty stated :

"The high contracting parties agree to render to each other every possible economic assistance in the post-war period, with a view to facilitating and accelerating reconstruction in both countries, and to contribute to the cause of world prosperity."

A supplement to this treaty stated :

1. "In accordance with the spirit of the aforementioned treaties, and in order to put into effect its aim and purposes, the government of the U.S.S.R. agrees to render to China, moral support and aid in military supplies and other material resources; such support and aid to be entirely given to the National Government of the Central Government of China."

The National Government of the Central Government of China was, of course, the government of Chiang Kai-shek.

As I was primarily concerned with making appraisals of mining machinery and installations I visited many remote districts. I remember distinctly the Fouhsin Coal Mines in the Province of Jehol. (These mines should not be confused with the Fusun Mines in the Province of Liaoning). The Fouhsin Mines are in an isolated area which had been intensely developed by the Japanese, until during the war it had grown into a community of about 200,000 persons, over 90 per cent of whom were Chinese. About 38,000 persons had been employed in the mines and the Japanese had built up a modern community. The fact that the total employment for all mines in Malaya at present is slightly over 50,000 persons gives an idea of the size of the Fouhsin Mines which during the war produced about 12,000 tons of coal daily.

Records disclose that the Soviet troops occupied Fouhsin about two weeks after the Japanese had surrendered and remained for about six months. Anyone with an appreciation for fine machinery would be appalled by the remains of the Fouhsin power plant, where four turbo-generators with a rated total capacity of 160,000 K.V.A. had been removed together with major portions of the steam boilers. The size of this plant, which supplied power for much of the industry in Southern Manchuria, can be appreciated when it is realized that it had a rated



capacity of about twice the combined output of all power plants in Malaya at the present time.

The general chaos and evidence of crude and undisciplined handling of heavy equipment at the Fouhsin power plant clearly indicated that the machinery would have little more than scrap value upon arrival at its destination. Yet the replacement value of such equipment in the rehabilitation of China and the entire Orient would be many times its original cost.

Of course, without power, the underground mines at Fouhsin were flooded and fires, started by spontaneous combustion in coal above water level, raged out of control in a manner to make a mining man shudder. The destruction of productive capacity of coal and electricity were not the only revolting spectacles at Fouhsin. All the normal facilities of civilization had been devastated. I visited the ruins of a hospital and received reports by eyewitnesses as to its destruction. China is desperately short of medical facilities. Schools, libraries, religious and recreational facilities all shared a similar fate. At Fouhsin, as in most of Manchuria, the Soviets had taken over an orderly community with ample forces to have maintained law and order had they so desired. It was, however, evident that their purpose was to sow the seeds of violent social unrest and the general breakdown of law and order. When the Soviet forces retired from Fouhsin they took with them all available stores of foodstuffs.

The net effect of the Soviet post-war occupation of Fouhsin was to deprive an orderly, isolated community of its means of livelihood, its food supplies, its medical facilities and means of transport, and in addition, law and order were broken down and violent and destructive social unrest encouraged. All this after the Japanese surrender and not on the territory of an enemy, but on the territory of an ally with whom a Treaty of Friendship and Alliance had just been signed, a treaty promising good neighbourly collaboration for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of both countries.

The Soviets reported that the value of the machinery they removed from Manchuria amounted to only U.S. \$80,000,000. This might be a fair appraisal based on scrap metal prices at Vladivostok where scrap metal has very little value. Our appraisal which was conservatively based on prewar costs placed the value of equipment removed and destroyed at U.S. \$2,000,000,000. And of course the replacement value in the post-war period, and particularly its value in the rehabilitation of China, would be many times its cost.

Not all communities in Manchuria suffered as severely as Fouhsin. In some communities the Soviets removed only choice electrical equipment and machine tools. In such places it also was noted that looting by the local populace was on a much reduced scale. Nor was all the destruction we noticed caused by the Soviets and by looting mobs. There was some battle damage from fighting between the Chinese Nationalists and Chinese Communist forces.

Chinese Communist forces attacked the Peipiao Coal

Mine a few days before I arrived and seriously damaged the mine power plant and hoisting machinery.

At Anshan the Japanese had built a major steel producing plant, which included seven blast furnaces. Four of these furnaces had been removed by the Soviet forces, and shortly before our visit to Anshan, Chinese Communist forces in the area attacked and blew up the three remaining blast furnaces, thus removing any possibility of rehabilitating the productive capacity of the plant. Besides removing the blast furnaces the Soviets had completely dismantled rolling mills, tube mills, and other vital steel producing equipment.

While in Harbin, the Communist headquarters of Manchuria at the time, I asked several Chinese Communist leaders why their troops were destroying basic industries which were so desperately needed by the Chinese people, regardless of whether the Nationalists or the Communists ruled China. The replies invariably were that the damage was being done by irresponsible local Communist leaders acting on their own initiative. The Communist troops I saw in Manchuria gave the impression of being particularly well trained, equipped, disciplined, and not inclined to act without proper orders.

I arrived in Harbin with a party of six engineers to carry on our work of appraising Japanese assets. We had full information as to major Japanese assets and industrial plants in Harbin, obtained from Japanese sources. Our request to Communist officials to visit these Japanese plants were countered in all cases by the statement that they were now in the hands of private owners and that the civil authorities did not have the right to grant us permission to visit private property. However, they finally directed us to a Russian general who permitted us to visit one of the minor railway repair shops in Harbin and then provided most lavish entertainment. However, on the following morning we were able again to press the Communist authorities to be put in direct contact with the "owners" of the Japanese plants we wished to see. Finally, we learned that all plants which had not been dismantled were owned by a single company called, I. I. Tschurin and Company. It was not until after we left Communist territory that we were able to obtain the background and history of this organization and to learn how it came to control nearly all the industry in Harbin which had not been removed or destroyed. The Chinese Communists were very evasive as to details and were anxious only to assure us that everything was in order and, above all, that the Soviets were entirely blameless in the matter.

I. I. Tschurin and Company was originally organized to do business in Manchuria by Russian subjects at about the turn of the century. This firm was highly successful and by the time of the Japanese invasion in 1931 was the largest general agency concern in Manchuria, with branches in all the leading communities. Under the Japanese regime, however, they experienced difficulty and, finally, the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank took over complete control of the company. Before leaving Harbin at



the outbreak of World War II, the manager closed the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank at Harbin and appointed a White Russian, named Ostrenko, to act as caretaker of the bank's premises and gave him a power-of-attorney to act in such matters.

Upon the arrival of Soviet forces in Harbin they concluded a deal with Ostrenko, taking over the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank's interest in I. I. Tschurin and Company by the payment of occupational currency which was printed in the U.S.S.R. for use in Manchuria. This currency, according to agreement, was redeemable by the Chinese Nationalist Government. I. I. Tschurin and Company and all its branches in Manchuria were thereafter placed under the management of a Soviet trading organization which was thoroughly financed with occupational currency, there being no shortage of paper in Russia at that time. The new management of I. I. Tschurin and Company, with the support of the Soviet forces, had little difficulty in persuading all concerned with the desirability of co-operating fully in the "sale" of factories and properties which had not been stripped or destroyed. In making these deals I. I. Tschurin and Company went through all the legal motions of making a *bona fide* transfer of title in accordance with good capitalistic procedure. Of course, the amount of occupational currency issued by the Soviets was vastly in excess of the amount agreed to by the Chinese Government; however, for purposes of negotiations in which I. I. Tschurin and Company were concerned the occupational money had full face value.

When the Chinese Nationalists occupied portions of Manchuria they promptly passed a law which invalidated deals made by I. I. Tschurin and Company. This law stated that no foreigner or foreign company could own property in China unless Chinese enjoyed reciprocal rights in the foreigner's own country. Thus, since Chinese could not own land in Russia, the Russians could not own property in China. However, in Communist-held areas of Manchuria, I found the Chinese Communist authorities actively condoning the actions of I. I. Tschurin and Company and doing their best to rationalize and justify them.

The Soviets having occupied Manchuria with large military forces for a period of nine months during 1945 and 1946, I made a particular effort to locate any constructive works they had left behind. Certainly any civilized people would have done so, particularly a people who proclaim themselves the inventors of nearly all modern conveniences as well as being champions of the under-privileged. However, the only constructive efforts I was able to find to mark the nine months of occupation of Manchuria by the Soviets were massive stone monuments. I saw them in Mukden, in Changchun, and in Harbin. These massive stone columns supported in Mukden a nearly full-scale replica of a Soviet tank, in Changchun a Soviet fighter plane, and in Harbin two heroic soldiers holding a Soviet star above their heads. These monuments bore mas-

sive inscriptions on bronze plates stating that they had been erected by the local people in gratitude for their liberation. Arising against a background of chaos and misery resulting from the destruction of the economic life of the land, these monuments were, in effect, tombstones of good faith and the legitimate hopes of the Chinese people after fighting a victorious war against Japan. The deception and terror these monuments reflect have blighted the lives of hundreds of millions of people in Asia. These monuments were not the works of war criminals but rather of peace criminals and the crimes were condoned and abetted by Chinese Communists who still seek to shield the criminals and make way for further crimes against China.

Early in 1950 it was reported that the Chinese Communists and the U.S.S.R. had signed a "Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance" dated February 14, 1950. In this treaty the Soviets promise to return "not later than the end of 1952" some of the concessions they have obtained in Manchuria under the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance of August 14, 1945. However, the Soviet Naval Base at Port Arthur still dominates the North China coast, the Soviets still control Dairen, Manchuria's main seaport, and Soviet control of Manchurian railways and I. I. Tschurin and Company apparently is still intact. They hold the whip hand in Chinese industrial and political development and China has been alienated from her normal commercial and cultural contacts with the West. It is obvious that China must pay a fearful ransom to redeem Manchuria "not later than the end of 1952."

The horrible price China may be forced to pay is evidenced by the grim fate of Northern Korea, another hostage of the Soviets. Like Manchuria, Korea—particularly North Korea—was highly developed industrially by the Japanese. Like Manchuria, Korean industry did not suffer war damage. In the post-war period Korea could have been one of the most fortunate countries in the Far East. But that was not to be. Violating all agreements concerning Korea, just as in Manchuria, the Soviets took action resulting in a division at the 38th parallel. The Soviets then proceeded to develop the war potential of North Korea and in due time turned it loose in savage aggression. The Soviets certainly knew what the results would be. The Soviets knew that half of Korea could not defeat the United States with the backing of the 53 other nations who endorsed the United Nations resolution to support South Korea. The Soviets certainly knew of the destructive capacity of the Super Forts (airplanes). They knew that the Korean war could have no other outcome except complete destruction of Korea's economy and terrific misery, suffering and loss of life to the Korean people. Certainly the Soviets have no greater regard for the welfare of the Chinese than they have for the Koreans. China too may be forced to pay the fearful ransom, for the Soviet stooges in Peking are now behaving just as Soviet stooges behaved in North Korea.



## CENTRALIZATION—THE NEGATION OF DEMOCRACY

By MANKUMAR SEN

In theory Democracy has come to mean "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." In other words it is the people with whom should lie the reins of administration and it is the people's well-being—their physical, moral and intellectual development—that should constitute the fundamental objective of such administration. Again, this Democratic Government should mean not only the governance of political affairs but the State's economic affairs too should, for all intents and purposes, vest in it. Rather it is in the latter sphere of economy that the people's choice should be more vocal, assertive and pronounced so that democracy in economy automatically leads the country to a full-fledged cultural democracy—to a state based on the fundamentals of social justice.

While almost everyone of us seems to comprehend the meaning and implications of political democracy our indifference to or ignorance of democracy's economic pre-requisites and consequences is rather sweeping. As a result modern democracies have become mere patchworks—attempting at a preposterous compromise between democracy in politics and dictatorship in economics. The sum and substance of such a mixture has been that what the masses of the people have earned in their right to cast votes and elect representatives is comparatively less than microscopic in relation to what they are made to lose every day and at every step in the sphere of the country's economy. This strange and unnatural 'adjustment' between two sharply contradictory forces—one recognizing the people's right to vote and the other denying their right to live in economic justice and equity—is inevitably leading the so-called democracies of today to rapid recession and class cleavage, and ultimately to bloody strifes and war. Truly speaking, there is yet to evolve a real democracy—politico-economic and cultural. As we have outlined above, nothing short of economic democracy—equilibrium of production and distribution can ensure cultural pursuits for the people. And without cultural pursuits human beings differ from beasts only in form.

The fact that even after the growth and development of democracies the world today has not been freed from the ravages of war, from the clutches of exploiters, from untold misery and seething discontent among the multi-millioned masses all over the world, should serve as a pointer and an eye-opener to the guardians of modern era who are rushing with break-neck speed to a machine-based and centralized civilization. But alas! they are either blind or helpless victims to an illusory propaganda!

Now, how is it that while there was powerful

advocacy for democracy, the people were deprived of their economic and cultural rights? The evil is now too deep and vast and baffling: we cannot unearth its 'romantic' development, short of a calm, probing and unprejudiced analysis. The process of this deprivation and disgraceful regression has been very scientific (or should we call unscientific?) so that the ignorant masses were hoodwinked and bluffed easily.

### THOSE HAPPY DAYS

Until about two hundred years ago up to the advent of what has come to be known as the 'Industrial Revolution' the economic systems of the different countries of the world were considerably broad-based and decentralized. Particularly in the Orient it was all throughout a decentralized economy, pure and simple. The production was primarily by simple tools and implements which the ordinary people could afford to possess by their modest means. The production being centred round the private entrepreneur, it afforded ample scope for the culture and development of his artistic acumen, imagination and intellect. There being no magic of large-scale machinery as we see today the success of the trade and industry was mostly dependent on human energy and skill. As the satisfaction of the local demands was the objective of economic planning there was nothing like mass-production or over-production for profiteering which is the worst malady of the modern world. The community was guided by a spirit of mutual co-operation,—as for instance, the agriculturist used to offer his surplus produce to the artisans and in return he could get the necessary implements of production, viz., the plough, the spade, etc., from the artisan. Thus it was production by the masses and for the masses—and not mass production. This superstructure of a decentralized economy drew its inspiration and sustenance from the people. Conflicting forces and forces of exploitation and vested interests found very little scope to play their game and this rendered class struggle, class hatred and violent outbursts almost impossible. Maybe, according to its modern definition we had less of civilization those days—but we had peace. There was peace in individual in the society and in the country; and that again assured international peace or peace among nations of the world. And today?

The more broad-based the production, the more evenly and equitably distributed is the wealth of the country. The scope of unequal competition being almost zero, exploitation of one by the other, of the mute millions by a millionaire was absent. And who can deny that inequality breeds hatred, hatred begets violence and violence in its virulent form lands the



nations in war? We have enough of progress today—yes,—but that progress has denied us peace, has denied us the fundamental rights of man, has permanently sowed the seeds of war. If progress cannot bring about peace what it is worth for? Has it really any meaning?

Unlike modern economic systems in which units of production are centralized in a place known as the cities, the economy of those days centred round villages where lived and developed the predominantly larger part of the population. A different story we have today and hence also the difference in conclusion! This, they say, is an age of science and machinery. The dual might of science and its achievements in machinery has brought about spectacular progress in the different sectors of our life but all this progress is more than nullified by the disgrace it has showered on humanity, the crushing blow it has administered to a balanced economy, the reign of desert and disease it has let loose in the peaceful and lively villages. Modern progress means poverty for the millions and unlimited plenty for the millionaires. This is a progress where man has gone mad after machine—has become a slave rather than a master of machine. So the rapid development of machine-progress is strangling all human elements, all moral and spiritual aids still more rapidly. This is why man has the least sympathy for man and the human world is being visited and revisited by devastating wars at the bid of a designing few. The aim and end of progress is peace. We say we have progress—also we mourn there is no peace anywhere. Is it not a strange phenomenon judging by the only criterion of progress, we have not marched a step forward from pre-historic barbarism!

#### SCIENCE AND INVENTIONS

The Industrial Revolution was preceded by various monumental inventions of science. These inventions largely stepped up production and strengthened organization on a wider scale. The invented large machineries in a great measure replaced small tools and implements now the production being on a mass-scale and not by the masses as before. Application of large machineries was no doubt costly, so it needed much outlay of capital. Formerly it was the satisfaction of local demands that determined the policy of production, now the huge capital investment necessitated production being carried to capacity with a view to minimising the average cost and maximising profit by export to still-unexplored countries. Not all the required raw materials being available within their own boundaries the owners and organisers of this revolutionary system of large-scale production were in frantic search for raw materials outside. Thus Great Britain landed in India; Japan and America in China, so on and so forth. The Jute Mill Industry of Great Britain

was concentrated at Dundee for which raw jute was bought from the poor Indian peasants at the most uneconomic prices through an unholy alliance between the British traders in India—who had by now become masters of the land—and the jute factory owners in Dundee. It is to be noted that until before this necessity arising from Industrial Revolution, Britain had no occasion to infiltrate in Indian market and ultimately to secure reins of India's administration primarily for easy economic exploitation as in the above instance. Each and every country which became a victim to such centralized production intruded on the rights of other countries which were primarily the producers of raw materials so that its factory did not suffer from shortage of raw materials. And as an inevitable consequence of such intrusion, the intruding traders invariably became mighty rulers too. We need not treat in detail the stained history of how East India Company came to trade in India and ultimately became its ruler. Thus we see two distinct classes of countries today—one class being the producers of raw materials mainly, and the other class being the producers of industrial goods, the raw materials for which are in no small measure drawn from the former class. Again, the owners of these industries form a separate class—the class of exploiters—in their own countries. In this way class-conflict and country-conflict comes to pass frequently with bitter results. So we see what a vicious circle the centralized economy has created today. This is the basic disease of modern world. No superficial treatment either through full-throated slogans of world governments and world federation or through political adjustments and re-adjustments can cure this basic disease.

#### WHAT IS OUR POSITION?

Over and above the profit-motive or the motive of a powerful few to exploit the millions the large-scale machineries have been adopted also as labour-saving devices. To a certain extent Britain, America and some other countries had the problem of labour shortage no doubt,—but what about India?

In a country where the unemployment of crores of people has become a tremendous and baffling problem, the application of labour-saving machines is murderous in so far as this will aggravate the problem of unemployment, far less lessen it. The factory-owners will tend to, as they are tending now, 'efficient' machines more and more and thereby drive the human labour out. Also the ordinary people of India have neither the power nor the desire to go Western-way. Ours is a land predominantly agricultural. The life-blood of this land is vested in its seven hundred thousand villages. From any reason and any conceivable approach, India's decision cannot but be decentralization. Let us pause and ponder.



# THE HEAVY CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES

By J. V. RAMANA, B.A., B.Sc.,

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The Heavy Chemical Industries occupy a key position in a country's industrial economy and the economic regeneration of our country in particular depends to a large extent on our ability to turn the potentialities at our disposal to proper account. Industrialization is naturally followed by a rapid growth of the chemical industries which form the very basis of national defence. The two world wars have proved beyond doubt the importance of the chemical industries in the scheme of national defence and our country obviously cannot afford to neglect their development and jeopardise her newly won freedom. These heavy chemical industries are important not only for general economic development but for the development of other small-scale industries as well. The products of the heavy chemicals industry form the basic raw materials used in almost all other industries.

The Indian chemical industry has only been of recent growth. Chemical industries were unknown in the pre-war days in India, our requirements being met mostly by imports from abroad. Acute shortage of chemicals was felt for the first time during the early years of World War I as a result of the stoppage of imports. The demand of chemicals for defence purposes was also keenly felt and this led to the starting of a few chemical works mostly in the cities of Bombay and Calcutta. A few plants were set up for the manufacture of sulphuric acid and its allied products. The production of chemicals like Nitric Acid, Toluene, etc., used in the manufacture of explosives also received immediate encouragement. The heavy chemicals industry however had a great impetus during the recent World War which led to the stabilization and rapid growth of the industry in our country.

The various chemical industries that need immediate development in India are the manufacture, for example, of mineral acids, paints and varnishes, drugs and medicines, dyestuffs, fine chemicals, photographic chemicals, fertilizers, plastics, glass, pharmaceuticals, rubber, enamels, and ceramics. As the industries happen to be too many, classification of the most important heavy chemicals may be made for the sake of convenience under three heads as (a) sulphuric acid and the products derived from it, (b) the caustic alkalis and soda ash and lastly (c) miscellaneous heavy chemicals like ammonia, bichromates, bleaching powder, etc.

(a) *Sulphuric acid*: Sulphuric acid is a vital basic chemical and its importance and utility in other industries has been universally recognized. The total

consumption of this important acid in industry is supposed to denote in general the industrial prosperity of a country.

Sulphuric acid as such finds use in leather tanning, in textiles, in the production of explosives, in nonferrous metallurgy, and in filling the accumulators. The acid plays an equally important role in the manufacture of certain auxiliary chemicals such as:

- (i) Ammonium sulphate and superphosphates used as fertilizers;
- (ii) Hydrochloric and nitric acids used in the production of explosives;
- (iii) Ferrous sulphate, magnesium sulphate and the bichromates used in textiles;
- (iv) And aluminium sulphate and alums used in purification of water and in leather-tanning.

Sulphuric acid is manufactured from either sulphur or from iron pyrites ( $\text{FeS}_2$ ) though the former is mainly used in our country for the manufacture of the acid. Sicily and Japan were mostly supplying our requirements of sulphur in the pre-war days but with the outbreak of World War II, the supplies had to be cut off and imports made from the U.S.A. The non-availability of our requirements of sulphur led to the exploitation of the deposits in Baluchistan by the then Government of India. But the ore was not only found to be of inferior quality but its actual working and transportation proved to be nearly four times as costly as imported sulphur. With the partition of the country after independence even this source of supply has been lost and India has now to depend entirely on imported sulphur for her industrial requirements. Deposits of iron pyrites are however found in Singhbhum district in Bihar and in Simla. No attempts have so far been made in India to utilize these sources of combined sulphur not only because of certain technical difficulties and for reasons of economy, but because a purer acid can be more readily obtained from good sulphur.

In India before the recent war, there were about 23 factories manufacturing the acid, but with the outbreak of World War II, owing to the extensive demand of the acid for munitions production six new plants were set up with an annual production of about 8,000 tons.

Only a few plants in our country are worked on the contact process, the rest operating on the less economical lead chamber process which gives only a weak acid requiring further concentration. The high cost of the lead chamber process is due to the fuel consumption for concentrating the acid to the required specific gravity of about 1.84, whereas in the



contact process the maximum concentration is directly obtained after the oxidation of sulphur dioxide into the trioxide and its dissolution in water.

The annual production of the acid in our country is roughly estimated to be about 80,000 tons. The imports of the acid from abroad are very low owing to the difficulties in transportation, the high freight charges and also because of the hazardous nature of the acid. As a result of this the sulphuric acid industry enjoys a natural protection. Bengal stands first in the production of the acid and the production at other centres like the Punjab and Madras needs development at a later date when there is an improvement in the position of the raw materials.

The acid is used in other countries principally for the manufacture of fertilisers like ammonium sulphate and the superphosphates but unfortunately our total production of the acid is so low that it does not warrant its profitable use in the manufacture of fertilizers. In Soviet Russia, about three-fourths of the total quantity of the acid produced is directly made use of in the manufacture of fertilizers. In spite of our country being predominantly agricultural, only a small quantity of the acid produced is employed in its manufacture, obviously for reasons of economy and the acid thus conserved is utilized in the development of other auxiliary industries.

Hydrochloric acid, another important mineral acid like the sulphuric, finds a variety of uses in industry. It is employed in the manufacture of chlorides, such as the zinc chloride and ferric chloride and also in the textile industry.

The method of production of the acid in our country is by the decomposition of common salt with sulphuric acid. The sodium sulphate obtained as an important by-product is used in the preparation of glauber's salt and in the paper industry. The synthetic acid is also now-a-days produced by the direct combination of hydrogen and chlorine in the gaseous form, which are obtained as by-products in the electrolytic manufacture of caustic soda. This method is certain to have a bright future in our country because of the cheapness in the cost of production compared to the chemical process.

Nitric acid ranks in importance on a par with the sulphuric acid because of its extensive use in the manufacture of explosives and in fertilizers. The acid quite apart from its utility in the production of munitions is of considerable importance in the manufacture of diazodyes and aromatic nitro compounds.

The method of production of the acid as is adopted in India at present is by the decomposition of the sodium or potassium nitrate with sulphuric acid. The production of the acid is carried out by most of the sulphuric acid manufacturers. The catalytic method of production of the acid by the oxidation of ammonia has not been attempted yet on an industrial scale in our country and the method is

bound to have a bright future if the fertilizer industry is developed on a large scale. This method has another distinct advantage of being quite independent of sulphuric acid of which we are in short supply. The production of the acid increased enormously during the war period because of its immediate need in the manufacture of munitions for defence purposes. The annual production is likely to increase to a considerable extent if the dyestuffs industry is established in our country, the possibilities of which are being explored by the Government of India.

(b) *The Caustic alkalies*: The manufacture of caustic alkalies and their allied products undoubtedly forms another important unit in the field of heavy chemical industries.

Sodium hydroxide or caustic soda as it is called is a chemical of very great importance and is an essential requisite for many other industries like textiles, paper, dyestuffs, soap manufacture, etc. Caustic soda can be produced by two different processes, the electrolytic and the chemical methods, the raw material in the electrolytic method being pure common salt. The prominent manufacturers of this product in our country are the Mettur Chemicals, Mettur Dam, and the Tata Chemicals at Mithapur.

The electrolytic plant at Mettur Dam which started production of the alkali in 1941 has a production capacity of about five tons per day. The Tata Chemicals plant at Mithapur has an annual capacity of about 2000 tons, the process adopted being electrolytic. Bleaching powder is manufactured from the chlorine obtained as a by-product in the manufacture of caustic soda.

The indigenous manufacture of caustic soda was almost negligible before the World War II, in spite of the indispensable nature of the chemical in running other consumer industries. Most of our requirements of the alkali are met from foreign imports which are found to be quite cheap. As the packing and transportation of caustic soda do not present any difficulties as in the case of sulphuric acid, the imports are made cheap and as a result of this, indigenous production has been seriously handicapped. The Indian Tariff Board which examined the prospects of this industry in 1946 recommended protection to the local producers of caustic soda.

The imports of the alkali before the war were quite satisfactory, but the situation considerably deteriorated with the outbreak of hostilities and owing to the scarcity of supplies, some sort of control had to be enforced by the government, in order to conserve the stocks for defence purposes. The shortage of supplies during the war period pointed out the immediate need to make ourselves self-sufficient in our requirements of the alkali. The imports of the product are to be regulated by governmental control till we reach a position of self-sufficiency in the matter of production. The problem has to be tackled



by setting up more plants for the manufacture of the alkali, and if necessary, adequate steps should be taken by the government itself in installing a few plants for its manufacture.

Sodium carbonate commercially known as soda ash is another indispensable raw material required in the development of a large number of other industries. Soda ash is consumed in large quantities in the textile industry where owing to the mild alkaline nature of the substance it is made use of for cleaning the fabrics and yarn. The glass and ceramics industry also consumes the substance to a large extent.

The Ammonia soda process or the Solvay's process is followed for the manufacture of soda ash and two plants are operating on this process in our country. As the cost of production of indigenous soda ash does not permit an economic working, imports are being made on a large scale to meet our demands, and the prospects of the industry appear to be rather gloomy.

(c) *Miscellaneous Heavy Chemicals*: A large number of chemicals like the bichromates of sodium and potassium, bleaching powder, glycerine, sodium sulphate, potassium chlorate, potassium permanganate, litharge, white lead, ammonia, etc., can be classified under this head but only a few will be dealt with in detail below.

The chromates of sodium and potassium are chemicals of outstanding importance and find a variety of uses in many industries. They are largely used in the leather industry for the chrome tanning of leather and in the manufacture of chrome colours or chrome pigments which find considerable use in the paint industry. Chromic acid is employed in the electroplating industry.

The chief raw material, the chrome iron ore of fairly good quality is available in Mysore and in Bihar. The other raw materials like lime and sulphuric acid are available in sufficient quantities to meet the requirements of this industry, soda ash alone being imported from abroad in view of the local production of it being negligible.

At present in our country there are about a dozen plants engaged in the manufacture of bichromates, the largest among them being the Cawnpore chemical works, Cawnpore, and the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, Madras. As Madras and Kanpur happen to be centres of leather-tanning, location of more plants in these areas promises a bright future for the bichromate industry. The machinery required for the production of the bichromates can be easily manufactured in our own country and we can anticipate with some optimism that she would be quite independent of foreign supplies within a short time.

Another chemical of importance is ammonia, which finds considerable use in the refrigeration industry. It is used in the rubber industry for vulcanizing and in the manufacture of ammonium

sulphate which finds extensive use as an artificial manure. It is also employed as a condensing agent in the plastic industry, which is still in an infant stage in our country and in the production of cuprammonium silk.

Anhydrous ammonia is produced on a very meagre scale, the local production being very little compared to our actual demands. Ammonia can be produced by several methods, the synthetic method of manufacture being the best and the most popular. It is high time that efforts were made for the installation of at least a few plants in some important industrial centres for the manufacture of synthetic ammonia. The recovery of ammonia from the coal-tar distillates undoubtedly is a very cheap process and can be successfully undertaken on a large scale to meet at least a part of our demands.

Bleaching powder and chlorine are chemicals of equal importance—the former being manufactured from the chlorine obtained as a by-product in the electrolytic manufacture of caustic soda. The chief Indian producers of bleaching powder are the Tata Chemicals and the Mettur Chemicals. In our country bleaching powder is consumed to the extent of about 12,000 tons per annum, more than 50 per cent being used up by the paper mills and the rest being utilised in the textile industry and in the manufacture of other essential chemicals.

The Indian production of bleaching powder and chlorine is steadily going up and within a short time it would be quite sufficient to meet our entire requirements. If a few additional plants are installed for the production of caustic alkali, our country would definitely be in a sound position to meet all her requirements of chlorine for the pharmaceutical and other industries as well.

Our Indian chemical industry, as has been pointed out, is in a backward state, compared to the scientifically and industrially advanced nations of the West and is in need of urgent and immediate development. The two grave handicaps which seem to threaten the development of this industry in our country are the absence of technical manpower and the necessary industrial equipment. It would be only suicidal to depend for ever on technical assistance from outside for our industrial development and efforts should be made for the training of skilled personnel in our own country. All this requires a close co-operation between the men of science of the universities and the big industrialists in addition to governmental help. It is the paramount duty of industrialists and business magnates to extend their sympathy and co-operation to the national government in advancing the country's industrial progress. The government are doing their best in this direction in spite of the anaemic state of our finances and we can hope with some measure of confidence that the heavy chemical industries will have a bright future in our country.





# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

## ENGLISH

**BRITISH MALAYA:** *An account of the origin and progress of British influence in Malaya.* By Sir Frank Swettenham. Published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. Forty-nine illustrations and a map. Pp. 380. Price 21 shillings.

Ever since the date of its first publication in 1906, *British Malaya* by Sir Frank Swettenham has been recognised as the standard work on the subject. This is due not only to the weight of the author's official experience extending over all the active years of his life-time, but also to his intrinsic qualities of clearness, honesty and sound judgment. In this revised edition of the work which has replaced the revised edition of 1929, the author tells once more the story of "how the first British Residents (in Malaya) performed their difficult task" and "how they evolved a scheme of administration never before tried with a people of different colour, language and religion inhabiting a tropical country" and of the progress secured for the Malay states by "the efforts of their British advisers working hand in hand with the Malay Rulers, their Chiefs and their people" (Introduction, p. vii). It is only fair to state that the narrative has been told not only with full documentary evidence, but what is more, with remarkable independence and freedom from racial bias. To take a few examples, referring to John Crawford's vaunt of Albuquerque and his seven hundred Europeans storming "the walls and entrenchments" of Malacca "that were guarded by 30,000 barbarians" (p. 15), he says with withering sarcasm, "Unfortunately, it is more than probable that the 700 Europeans, the 30,000 barbarians and the walls and entrenchments were equally imaginary." On p. 37 he shows convincingly how the circumstances of the British acquisition of Penang in 1786 exhibited "the cowardice of the East India Company, ending in a breach of faith which sullied the British name" and paved the way for the horrors of the Siamese invasion of Kedah in 1821. Coming to recent times he rightly finds fault with the financial policy of the Federated Malay States which had led them "to create a very large establishment with the houses, passages, leave-pay and especially the pensions for a great number of highly paid Government officials" (p. 352) and that of Johore where, in spite of the abundant resources of the State, "a great deal is lacking in the way of road construction, water-supply and sanitation" (p. 354). His criticism of the constitutions of 1909 and 1927 (pp. 358-9), so far as they go, are just and proper, e.g., when he condemns the combination of the offices of Governor of a Crown Colony and President of a Federal Council of Protected States and the wholesale nomination of non-official members of the Council. The author's discern-

ing and very full review (Ch. VII) of the character of the Malayas, their customs, arts, language and literature is derived, as he rightfully claims, from "close intimacy with every class of Malay society" extending over many years. One of the attractions of this book is the justice which it renders to the memory of one of Britain's greatest empire-builders in the East, Sir Stamford Raffles. Describing in full the history of the foundation of Singapore, the author justly says (p. 73), "In all this no British party and no British Government can claim to have taken any part except by grudgingly assenting to what had been done, almost without their knowledge, entirely against their wishes. The man to whom the credit belongs gave his talents and his life to achieve an end which he believed to be necessary to the prestige, the power and the trade of England in the Far East." To the Government of British India he pays a generous tribute for its ungrudging help to the Malay States throughout their later history (p. 287). Of great interest to Indian historical scholars is the author's statement (p. 13) about the Indian origin of the names Singapore and Tamasak as well as his less convincing derivation of the Malayas from a cross between South Indian immigrants to Sumatra and the local people, who "gradually worked their way to Java, Singapore and the Malaya Peninsula, to Borneo, Celebes and the other islands of the Archipelago and even to the Philippines, Sulu, the Caroline Islands and perhaps to Formosa" (p. 144).

On the whole, the book, while throwing a flood of light on the past history of Malay under British rule or influence, offers little help for shaping its future. The author is full of admiration for the administration which accounted for "the phenomenal progress and development of Malay from the year 1874 to the year 1941," and he is completely out of sympathy with the recent constitutional changes tending to whittle down the rulers' powers and to advance democratic self-government (Introduction, pp. x-xiii). He forgets that the administrative frame-work of the past which he justly admires, must give way to the changing world-forces of the present. To quote the poet's words: "The old order changeth, yielding place to new." The paper, print, get-up and illustrations are excellent.

U. N. GHOSHAL

**SOCIALISM AND THE NATIONAL REVOLUTION:** *By Acharya Narendra Deva, edited by Yusuf Meherally. Published by the Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. 1946. Pp. 208+xi. Price Rs. 5-8.*

The book under review is a representative collection from the speeches and writings in the years 1934 to 1946, of Acharya Narendra Deva, one of



the leading figures of the erstwhile Congress Socialist Party, now the Socialist Party, of India. Here we find an explanation and justification of the emergence of a new political party within the Congress from the pen of one who took a leading part in its formation. We find here also his observations on the dynamic role of the Indian peasant in recent times in the Indian Revolution and a number of other burning questions, such as the Constituent Assembly, the States' people, the communal problem in India, India in the post-war world, the Cabinet Mission, etc. He finds the justification for the rise of the Congress Socialist Party within the Congress instead of as an independent party, because even then the main problem was the attainment of national independence and the Congress was the rallying point of all the revolutionary forces in the country. At the same time in the context of the new world situation with the deepening crisis of the capitalistic order of society he along with his comrades found an urgent need for a reorientation in the policy and aims of the Congress, for broadbasing it on the support of the Indian masses which could be won only by adopting an economic programme based on the socialisation of the means of production and elimination of exploitation. If the formation of the party was justified then, in the context of attainment of independence its continuance is still more justified if for no other reason at least for organising an effective opposition to the party in power. In view of the changed correlation of forces brought about by the quittance of the British, the old role of the Congress as the only fighting organisation has disappeared and a new alignment of political forces has become urgent if democracy is to function at all. The Socialist Party has since severed its connection with the Congress and is functioning as an independent party pledged to fight the first general election in a free India on its own independent programme. The strength and appeal of the party in the country will soon be tested by the verdict of the electorate at the next elections. In any event the views and observations of one of the doyens of a very significant movement, a lifelong and valiant fighter in the freedom struggle and one of the leaders of thought of modern India are worth careful study and sympathetic understanding. The publishers are, therefore, to be congratulated on presenting to the public this useful collection of speeches and writings which has been very timely indeed.

AKSHOY KUMAR GHOSAL

**SAVARKAR AND HIS TIMES :** By Dhananjay Keer. Published by A. V. Keer, 77 Bhageshwar Bhuvan, Lady Hardinge Road, Bombay, 26. Pp. 421 with Index. Price Rs. 10.

The biographies of Vinayak Damodar Savarkar have been many; this is the latest for English-language readers. To us in Bengal, this flaming sword of Maharashtra Nationalism has been as inspiration since 1910 when he burst over the world's attention as the author of the *First War of Indian Independence of 1857* as the "Sepoy Mutiny" has been revalued in the light of history brought to a focus by this young scholar and revolutionary leader. But his long imprisonment in the Andamans has made him a distant figure, and we are thankful to Sree Dhananjay Keer for his full length life-sketch of Vinayakrao.

We have to confess, however, that this writer suffers from the defects inseparable from the spirit of hero-worship that fails to pay proper regard to the historic setting of his hero. The superlatives that he has spread over the book are uncalled for; for,

Vinayak Damodar Savarkar will shine all the brighter if the background of his times is adequately drawn. This Dhananjay Keer has failed to do. Not to speak of all-India perspectives, the new awakening in Maharashtra, a part and symbol of the Indian Renaissance, with its light and shade, is very disappointingly dealt with. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar is no freak; he is heir to the makers of Maharashtra, of Ramdas Swami, Shivaji's guru; of Ranade, of Chiplunkar, of Tilak, of Agarkar, of Gokhale during the British period. The struggles of these men to rouse their people to the shame and ignominy of their dependent existence as a subject people explain much of what Vinayakrao has been and has done. Narasimha Chintamon Kelkar's biography of Balwant Gangadhar Tilak should have been an exemplar to Savarkar's latest biographer.

We can understand the causes of this inadequacy. The Indian Press in general have misrepresented Vinayak Damodar Savarkar as a communal reactionary, vowed to the cause of Hindu orthodoxy. The Indian public has been studiously kept in the dark with regard to his activities as a reformer of social conduct. Chapter IX of this book (pp. 153-180), entitled "Social Revolution" tells us the story how Vinayakrao worked mightily for the removal of untouchability, for temple-entry for the *achhyuts* during 1924 to 1937, the years which saw him interned in the Ratnagiri district, his political activities banned and his other activities restricted by the British bureaucracy. It shows Vinayakrao as a social revolutionary in line with the makers of modern India from Ram Mohun Roy downwards.

If the present volume helps to penetrate the veil of organized silence put up by political prejudice and narrowness, it will have served its purpose. To restore Vinayakrao to his legitimate place as a leader of thought and action in India during the last days of British rule is not an easy task. Many more biographies, more balanced, will be required for this necessary task.

S. C. DEB

**MY LIFE'S PARTNER :** A translation of Sri Motilal Roy's Bengali book "*Jivana-Sangini*" by D. S. Mahalanobis. Prabartak Publishers, Calcutta. Pp. 330 + iv. Price Rs. 5.

The book depicts the heroic struggle of the Chanderanagar nationalist leader Motilal Samghaneta and the inspiration he derived from his life's partner who helped him to become what he is now. The story is interesting, as, beyond the personal life of the couple we are told something of the history of our national awakening and the Swadeshi Movement and the parts played by Sri Aurobindo and others in it. The translation is good but it cannot satisfy us who can read the book in the original, where there is poetry mined with history; but in the English version we have only the history.

**GURU GOVIND SINGH :** By Devendra Nath Chatterjee. Published by the author from Chanderanagore. Illustrated. Price Re. 1-8

The monograph is the English translation of Govind Singh (in Bengali) by Basanta Kumar Banerjee. Guru Govind is rightly regarded as one of the immortals of Indian history. He appeared on the scene at a very critical time in the history of the Sikhs. The lofty patriotism, martial ardour and religious fervour of the Guru breathed a new life into the Sikh community, transformed it into a martial nation and in so doing laid the foundation of its future greatness. The monograph under review gives an account of the life and doings of the great Guru who is acknowledged as



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the second founder of Sikhism. It is much to be regretted that the life and achievements of so grand a personality as Guru Govind should be treated in the manner in which it has been done in the present monograph. The style and the manner of presentation are equally unsatisfactory. The fault perhaps is not so much the translator's as the original author's. The monograph, however, gives an authentic account of the life and achievements of the last of the Sikh Gurus.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

**SUN-BLOSSOMS** : By Nirodbaran. Published by Sri Aurobindo Circle, Bombay, Nair Hospital Compound, Bombay Central Station. Pp. i-iii+112. Price Rs. 4-8.

Poetry is something akin to religion. Both poetry and religion draw their strength from and have their sustenance in emotional fervour. Nirodbaran's poetry cannot certainly be classified as religious: it is rather spiritual. But in the field of poetry what is spiritual and mystic is cognate to religion. The *Sun-blossoms* is a collection of about a century of poems essentially lyrical in tone. Intensity of passion which is a characteristic of lyric poetry is present there, but it is a very different kind of passion. Some of the poems are marked with tranquillity, some with a yearning for the beauty of the Infinite and some are a-glow with imagination, and though they bear a close resemblance to poems of love and nature they are really the expression of the poet's spiritual emotion.

Heart alone is not the seat of poetry. Poetry is not simply an expression of our feelings. A school of poetry has recently arisen which is concerned more with the Spirit than with external life. Sri Aurobindo is the source of inspiration of this Pondicherry school of poetry. A poet, philosopher and spiritual leader of a very high order, Sri Aurobindo's influence has created an atmosphere congenial for the art of poetry to thrive. But it is the personality and *sadhana* of the expounder of Divine Life rather than his poetry that have influenced this school of poets. And Nirodbaran's place is high among them. The underlying philosophy of devotion and self-surrender is a characteristic of this school. The quest after the remote begins after he hears the call of light :

O purple glory of Light, thy mystic call  
Echoes in my heart as in a hollow cave.  
He feels that He will reveal the secret Truth :  
And life with golden wings of vision sail  
Across the spirit's un navigated seas.

And in "Moon-Flood" he prays :

Let thy silver silence pour  
Wonder-rays of the moon  
On my lonely sand-grey shore,  
Suddenly jewel-strewn.

His imagination soars high and in "Haloed Face" he says :

Poised in an eagle-calm my thoughts flow  
Over dark ranges of night  
Burdened with the hues of some invisible glow  
Of a sun-dripping light.

And he sings :

My burdened heart becomes a song  
Drunk with the wine of sleep  
Poured from the bodiless fire-throng  
In caves of a luminous deep.

In "Silver Wonder" he observes :

A divine beauty wakes now everywhere;  
Nature becomes a white  
Altar of Grace, an everlasting prayer  
Towards the Infinite.

With rapture Nirodbaran describes the awakening of the soul :

Till from fathomless depth awakes the soul  
Into a rhythmic universe of Light  
And the two extremities of heaven and earth  
Merge in the timeless heart of the Infinite.

In the Foreword to this volume Kishor H. Gandhi says : "The height and intensity of the poet's inspiration no doubt varies, but even at his lowest pitch he never forsakes the intuitive felicity of the genuinely inspired word and vision." Though sometimes out of the way, Nirodbaran's poetry is rich in imagery. He is seldom slipshod, and the quality of his phrase is sometimes exquisite. Above all, there is the true ring of poetry in the poems presented in this volume.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

**KALI THE MOTHER** : By Sister Nivedita. Advaita Ashrama, Mayawati, Almora, Himalayas.

Sister Nivedita delivered her famous lecture on "Kali the Mother" on February 13, 1899 in Calcutta. There was much misconception about the goddess Kali at that time in the mind of the educated Bengalis, so much so that no one could be had to preside over the meeting at which she made the speech. According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "Nothing daunted, Nivedita delivered her lecture in the meeting without a president. Kali, the Mother, she said, is the killer of darkness, the punisher of evildoers. She represents the necessary moral vigour and courage. *Nayamatma balhinena lavya*—the Supreme Soul cannot be attained by the weak,—thus she showed a great lesson to be followed by future India, in the Kali worship."

From the caption of this small book one may be led to believe that it is a reprint of the above lecture. But it is not so. In the publisher's Preface we come to know that the book was printed in 1897 in England for the enlightenment of the Westerners regarding the Kali cult and Kali worship. But the fundamental idea regarding our "Kali the Mother" was the same in both. This is the first Indian reprint and contains the following chapters: Concerning Symbols; The Vision of Siva; Two Saints of Kali; The Voice of the Mother; A Visit to Dukhineshwar; An Intercession; The Story of Kali for a Western Baby. The poem on "Kali the Mother" by Swami Vivekananda is appropriately given in the end. Though our idea about Kali has undergone a tremendous change by now, yet the book will be highly cherished by the modern Indian readers. Advaita Ashrama has done a real service by publishing this book and making it easily available for them.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

**ASTRONOMICAL EPHEMERIS FOR 1951** : Published by Shree Jiawaji Observatory, Ujjain. Price Re. 1.

Ujjain, the cultural centre of the Hindu astronomy, is keeping up its reputation by such publications as the one under review. Indian Standard Time has been used throughout. We have checked some of the figures at random; and found them to be free from printing mistakes. Calcutta astrologers may use the table as the difference in latitude between Calcutta and Ujjain is less than half a degree.

J. M. DATTA

#### SANSKRIT

**ATMABODHA** : By Swami Nikhilananda. Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras 4. Price Rs. 4.

**SRIMAD-BHAGAVADGITA** : By Swami Vir-  
eswarananda. Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras 4. Price Rs. 7.



The Ramakrishna Math of Mylapore is doing valuable work in disseminating Indian culture among people who have scanty knowledge of Sanskrit by publishing handsome editions of well-known Sanskrit texts on Hindu religion and philosophy accompanied by translations and annotations in English. The volumes under review which show how the work is being carried on fully justifies the object of the institution. The first volume is the Indian edition of its American proto-type with the addition of Sanskrit texts not given in the latter. It contains besides the text and annotated translation of the metrical Vedantic treatise *Atmabodha* of Sankaracharya, texts and metrical translations of some of the beautiful hymns addressed to different deities and attributed to the great philosopher. The *Anandalahari*, one of the sublimest hymns in Sanskrit, has not been included presumably on account of its length but we miss it very much. The introduction gives a short popular account of the main principles of Vedanta. The Preface in seeking to refute misconceptions regarding Sankara's philosophy asserts that 'the liberated man engages in service to humanity (p. xiii).' A similar hint is given in the attractive description of the liberated man in the Introduction (p. 148). We do not know how far the suggestion is borne out by authoritative texts or orthodox interpretation thereof.

The second volume gives the text and translation of the *Srimadbhagavadgita* and the translation of the well-known commentary of the same by Sridhara Swami which was not so long available to the English reader. Literal translation of a Sanskrit commentary which occasionally incorporates or simply analyses the words of the text it interprets is a very difficult job. To distinguish the words of the text from those of the commentary the words of the translation of the text have been put in italics in the present volume. A more helpful and better course, it seems, would have been to use the original words of the text to be followed by the translation of the statements of the commentary.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

#### BENGALI

**YOGABALE ROGA-AROGYA** : By Swami Shivananda Saraswati. Published by Umachal Prakashani, 58/1/2K Raja Dinendra Street, Calcutta 6. Pp. 317. Price Rs. 5.

The author of the book under review is already known to the Bengali readers by his two previous publications on yogic exercises. This book, as the title signifies, deals with the cure of various acute and chronic diseases by the practice of yogic poses and breathing exercises. It is divided into five chapters of which the first contains a short account of physiology and pathology according to yogic science and Ayurveda. The second chapter gives descriptions, causes, symptoms and dietetics of as many as 62 serious diseases, such as dyspepsia, acidity, dysentery, jaundice, constipation, leprosy, goitre, spermatorrhoea, pleurisy and others. About two-thirds of the whole book is occupied by this chapter, the description of diseases given in this book is so elaborate that it should more rightly be called a medical book than a yogic manual. In the third chapter yogic asanas, mudras and pranayamas are briefly stated just as in his previous two books on yogic exercises. This repetition, being redundant, reduces the importance of the present book. The fourth chapter discusses the good and evil effects of medicine and the last deals with unhealthy sexual life as well as ideal conjugal life. Sexual matters have been often indulgently treated

to a vulgarity. But vulgarity should be avoided as far as practicable in a book of yogic therapy.

Swami Kuvalayananda of Bombay, who is the chief disciple of the famous Bengali Yogi Madhavdas of Malsar, is the modern pioneer of yogic science. His scientific investigations in yogic asanas and pranayama published in his quarterly *Yoga Mimamsa* and his two books *Asanas* and *Pranayama*, have attracted the attention of the modern world. On the basis of his unprecedented researches yogic asanas are now practised as physical and curative exercises in several provinces of India and even in the far distant Yale University of U.S.A. It is a thousand pities that Swami Shivananda does not acknowledge his indebtedness or even makes a passing mention of Swami Kuvalayananda, in this or other two books. My Bengali manual of yogic exercises in two parts contains a portrait and a life-sketch of the great yogi Madhavdas. The illustrations of the yogic poses given in this book are printed on ordinary paper, and not on art paper. Thus they are very indistinct and consequently useless to the readers. In order to be attractive to the modern mind a book on yoga should be both scriptural and scientific. But the present book has hardly come up to that standard. Without the help of an expert this book will not be useful to the readers in the application of yogic therapy. At the end of the book the author strongly accuses of plagiarism Sri Buddhadev Bose, the well-known Bengali athlete.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

#### HINDI

**SANYUKTA PRANTA KI APRADHI JATIYAN** : By Prakash Narayan Saksena. Published by U. P. Discharged Prisoners Aid Society, Old Post Office, Lucknow. Pp. 235. Price Rs. 3-8.

A historical and sociological account of the criminal tribes in U. P., written with exceptional sympathy and sufficiency of information. It is a pioneer work, well worth emulating by probationary officers in the other provinces. G. M.

#### GUJARATI

**DHARMATMA GOKHLE** : By Gandhiji. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. February, 1950. Price nine annas.

A collection of nine articles written by Gandhiji from 1912 to 1928, on Gokhale whom Gandhiji had proclaimed from many a platform as his political guru. The simple and sincere tribute paid by Gandhiji is touching indeed, and many a trait can be found common to both. Shri Kishorilal Mashruwala fittingly prefaces the selection with an anecdote about Gokhale, which shows the man and his technique, and he quotes verses from the Upanishads to point out how in Gokhale and Gandhi, guru and chela (master and disciple), had been evenly matched, and to exclaim how blessed was Gokhale to find disciples like "Gandhi, Shastri and Thakkar"! The publication is opportune and it may pave the way for planning the centenary of Gokhale's birth in a suitable manner.

P. R. SEN

**ITA KAVYO** ((and all others excepting Ratan) : By Chandradaman C. Mehta, B.A. Published by the Bharati Sahitya Sangha, Ltd., Ahmedabad. 1948. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-board. Pp. 175. Price Rs. 2-8.

So far as *Ita Kavyo* are concerned the first edition that came out in 1933 is exhaustive and this is the second edition. The other poems are selections from the production of Mr. Mehta's everflowing pen and keep up the name he has made of writing feeling and impressive verses. Each poem has its own charm, attractiveness and appeal. K. M. J.



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# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## Need of Revolution in the System of Education

The nation cannot get rid of mental slavery without the push of a revolutionary change in the Indian educational system. Prof. Indra Vidyavachaspati writes in *The Hindustan Review* :

The chief objects of the educational system started in India by the English Government in the beginning of the 19th century can be clearly seen in the words of Lord Macaulay, the chief protagonist of English Education, and other English writers and rulers. Those objects were as follows :

(a) To create in India a class of educated Indians who could be Indians only in appearance but in thought and way of living, English.

(b) To prepare such men who may be appointed to subordinate Government posts.

(c) To spread the precious literature of the West in place of what the English considered to be worthless and trivial literature of India.

(d) To carry out these objects, the educational system started in India had five special features:

(i) Hindi and Sanskrit were boycotted and English was given the first place in education.

(ii) English was made the medium of instruction.

(iii) While preparing text books on subjects such as History, it was kept in view that in them the ancient Indians be maligned, and modern Europe be praised in every way.

(iv) Thus while Western education was imparted to the prosperous and higher classes of society, the 99 percent people of the country were left in utter ignorance, and if any thing was done for them at all, it was next to nothing.

(v) The Pathshalas meant to spread knowledge among the common people stopped functioning either because they were ignored or because they were deliberately closed.

The consequence of this scheme and other such schemes was that in a few years while the majority of Indians were left illiterate, a handful of Indians having got English education and adopted English ways and mentality, ceased to be Indians except by birth and became the chief props of the British rule.

For several years this process of denationalisation of Indians by the British Government went on uninterruptedly.

Gradually, thanks to internal reforms and international situation, the sentiment of nationalisation began to rise in the country and along with it, the attention of a few educated Indians began to be drawn to the pitiable plight of Indian education. In course of time, several reformers inspired by the national sentiments began to start such institutions in which arrangement was made to teach Western knowledge along with Indian language, Indian culture and Indian science. Moreover, thoughtful patriots like Gopal

Krishna Gokhale drew the attention of the Government and of the people towards the education of the masses.

The national agitation continuously went on gaining strength, and consequently the desire for national education became more and more acute throughout the land.

Eventually all these factors began to affect the steel frame bureaucracy, and after setting up several committees and commissions, a few modifications here and there were made in the system of education started in the time of Lord Macaulay. But one thing can be said with certainty and established by statistics, that in spite of all the aforesaid opposition, the British Government continued till 15th August 1947 fundamentally the same system of education in India which they had initiated a 100 years back. We have to admit with regret that, though the English have gone, yet the stamp of mental slavery to which we were ceaselessly subjected for a hundred years, still exists. The speeches, writings and the example of Mahatma Gandhi have inculcated the lesson of nationalism and due to its influence some change is visible on the surface, but if we look beneath, we discover love of English ways in the educated Indian. He believes that our own language lacks the power to express the sentiments of the heart which the English language possesses. He is persuaded that dhoti and shirt may be suitable for social functions, yet for efficient work what is needed is either bush-shirt or achkan. He believes that by discussing ancient India or Indian culture our country will fall in the estimation of the foreigners and if that happened, we shall be nowhere. Our body is clad in khaddar, no doubt, but Western sentiment and English language dominate our minds powerfully as before.

## The People in the Workshop

Writing from first-hand experience of factory, R. M. Fox observes in an article in *The Aryan Path* that democratic principles should be applied to industry, in the interest of democracy itself no less than in the workers' interest :

The factory is the forcing ground for a view of life that excludes beauty, freedom and compassion. In my pre-war study of industrialism I wrote :

"The factory standard, if it is not corrected, may succeed in spreading a horrible blight over life as it has already done over the industrial towns. If the advance of a rigid, unlovely utilitarianism goes on it may be that stern justice will be meted out to those lovers of beauty who failed to protest when degrading conditions were meted out to others. Just as people become reconciled to living and working in squalor—of body and spirit—so they come to accept this as the normal and proper condition and, as unconscious victims, become the apostles of ugliness, imposing it by sheer mass weight upon their fellows."



The history of the war and post-war years has underlined the truth of these words. The world is still facing the threat of totalitarian standards. When the mass of industrial workers are geared to the factory plant they are no longer considered as individuals. They figure as part of the industrial unit, an item of labour cost. In such a setting, human dignity ceases to have meaning.

One great weakness of liberal thought is that it has dodged the application of democratic principles to industry and has taken refuge in political abstractions. Democratic practice must apply to the everyday lives of the people in the workshop if it is to mean anything to them.

How can this be done? One way to start is to insist on a greater variety of occupation in the workshop and a greater degree of responsibility for every worker in the conduct of industry. It is a relatively simple matter to train workers to do different kinds of work. The farm labourer, without the aid of wonderful machines, is able to manage a whole range of jobs. It is, of course, much easier to chain each worker down to some simple repetitive process. In general the factory worker is sacrificed to office systems.

Besides variety of work, more responsibility and a share in workshop control—through works-councils—is another antidote to totalitarianism. To imagine that men can be subservient tools in the workshop and independent, alert, responsible citizens in the world outside is to imagine a vain thing.

Is the evil inherent in the very nature of industrialism? The medieval guildists who have urged going back to handicrafts have argued that this is so. But they are mistaken. Modern industry is the means of increasing mastery over the forces of nature in the service of man. But man must be the central consideration. Industrialists have declared proudly that modern industry is based on power. It is also based on men and it is not wisdom to ignore this. The core of the problem is to give to the industrial workers that scope which their intelligence, their aptitudes and their needs demand. Until this is done there will be social explosions.

Some years ago I listened to the Indian poet, Rabindranath Tagore, speaking in Oxford on "The Message of the Forest." In beautiful words which he knew so well how to command, he contrasted the emphasis on spiritual resources in Eastern philosophy with the slick, enamelled, superficial outlook of Western civilization. He urged that to balance humanity we must not only have the technical knowledge and mechanical skill of the West but also the feeling for life shared by the simple and the learned in those places where industrial civilization had not stamped the spirit of man into the mud.

Writers must always stand for the free human spirit. This is a stand which should be taken in the East and in the West. They must insist that, in industrialized countries, the workshop should serve as a working model of democracy. Those writers and thinkers who ignore the workshop and its problems, while pleading for a freer world, should realize that they are leaving out of account large areas of modern life which can exert the greatest amount of mass pressure for good or for ill. The workshop is the kernel of all our social problems. Once the relation of the individual to his means of livelihood is put on a proper foundation, we should be within reach of solving those social questions which throw up, like distorting mirrors, images of the mal-adjustments existing in modern industry today.

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## Saptagram

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Natabar Datta, writes in *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette* :

Saptagram was the capital of Bengal in the Hindu and Muhammadan periods and was the residence of the Kings of the country. The city was 16 miles in area and consisted of seven Wards (villages) viz., Triveni, Debanandapur, Shibpur, Shankhapur, Bansabati (Bansberia), Vashudebpur, and Krishnapur. It has a unique place in the history of Bengal and it had once the same position as Calcutta occupies in the present era. It was the principal port and chief commercial centre of Bengal of the Hindu and Muhammadan periods. Its name and fame has been elaborately mentioned in the ancient literatures of Bengal as well as that of India, viz., the Mahabharata, Ramayana, Shrimad-Bhagabatam, Skanda Puranam, Manasha-Mangal, Kavikankan-Chandi, Chaitanya-Bhagabata, Chaitanya-Charitamrita, Bhakti-Ratnakar, Tabaqati-i Nasiri by Minhaj, etc., etc.

### THE CITY IN HISTORY

The name and fame of Saptagram has been mentioned by many eminent historians of this country and abroad and by the authors of the old days.

The Roman historian Pliny, in the middle of the 1st Century A.D., in his book *Historia Naturalis* (translated by Philemon) mentioned Triveni which was a Ward of Saptagram.

*Riaz-u-S-Salatin*, by Ghulam Hossain Salim, translated from the original Persian by Maulavi Abdus Salam (1902) page 48, states :

"Sarkar Satgaon comprised a small portion to the west of Hughly, whilst a large portion comprised the modern districts of the 24-Parganas to Kapadak river (Kapotaksha), western Nadia, south-western Murshidabad and extending to Hatiabagh (Hatiagarh) below Diamond Harbour." To this Sarkar Province belonged the Mohal Kalkata (Calcutta) which together with two other Mahals (sub-divisions) paid in 1582 A.D., a land revenue of Rs. 23,405.

In *Lekh Mallika*, an old Bengali manuscript, it has been stated that "There was a Samaj (Association) of Benias at Mahasthan. In the town of Sakar-ma, Gour, Garveswar Datta was the merchant in chief. Those Benias used to go for trade, by voyage in big vessels filled with merchandise, to Lanka (Ceylon), etc., through Gour and Saptagram."

### OTHER REFERENCES

The celebrated Chinese traveller Hiuan Tsang, who visited India in the seventh century A.D., wrote in his diary : "After performing the Navaratri festival (Sharadiya Durga Puja), on the Bijoya-Dasami day (the tenth day of full moon) the Hindu traders used to set out for trade with merchandise, by land and voyage. These Indian traders used to carry their merchandise to Greece, Somaliland, Kushadwipa, Shankhadwipa, Java, etc., for trade. They also used to carry muslin, pearl, sugar, etc., for sale and brought ivory, crystal, gold, black-wood wares, etc., to India."

In the Ramayana, by Krittibasa Ojha (1385 A.D.), it has been stated that Saptagram was a famous and peerless city and a place of great sanctity and pilgrimage of the Hindus, as sacred as Prayaga (Allahabad).

Raghubandan Bhattacharjee (fifteenth century A.D.), the Hindu law-maker, in his famous book *Prayaschitta-Tattwa* quoted a sloka from the Maha-

Bharata : "On the south of Pradumnyanagar (present Pandua) and on the north of the river Saraswati the village Triveni was a Ward of Saptagram. The junction of the three rivers, the Ganges, Jamuna and Saraswati, is called Dakshin-Prayaga and is as sacred as Uttar-Prayaga (present Allahabad). The three rivers, Ganga, Jamuna and Saraswati, joined at Uttar-Prayaga (Allahabad) and separated themselves at Triveni (District Hughly, Bengal)."

Saptagram is mentioned in the old Vaishnava work *Chaitanya-Bhagabat* written by Brindabandas Thakur (sixteenth century A.D.), a contemporary of Shri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu. Kavikankan Mukundaram Chakravarti, in his notable book *Chandi* (16th century A.D.), describing the voyage of Dhanapati Sadagar, states that Saptagram was a great centre of trade and commerce. The merchants from Kainga, Trailanga, Karnat, Guzarat, Malaya, Lanka (Ceylon), etc., used to bring their merchandise for sale in the mart of Saptagram, it was also a place of great sanctity and pilgrimage for the Hindus.

### PORTUGUESE IN SATGAON..

J. De Barros, a Portuguese traveller visited Saptagram in 1516 A.D. and mentioned the place in his book *Da Asia* and put the name of Saptagram as "Satiga" in his map as published in 1517 A.D. (Vide *Asiatic Society Journal*, Vol. LXI, Part I, page 298).

The renowned traveller Caesar de Frederic, in 1565 A.D., mentioned Saptagram as "Satagaon" in his diary and described it as a large city.

In 1530 A.D., the Portuguese anchored their first merchant vessels at Saptagram and were amazed to find the splendour of commerce at Saptagram and named Saptagram as "Porto Piqueno."

During the Pathan period (fifteenth century A.D.) Saptagram was called Hossainabad after the name of Allauddin Hossain Shah, the Nawab of Bengal. (Vide *Catalogue of Coins* in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. II, Part II, page 172).

Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th Edition, Vol. XIII, page 148, states : "In the early period of the Muhammadan rule, Saptagram was the seat of the Governors of lower Bengal and a mint town. It was also a place of great commercial importance."

In 1526 A.D. a mosque was established by Seikh Jamaluddin Amuli, at Saptagram, during the reign of Naseruddin Nasratshah, Nawab of Bengal (1497 A.D.).

The first Church established in Bengal, by the Portuguese, was at Hughly, in the 4th quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. (1580), with the permission of Akbar Badshah. In Akbar's time Satgaon (Saptagram) was known as Balghak Kahana, the "house of revolt."

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The first Englishman who visited Saptagram, was Ralph Fitch, in 1586 A.D. He was astonished on seeing the riches of Saptagram. He wrote in his diary : "When I reached Saptagram, I saw hundreds of vessels full of merchandise, of which one hundred and eighty vessels came from Agra alone and most of them were with 24 and 26 oars."

#### A FLOURISHING PORT

Saptagram was a flourishing port on the river Saraswati, where ships from China, Malaya, Java, Siam, Ceylon, Persia, Egypt, Italy, etc., brought their merchandise for sale in the mart of Saptagram. In the first Century A.D. the Hindus exported pearls, fine muslin, silk, betel, lac, rice, sugar, etc., for sale in European countries (*Vide* McCrindle's *Ancient India*) as described by Ptolemy. Once (about 40 years ago) I saw myself a big iron anchor tied with iron chain, half buried in the bed of the river Saraswati. The river Saraswati is at present a narrow stream (8 feet wide).

Formerly, it flowed to the west of Saptagram, meeting the river Bhagirathi on the north at Triveni, District Hughly, and on the south at Sankrail (near Botanical Gardens), District Howrah, through Battor, Andal, etc.

The place of the Vaishya King Singhabahu, a contemporary of the Lord Buddha, was on the bank of the river Saraswati at Singharh (at present Singur, District Hughly). His son Bijoy Singha invaded and conquered Lanka in 500 B.C., and named it after his name as Singhal (Ceylon).

It is also understood that two Hindu Kings ruled over Saptagram in the old days, viz., the Vaishya King Raja Bardhan and Raja Satrujit. The place of the

Hindu King Pundrabardhan, was at Pandua, a few miles to the north of Saptagram.

#### ITS INDUSTRIES

Saptagram was famous for (hand-made) paper industry in the old days up to the 1st quarter of the seventeenth century A.D., which was exported to places far and near, and also famous for yellow silk and 'Balapose'—(warm wrapper).

Ramusio states that though the Port was removed (to Hughly), about ten thousand houses still existed at Saptagram even in the 4th quarter of the seventeenth century and there were seven hundred betel shops.

A market price-list of the capital Saptagram in 1350 A.D., as mentioned by Ibn Batuta runs as follows :

25 ratal rice or 80 ratal paddy—1 Dirhm (silver mohar); 1 ratal sesame oil—2 Dirhm ( $\frac{1}{2}$  Dinar); 1 ratal cow-ghee—4 Dirhm ( $\frac{1}{2}$  dinar); one milch cow—3 Dinar; 8 fowl or 15 pigeons—1 Dirhm; 1 full grown sheep—2 Dirhm; 1 ratal sugar—4 Dirhm; 30 yds fine muslin cloth—2 Dinar; one beautiful and young female slave—1 gold mohar. [1 Ratal— $1\frac{1}{2}$  seers, 1 Dirhm—2as. 6p. (ten pice), 1 Dinar (silver mohar)—Re. 1-4, 1 Gold mohar—Rs. 20].

Ijuddin Mahaia Azmul Mulk, Governor of Saptagram, established a mint at Saptagram in 1328 A.D., (*Vide List of Coins*, Vol. II, page 69, by Nelson Wright). Saptagram was a big Pargana extending from Nadia (included) to Bay of Bengal.

#### RELICS OF AN OLD CAPITAL

Saptagram was the Royal Port of Bengal and famous for the splendour of its commerce. Traders from all parts of India and foreign countries used to visit Saptagram. Its wealth and commercial importance dated as far back as the time of the Hindu and Muhammadan periods. It was so even at the beginning of the English period and was recognised by the different ruling chiefs of the day. The silting of the river Saraswati brought about its ruin, but the time-honoured name and fame are there coming down from generation to generation and held in great respect both by the Hindus and the Muhammadans alike, as exemplified by the temple of Shri Shri Uddharan Datta Thakur (a great saint and companion of the great Lord Shri Gouranga and Nityananda Prabhu) who flourished in the 16th century A.D., and another at Krishnapur, the birth-place of the great devotee Srila Ragu Nath Das Goswami, one of the six Goswamis, the chosen disciples of the great Lord Shri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu. There are also ancient Muhammadan relics, and the relics of the old capital, fort and port demarcated with marble

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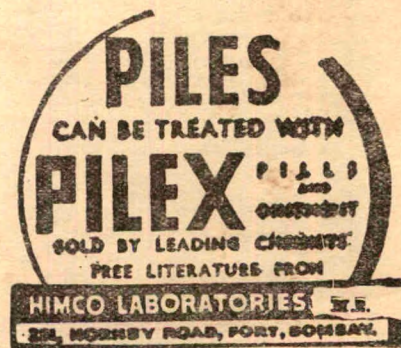
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ablets by Lord Curzon, Viceroy and Governor-General of India. It was undoubtedly one of the seats of culture and learning also. Uddharan Datta was a big trader, merchant, Court-Banker and a person of enormous wealth. He had several mercantile vessels. He opened *magarkhana* for the famine-stricken people, on the bank of the river Saraswati, where 10 to 12 thousand persons were fed daily for a considerable period.

#### CENTRE OF VAISHNAVA CULTURE

The name of Saptagram is a household word to people in many districts of Bengal. Unfortunately much of its history is lost owing to the disappearance of the city on account of silting of the river Saraswati. The towns of Hughly, Chinsurah, Chandernagore, Mirampur, etc., practically rose out of the ashes of Saptagram, which though destroyed physically is yet one of the spiritual centres of the great Vaishnava culture and religion of Bengal. Thousands of pilgrims visit their respective shrines every year.

There are still two mounds of ruins at Saptagram, one is the ruin of a fort and the other the ruin of a temple of Kali. They are situated side by side on the eastern bank of the river Saraswati.

The length of the mound of the Fort is about 400 ft. and the height is about 25 feet, the top of the mound being now used for cultivation. Local people told me (about thirty years ago) that an iron cannon was found, some time previously, when ploughing the land (at the top of the mound of the fort).

On the mound of the ruins of the temple there is an old banian tree at its top. Local tradition has it that sailors and crewmen used to tie iron chains, ropes, ships and vessels, round the trunk of the tree. A local old man of 80 told me that he heard from his grandfather the same tale. This quarter, where the mound stands, is called *Dingir Ghat*, i.e., the mooring

place for anchoring vessels, boats, ships. The height of this mound is about 25 feet and the top is about 20 sq. feet. The above two mounds were discovered by me about twenty years ago. It was also brought to the notice of the Archaeological Department and those mounds were inspected by the Archaeological Survey Department in 1939.

Foreign travellers, who learn about the glory of the ancient Saptagram from history, do not know where the place is now situated, as at present the time-honoured, glorious and famous Saptagram is entirely engulfed in jungle, situated on the side of the Grand Trunk Road, District Hughly. Saptagram is only 27 miles from the Howrah railway station and 2 and 3 miles from the Bandel and Hughly railway stations. The nearest railway station of Saptagram is Adinagar Saptagram.

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## An Indian Examines Nehru

By DR. TARAKNATH DAS

No one who has followed the conduct of India in the Korean crisis, and in relation to Communist China generally, can doubt that the personality and political nature of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, its Prime Minister, are of direct significance for America. Aside from India's specific weight in the Asian equation, there is the fact that so many influential American liberals have adopted Nehru as their own, and endowed him with the colors of their own ardent and extravagant hopes.

Perhaps it was to be expected that certain liberals, yearning for a messiah to redeem a brutally illiberal world—preferably a messiah in some distant land, removed from too much probing—should have picked on the Indian leader. Like Nehru himself, they crave to escape unpleasant realities. They have need for an idyllic middle ground between the capitalist democracy they have rejected and the Communist monstrosity that has, in effect, rejected them. The Pandit Nehru, wearing Gandhi's mantle of spirituality, seems to fill the bill. Here, they proclaim eagerly, as an Eastern prophet with a Western mind, non-Communist without being anti-Communist; in short, a leader to mediate between the contending worlds.

It is well that Americans should examine the Prime Minister, not in sentimental ecstasy but quite calmly. No less than Nehru's countrymen, they must try to ascertain whether the man, for all his humanism and mental attainments, is really the chosen of destiny to lead Asia and through Asia the world; whether an Indian government in his image can serve as stabilizer and conciliator in this period of grim totalitarian threats.

Clearly, Pandit Nehru is a man of exceptional intellect and literary gifts, a cultured gentleman with a winning personality. He has assimilated the best in both India's culture and that of the West. He is a cosmopolitan idealist, often dreaming of beauty in nature and sublimity in man. He has made sacrifices for human freedom, suffering long confinements in Indian prisons. He is a staunch supporter of human rights, the principles of which are elaborately set forth in the Constitution of the Indian Republic. There is greatness in the man that has brought him the adoration of the Indian masses and respect in the outside world.

In sum, it is impossible to question Nehru's idealism and sincerity. What can and should be questioned, precisely because his views and behaviour are so critical in the scales of events, is the effectiveness of Nehru's actions. In appraising him as a statesman, one is reminded of the celebrated dictum of Hegel: "To be good is not enough; one must be effectively good." Has Nehru's goodness been effective? Before attempting an answer, let us look at his background.

The original home of his ancestors was in beautiful Kashmir, and they were Brahmins. About 1716, one of Nehru's forebears moved to Delhi, and after the Sepoy

Mutiny of 1857, the family moved to Allahabad. It was there that Jawaharlal Nehru was born on November 11, 1889, in a rich, Westernized lawyer's home.

His father, the late Pandit Motilal Nehru, until the early twenties of this century, according to his son, "admired the English and their ways" and in politics was a "moderate nationalist." Jawaharlal, raised and tutored in an anglicized home, did not attend Indian schools and had a "lonely childhood." At sixteen, he was sent to Harrow in England. Two years later he entered Cambridge and specialized in science; but later he became a barrister. On returning home in 1912 he followed his father's profession at Allahabad for a time.

British persecution of Indian nationalists and their sympathizers during the First World War brought about a change in the elder Nehru, "who was drifting away from the orthodox moderate position in politics." It pushed the son even further in the direction of passionate nationalism. At one time Nehru was inclined to join the extreme left-wing of the movement—the underground revolutionists—but instead he came under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi, who was then preaching non-violent non-co-operation as the means for Indian freedom. In 1916, Nehru was married and spent some months in Kashmir, his ancestral home for which he has a great and romantic attachment. From then until Gandhi's assassination in 1948, Nehru's political life was deeply affected by his master and guide. The rest is current history.

Speaking before the Congress of the United States on October 13, 1949, Nehru defined the goal of his country's foreign policy: "Where freedom is menaced or justice threatened, or where aggression takes place we cannot and we shall not be neutral . . ."

Without for a moment doubting that he meant this, one can doubt that his guidance of Indian policy in the Korean crisis has been consistent with this principle. Freedom and justice were not merely threatened but cynically violated; aggression has been

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open and massive. But India, in substance if not in form, has been neutral. She joined the majority in the first United Nations denunciation of the North Korean assault. But almost immediately Nehru struck out on a policy of his own, seeking to act as mediator. In effect he pleaded that the Kremlin be paid off with a security council seat for Soviet China for calling off its military banditry in Korea.

Naturally, he was applauded by Stalin and the Communist world. As always in these years, the illusion of a mediating force operated to the advantage of the men without illusions in Moscow. But the United States firmly rejected the plan, and Nehru's hope of acting as a "third force" failed. His subsequent conduct was marked by similar inconsistency.

To understand Nehru's strange role in the Korean affair, one must know the strength of his conviction that India is destined to serve as a balance-wheel in world politics. One must realize also his profound belief that co-operation between India and China—even a puppet China manipulated for larger Communist purposes—is essential to the future of his continent. Nehru visualizes India as the leader of an Asiatic bloc aligned with neither the pro- nor anti-Soviet forces.

That vision rests on the same kind of refusal to acknowledge the true character of imperialist Communism that is endemic in "liberal" circles the world over, and is at bottom a species of wishful thinking. The core of the fallacy, of course, is in its assumption that the choice is between two blocs with equal moral claims on the allegiance of mankind. Despite verbal finessing, it takes a stance of substantial impartiality as between freedom and slavery, between democracy

and its opposite. The very premise of a third force is that the other two are equally "right," or perhaps equally wrong, and that the desirable condition is somewhere midway between them. No matter how it may be rationalized, it is a position that accepts totalitarian horror as valid and aims to give it permanence.

Nehru and those for whom he speaks in all countries, the United States included, fail to recognize that while the Soviet bloc is under iron discipline, the so-called American bloc is a voluntary alliance of the loosest sort. With respect to China, they are obliged to convince themselves, in defiance of the evidence and common sense, that Mao Tse-tung's regime is a free agent rather than an extension of Stalinist power. To maintain their equivocal position they must close their ears and minds to explicit statements on the issue by leaders of the Soviet bloc. Said Mao Tse-tung on July 1, 1949:

"To sit on the fence is impossible; a third road does not exist . . . Not only in China, but also in the world, without exception, one either leans to the side of imperialism"—Communist slang for democracy—"or to the side of socialism. Neutrality is a mere camouflage and a third road does not exist."

But the self-hypnosis of a Nehru would seem to be proof against such candor. Even while he was toiling to obtain world-wide recognition for Mao's regime, the *New China News Agency*, speaking for Communist China, rewarded him with juicy insults: "British and American imperialism and their running dog, Pandit Nehru. . . ."

A certain measure of sympathy for Soviet Russia will be found among the leaders of nearly all Asiatic movements to end colonialism. During the first decade of its power, Soviet Russia energetically fomented revolutions in Asia, to enhance its own influence on that continent and to harass the great colonial nations which opposed the Bolshevik regime. To the young Nehru, Moscow's propaganda of freedom for "oppressed colonial peoples" spelled hope; Moscow seemed to him a genuine friend. Thirty years later, and in stubborn disregard of Soviet conduct in both Europe and Asia, he has not wholly freed himself of these youthful impressions.

Going abroad for the first time after the completion of his British education, Nehru came to Geneva in 1926. He observed the forces in and outside the League of Nations which might help the cause of Indian independence. Soviet Russia seemed the chief of these, closely seconded by Germany. The two countries were collaborating against the Allied Powers

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at this time; support of revolutionary trends in India and other Asiatic colonies fitted well into their self-interests.

It was in Berlin, with the support of Moscow, that the idea of a Congress of Oppressed Nationalities originated. It took place in Brussels early in February, 1927. Nehru played a prominent part in it, and it was to play a prominent part in his life. For it molded his future views and political relationships, some of which hardened to the point of dogma and obsession. It is not too much to say that India's ambivalent attitudes in the U. N. in 1950-51 stemmed directly from Jawaharlal Nehru's first experience in international politics in Belgium a quarter of a century earlier.

The Soviets pulled the leading strings in that Brussels congress. That Nehru was aware of this, and complacent about it, is explicit in his writings. That he did not fully grasp or rightly appraise the significance of the Soviet role is all too clear. In his *Autobiography*, in 1936, he wrote:

"There were many labour organizations represented and several well-known men who had played a leading part in European labour struggles for a generation, and they took an important part in the proceedings."

Then Nehru added: "They came not as Communists but as representatives of trade union or similar organizations." Communists, in other words, in trade union and other non-Communist disguises.

The techniques of Communist infiltration had been perfected by 1926. The League Against Imperialism that grew out of the Brussels gathering was one of the earliest "front" organizations devised by the Communist International to befuddle world opinion and exploit decent liberal instincts. It was the lineal forerunner of the whole array of camouflaged Muscovite organizations which have promoted the Kremlin's program.

Nehru himself notes how important a part in organizing the Congress was taken by "the Chinese belonging to the left wing of the Kuomintang, co-operating with Communists and near-Communists." With the frankness of a clean conscience he tells how the Brussels meeting and subsequent committee meetings of the League helped him understand the inner conflicts of labor in the West: a circumlocution for the Moscow drive to capture organized labor. And his allegiance was substantially on Moscow's side: "As between the labor worlds of the Second International and the Third International, my sympathies were for the latter. . . . I turned inevitably with good will towards Communism, for, whatever its faults, it was at least not imperialistic."

Three decades ago many people, the writer included, honestly hoped that the collapse of Tsardom was a great step towards a more democratic era. But how, in the light of the history of the last five years, can anyone continue to be blind to the brashly imperialist character of Soviet Russia? Yet Nehru, to

judge by his actions—like so many American liberals—still clings to the early illusions.

As a natural sequel to his involvement in the "front" League, and possibly to bring revolutionary India and the Soviets closer together, Nehru, his wife, father and sister visited Moscow in November, 1927, during the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Soviet regime. In summing up his impressions, he admitted his dislike of Soviet violence, regimentation and suppression of freedom of thought. But in the classic style of the confused fellow-traveler he explained that, after all, the violence was in the interests of a new and better future: "In the balance, therefore, I was all in favor of Russia and the presence and example of the Soviets was a bright and heartening phenomenon in a dark and dismal world."

The anti-American bias that so often obtrudes in Nehru's thinking is, in a sense, the obverse of his pro-Soviet fixations. The picture of America that emerged from his associations with Kremlin propagandists was naturally distorted. To this day he seems far more fearful of American capitalism than he is of the rampant Red imperialism right on his frontiers.

Oddly enough, Nehru's distrust of the United States has a dual origin. It derives in part also from the early British influence. During the seven formative years of his sojourn at Harrow and Cambridge he came into close contact with the then fashionable derogation of America. That youthful prejudice might have been dissipated, but the Soviet influence came along to fix it in his psychology.

The fact remains that Nehru and other Asian leaders never seemed to suspect that the primary objective of Soviet policy was to create a Communist force to be used in spreading Soviet imperialism at any cost. This tendency to evade the harsh facts of *real-politik* is at the root, too, of Nehru's concept of India as a third force. He does not distinguish sharply enough between the inherent differences, in moral terms and in terms of political freedoms, between the other two forces. Nor does he seem to realize that a hungry India, an India which produces less than two million tons of steel annually, and which has many and vast internal problems to solve, cannot become the mediating force in a world where political influence is measured by physical power.

In line with his ideal of Asian solidarity, his government preceded even Britain in recognizing Communist China. He was eager to demonstrate that, despite India's opposition to Communism at home, it could maintain friendly relations with it abroad. He must naturally have expected, by way of a *quid pro quo*, that Red China and Soviet Russia would cease to aid and encourage Indian Communists in their subversive activities; that Tibet would not be molested; that outstanding Chinese-Tibetan questions would be answered by peaceful negotiation.

The disillusionment he has been forced to suffer



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is a prime example of historic irony. Comrade Mao's invasion of Tibet came to Nehru as a violent shock. Soviet China made a mockery of its solemn promises on this score. When Nehru's ambassador in Peiping protested, he was advised, in effect, to mind his own business and not interfere with what Communist China regards as its private sphere. The comforting idea, based on wishful thinking, that Mao was independent of Stalin and that Chinese purposes took precedence over Communist world strategy was exploded.

Pandit Nehru, it should be understood in America, had fallen into the tragic error so industriously promoted here by Owen Lattimore, Edgar Snow, Frederick Vanderbilt Field and their confederates. He considered Mao basically a Chinese nationalist pursuing agrarian reforms in China, who had come to power through popular consent. This attractive picture, though it survived the Korean episode, was wrecked by the Tibetan aggression. As M. R. Masani, a member of the Indian Parliament from Nehru's own Congress party, has just written:

"By its one stroke in Tibet, the Chinese Communists have cut Asia in two, and have awakened us from that illusory dream of an Asian third force which some of us have held. There is now a free Asia and a slave Asia."—*The New Leader*, Dec. 11, 1950.

Whether Mr. Masani's political chief has been thoroughly awakened, to the point of renouncing his third-force dreams, remains to be seen.

The threat to India in Mao's march into Tibet is clear. External encouragement of the subversive activities of Indian Communists in Assam, West Bengal, United Province, Hyderabad and South India may be expected to force the Government of India to adopt more vigorous repressive measures against Indian Communists. These, in their turn, will expose India to the danger of civil wars in various parts of the country, as was the case in China during the early days of the Communists' effort to organize their own army and state.

Nehru will have to make one of two choices, each of which would force him to follow a more rigid and consistent line than he has hitherto adopted. Under attack from the left, he would either have to seek the support of the right wing of his Congress Party and other rightist groups and close collaboration with the United States, or he would have to woo the Soviets and the Chinese Communists. In the latter case, Nehru might find himself leading India towards partnership in a Soviet Russian-Chinese-Indian combination in

world politics which would facilitate the Communization of all Asia.

If Nehru tries to adopt any such policy, he will meet with opposition from the right wing of his own party—opposition so vigorous that it may topple him from his position as Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. Recent events have proved that Nehru is no longer the undisputed ruler of the Congress Party. Although Mr. Tandon, the present president of the Congress Party, is opposed to Nehru's foreign and domestic policies, he was elected by an overwhelming majority this September. Even leading members of the Congress Party in Nehru's cabinet will be likely to oppose him if he seeks closer collaboration with Soviet Russia and Communist China.

He is also threatened by defections if he fails to solve India's difficulties with Pakistan over the Hindu refugees and over the future of Kashmir. While such domestic Indian questions may seem remote to an American reader, they are of importance at least to the extent that they throw light on Nehru's essential character.

It is not too well known in this country how many millions of persons—at least ten million Hindus and five or six million Moslems—have been tragically affected by the partition of India. Nor is there any understanding here of the fact that more thoughtful Indians have begun to believe that the partition was neither necessary nor basically beneficial. In destroying the economic unity of the subcontinent, it has left India with a shortage of food and raw materials, and imposed on both India and Pakistan the burden of large standing armies.

On all these issues, which are at the heart of India's internal difficulties, Nehru has played the same vacillating, unrealistic, sentimental role as in his conduct of foreign affairs. Here, too, he has been incapable of taking decisive action and has sought always to avoid conflicts at any cost. He has made compromise after compromise with principles he advocates in theory and, despite his high ideals, can be—and is—rightly accused of being an inveterate appeaser.

Nehru had originally been opposed to partition but when the Moslem League threatened "rivers of blood" and the British Government added the weight of its support, Nehru became one of the chief architects of the division. He rationalized his reversal by asserting that partition alone could save India from internal strife. A clearer-eyed prophet—one who is effective as well as good—might well have foreseen the vast

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refugee problem and the communal massacres that followed directly upon partition.

Nehru is known to be particularly eager to have Kashmir remain an integral part of India, and indeed the government of Kashmir had legally and officially joined the Indian union. Yet when the Pakistan army invaded Kashmir in 1947 and the Indian army was ready and clearly able to drive out the invading forces, it was Nehru who insisted on a cease-fire. It was one more expression of his apparent deficiency on realism.

In the economic area he has been no less inconsistent—one is tempted to say confused. Committing himself on vague socialist grounds to nationalization of India's heavy industry, Nehru succeeded in discouraging much-needed investment of foreign capital. At the same time, ironically, his government has failed to control the enormous profits made by rapacious Indian industrialists, many of whom engage in black marketing.

Americans who have watched Nehru's admixture of idealism and poor judgment without benefit of romantic glasses are sometimes reminded, not unnaturally, of Henry A. Wallace. It is said, in fact, that Nehru is a great admirer of the former Vice-President, and of the pro-Soviet policy Wallace so vigorously espoused. During his American visit, Nehru went out of his way to confer at length with Wallace, apparently to obtain his views on world affairs.

Wallace has now altered his stand on Soviet imperialism and Red China. Will Nehru, too, see the light? Can he summon up a new clarity, a new realism, to replace his vague good intentions? Can he stop India from drifting towards internal chaos and

from external collaboration with the very forces dedicated to its destruction as a truly independent state? Can he yet make India—geopolitically so significant to Asia and the globe—a true bulwark of world peace and Asian independence?

If the answers for which mankind, and Indians especially, are waiting should be in the negative, Nehru may ultimately join the company of Benes, Masaryk and others who toyed with the delusions of third-force appeasements of the unappeasable Politburo. Without denying him any portion of the admiration to which he is entitled for his goodness, Americans would be well advised never to lose sight of his chronic lack of effectiveness.

The sad truth is that Nehru's foreign policies have so far been liabilities to the cause of freedom and world peace. With India's borders menaced by the Communist invasion of Tibet, with Peiping following Moscow orders in refusing to accept the "cease-fire in Korea" resolution advanced by India and other Asian nations, it is tempting to credit strong rumors that Nehru is revising his policies and moving towards cooperation with the United States. Let us hope that the rumors are true, and not a mirage of wishful thinking on our part.—*The New American Mercury*, February 1951.

*Note:* Dr. Taraknath Das has been an exile from India for about thirty years. In this article, Dr. Das has made assumptions which differ in many respects from the views of people who are in close touch with India.—*Ed.*, M. R.

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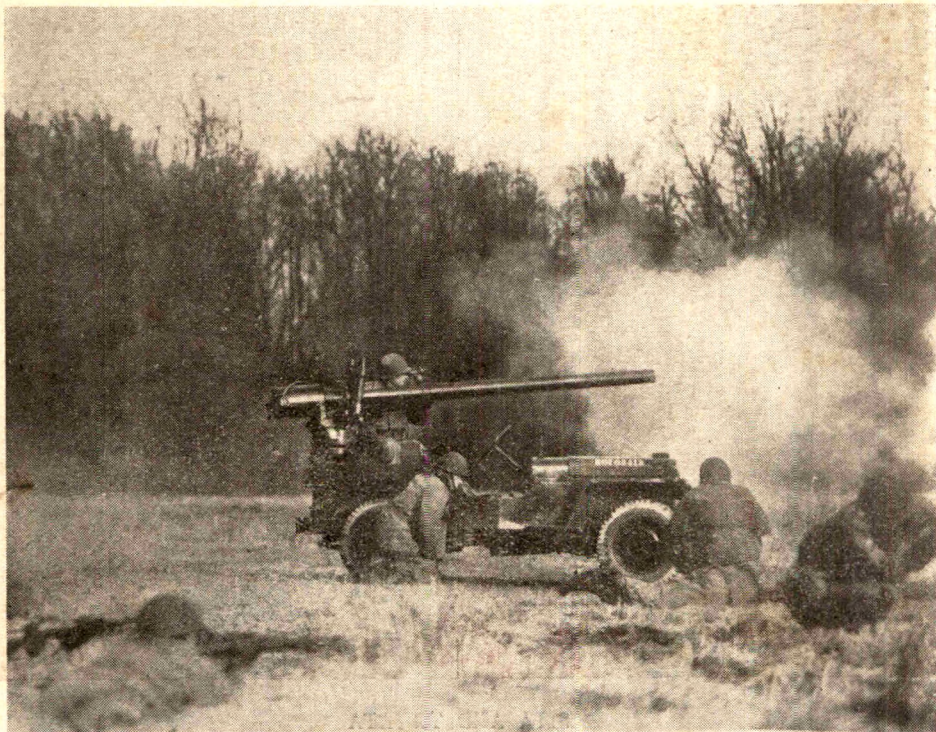
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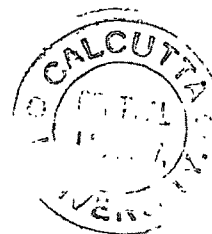


# THE MODERN REVIEW

APRIL



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## NOTES

### *Crisis in the Indian Union*

At home and abroad our affairs are in a mess, thanks to the inexperience, gullibility and inordinate self-conceit of those to whom we have entrusted the charge of our country. The price index is still rising in a steep spiral.

	Feb. 1951	Jan. 1951	Jan. 1950
Food Articles	414.8	413.5	379.1
(Cereals)	488	487	431
Industrial Raw Materials	553.7	552	486.2
Semi-Manufactures	373.2	358.8	335.5
Manufactures	371.9	353.5	344.6
(Textiles)	434	406	398

Nothing further need be said about the dire straits to which our nationals have been reduced economically. And to further exercise our souls in humility, the powers-that-be have forced us to prostrate ourselves before the gods of Mammon and the lords of Pakistan by the recent trade agreement with Pakistan. There is a story current in business circles regarding the genesis of this agreement.

When jute was offered by Pakistan at Rs. 38, Big Business in jute, in conjunction with corrupt officialdom, gave the Government to understand that there were stocks for nine months. So there was no need for buying Pakistan jute at such a high price. This was in respect of the 1950 crop. Pakistan's offer was turned down. As a result of this stiff attitude of Indian buyers, prices of Pakistan jute went down. Indian jute prices also recorded a sympathetic decline. This interested group then bought heavily at low prices both in India and in Pakistan and cornered all stocks that were open in India. Knowledgeable persons in Calcutta market said that there was not sufficient jute to last 7 months but this was overruled by big business. Long before that 7 months expired, there were howls in some mills declaring shortage of stocks and those who were not in this

group suffered. These very same double-faced gentlemen then said that unless negotiations were made immediately with Pakistan and jute secured at any cost, Calcutta jute mill industry would collapse. Having panicked the great ones—and doubtless having palm-oiled in sufficient quantity the sly ones—they succeeded in attaining their object. Today jute is selling in India at about Rs. 70 a maund, and it is estimated that this group, which has rubbed India's nose in the dust, has already cleared a net profit of about Rs. 15 crores.

We shall not be surprised if soon there is a clamour for the reduction in the jute export duty to further fatten that group.

Abroad the stocks of the Indian Union have sunk to a new low, specially after the distinct and severe set-back we have suffered at the Security Council. For this set-back we have to thank our Foreign Affairs Ministry and their brilliant and wonderful appointees in Britain and the U.S.A. We have weird ideas about diplomacy and our publicity is totally divorced from realism. We only know how to sermonise *ad nauseum* on Ahimsa and brotherly love. But this is no time for jeremiads.

Pakistan has gained two major points of advantage, thanks to her faithful ally "Perfidious Albion," who has "played us for a fool" in both these affairs. But Pakistan's affairs are in a desperate state too, so anything may happen. The mystery plane over Delhi might be an ominous portent, and the Pakistan Purge an indication. Regarding the latter Shri Ramani writes as follows in the *Vigil* of March 24:

"No details have been revealed regarding the 'sinister plot' that Pakistan's Prime Minister claims to have crushed in time. Some people see in it an election-stunt, although any keen observer of Pakistan's inner politics and the present mood of the Punjabis would conclude that the stunt can only lead to opposite results. Begum Shah

Nawaz, that pioneering dame of Muslim League in the Punjab, withdrew her candidature on League ticket as a protest against this assault on her family. If she changed her mind later on, at Miss Fatima Jinnah's insistence—who is incidentally no friend of Liaquat—it is only with a view to keep the powder dry for the impending show-down. Other people see in it a similar pattern of baseless allegation as characterized Badshah Khan's sudden arrest. But it must be remembered that army-people do not swear by non-violence, and in Pakistan they mould politics as few people here know. They could cut short Liaquat's efforts to implement his promise of sending Pakistan's troops to Korea. Being mostly Punjabis and sharing the general frustration of their compatriots, they keenly resent the alien rule that only uses them as 'cannon-fodder.' The appointment of General Ayub Khan, a Pathan, has only accentuated that sense of discontent.

"However, the linking of Faiz Ahmed Faiz with the alleged army-plot is a clever subterfuge to kill two birds with one stone. Akbar and Faiz go as well together as Liaquat keeping his appointment at Moscow. If there is one man in Pakistan who has not only professed but actively and quite successfully propagated those sober values of communal harmony and Indo-Pak amity that the ruling clique has been suppressing as treason it is Faiz Ahmed Faiz. And the fact that his paper had the widest circulation in Pakistan and unrivalled popularity amongst the younger elements of all provinces speaks volumes about the important position he had come to occupy in the imagination of his people. He did not subscribe to the PNEC and its good-will delegations which have been more of a command performance, but he never dabbled in scurrilous writings that adorn the columns of *Dawn* and *Sind Observer*. He attacked the Government as no other person dares, and he *had* to be removed. If he is now being accused of Communist affiliations, that only raises the question how he could be implicated with disgruntled army elements believing in a *coup d'etat* and the establishment of a jingoist military dictatorship. But then logic has never been a strong point with the ruling clique. Was not Badshah Khan, a man of peace, accused of violent, disruptive activities in league with the Faqir of Ipi? Liaquat's only misfortune is that he cannot accuse his new victims of being India's agents; and despite professed 'kuffar' ruling in Moscow, the Soviet neighbours have been evoking fascinated sympathy from people of all sections in Pakistan."

### *Anglo-U. S. New Formula on Kashmir*

The Security Council has accepted the Anglo-American Resolution on Kashmir which gives distinct concessions to Pakistan. Against stubborn opposition by India, the Security Council approves the appointment of a new U.N. representative for the arbitration of the Kashmir dispute. The resolution was approved by eight votes to nil with Russia and Yugoslavia abstaining. India did not vote in accordance

with the rule that an interested party to a dispute should not take part in the vote. Sir Zafarulla Khan said that Pakistan would accept the resolution. Sir Narsing Rau retorted that new concessions have been given to Pakistan and the Council cannot be surprised that Pakistan readily accepts them and India demurs.

The text of the new resolution is:

"Having received and noted the report of Sir Owen Dixon, the U. N. representative for India and Pakistan, on his mission initiated by the Security Council resolution of March 14, 1950;

"Observing that the Governments of India and Pakistan have accepted the provisions of the UNCIP resolutions of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949 and have reaffirmed their desire that the future of the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under the auspices of the U.N.;

"Observing that on October 27, 1950, the General Council of the All-Jammu and Kashmir National Conference adopted a resolution recommending the convening of a Constituent Assembly for the purpose of determining the future shape and affiliations of the State of Jammu and Kashmir;

"Observing further from statements of responsible authorities that action is proposed to convene such a Constituent Assembly and that the area from which such a Constituent Assembly would be elected is only a part of the whole territory of Jammu and Kashmir;

"Reminding the Governments and authorities concerned of the principle embodied in the Security Council resolutions of April 21, 1948, June 3, 1948, and March 14, 1950, and the UNCIP resolutions of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949, that the final disposition of the State of Jammu and Kashmir will be made in accordance with the will of the people expressed in the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under the auspices of the U.N.;

"Affirming that the convening of a Constituent Assembly as recommended by the General Council of the All-Jammu and Kashmir National Conference and any action that Assembly might attempt to take to determine the future shape and affiliation of the entire State or any part thereof would not constitute a disposition of the State in accordance with the above principle;

"Declaring its belief that it is the duty of the Security Council, in carrying out its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, to aid the parties to reach an amicable solution of the Kashmir dispute and that a prompt settlement of this dispute is of vital importance to the maintenance of international peace and security;

"Observing from Sir Owen Dixon's report that the main points of difference preventing agreement between the parties were (a) the procedure for and the extent



of demilitarization of the State preparatory to the holding of a plebiscite, and (b) the degree of control over the exercise of the functions of government in the State necessary to ensure a free and fair plebiscite, the Security Council:

"1. Accepts, in compliance with this request, Sir Owen Dixon's resignation and expresses its gratitude to Sir Owen for the great ability and devotion with which he carried out his mission;

"2. Decides to appoint a U. N. representative for India and Pakistan in succession to Sir Owen Dixon;

"3. Instructs the U. N. representative to proceed to the subcontinent and after consultation with the Governments of India and Pakistan, to effect the demilitarization of the State of Jammu and Kashmir on the basis of the UNCIP resolutions of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949;

"4. Calls upon the parties to co-operate with the U. N. representative to the fullest degree in effecting the demilitarization of the State of Jammu and Kashmir;

"5. Instructs the U. N. representative to report to the Security Council within three months from the date of his arrival on the subcontinent.

"If, at the time of this report, he has not effected demilitarization in accordance with para 3 above, or obtained the agreement of the parties to a plan for effecting such demilitarization, the U. N. representative shall report to the Security Council those points of difference between the parties in regard to the interpretation and execution of the agreed resolutions of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949, which he considers must be resolved to enable demilitarization to be carried out;

"6. Calls upon the parties in the event of their discussions with the U. N. representative failing in his opinion to result in full agreement, to accept arbitration upon all outstanding points of difference reported by the U. N. representative, in accordance with para 5 above; such arbitration to be carried out by an arbitrator, or a panel of arbitrators, to be appointed by the President of the International Court of Justice after consultation with the parties;

"7. Decides that the military observer group shall continue to supervise the cease-fire in the State;

"8. Requests the Governments of India and Pakistan to ensure that their agreement regarding the cease-fire shall continue to be faithfully observed and calls upon them to take all possible measures to ensure the creation and maintenance of an atmosphere favourable to the promotion of further negotiations and to refrain from any action likely to prejudice a just and peaceful settlement;

"9. Requests the Secretary-General to provide the U. N. representative for India and Pakistan with such services and facilities as may be necessary in carrying out the terms of this resolution."

A renewed emphasis on India's stand over Kashmir provided the main interest in the Prime Minister's speech in Parliament during the debate on the External Affairs Ministry's budget demand for next year. There was much in the Prime Minister's speech that he has said before, but a point which has not been previously stressed related to the legal and constitutional propriety of the State's accession in October 1947.

In a very forceful speech at the meeting of the Security Council which approved the Resolution Sir Narsing Rau made the position of India clear.

He said that no one objected to arbitration as a general principle, but when, under the guise of arbitration, agreements already arrived at were sought to be disturbed "my Government cannot but object."

The arbitration proposal in the Anglo-U.S. resolution was a "violation" of the resolution on Kashmir agreed to by India and Pakistan in August, 1948. "For this and other reasons my Government cannot accept it."

He added: "Recent developments in Pakistan and what is called 'Azad' Kashmir indicate forcibly the dangers of any failure to give adequate security to the State."

The report of the U.N. Commission on India and Pakistan had said that the pro-Pakistan "Azad" Kashmir forces were built up to the "formidable strength of 32 battalions during the cease-fire period" in violation of the resolution of August, 1948.

"The Commission itself remarked that this made the withdrawal of the Indian forces a far more difficult matter than was contemplated in that resolution. The recent Army plot in Pakistan has added greatly to that difficulty. Moreover, talk of a Jihad or a holy war is as pervasive and persistent as ever in Pakistan.

"In such circumstances my Government cannot be expected to leave to a third party, however chosen, the decision as to how the State should be protected against a recurrence of the horrors of October, 1947.

"My Government has no objection to a new U.N. representative visiting India and Pakistan, if the Security Council so desires, to make a fresh attempt to assist, by suggestion, advice and mediation, how the proposals regarding demilitarization under the resolutions of August 1948 and January 1949 should be implemented with due regard to the assurances given to my Government in connection with them.

"This, of course, is subject to my Government's views regarding arbitration which I have explained."

Sir Narsing Rau opened his speech today (March 30) by replying to the remarks made last week by Sir Gladwyn Jebb which, he said, "question Kashmir's accession to India."

He said that, under the Government of India Act, 1935, as amended under the Indian Independence Act, 1947, Indian States must be deemed to have acceded to the Dominion if the Governor-General had signified

his acceptance of an instrument of accession executed by the ruler. This was all that was required for accession—an instrument executed by the ruler and accepted by the Governor-General.

On October 26, 1947, in order to obtain India's help to repel an invasion of the State in which Pakistan was aiding, the Ruler of Kashmir actually executed such an instrument of accession in favour of India and on October 27, 1947, Lord Mountbatten, then Governor-General of India, signified his acceptance of the instrument in the usual formula: "I do hereby accept this instrument of accession."

Sir Narsing Rau continued: "This document itself contains no conditions or reservations of any kind. It is in the same form as any other instrument of accession accepted by the Governor-General of India and it took effect from the moment of acceptance."

"Only in the case of Kashmir, Lord Mountbatten, after accepting the instrument, wrote a separate letter to the Maharaja or Ruler in which he expressed the Government of India's wish that 'as soon as law and order have been restored in Kashmir and its soil cleared of the invader, the question of the State's accession should be settled by a reference to the people.'

"In other words, the acceptance of accession was followed by the expression of a wish to be fulfilled at a future date when certain conditions had been satisfied."

*"Unfortunately, the soil of Kashmir has not yet been cleared of the invader. The Pakistani army which joined the invader is still there and so the fulfilment of the Government of India's wish has been delayed by Pakistan's own act."*

"Meanwhile, the accession to India continues to be effective, and it will inevitably so continue unless and until the people of Kashmir settle the question otherwise."

*"Having delayed the plebiscite by an act of invasion, Pakistan cannot take advantage of its own wrong to hold up or suspend the legal consequences of accession."*

On the question of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly, Sir Narsing Rau said that India could not prevent Kashmir, which was a unit of the Indian Federation, from exercising its right to make its own Constitution.

"I can do no more than to express my regret that, in spite of the statements which I have made on behalf of my Government, the references to the Constituent Assembly in the preamble to the joint draft resolution should have been retained."

Explaining India's objections to the arbitration proposal in the Anglo-U.S. resolution, Sir Narsing Rau quoted paragraphs B(1) and (2) of Part 2 of the resolution of August, 1948. He said that it was clear from those paragraphs that the stages in which the bulk of the Indian forces were to be withdrawn and the

strength of the Indian forces to be retained in Kashmir were matters for agreement solely between the U.N. Commission and the Government of India.

"Lest there should be any shadow of doubt on this point, the Prime Minister of India obtained explicit confirmation of it from the Commission before accepting the resolution."

Sir Narsing Rau then quoted from a letter by the Prime Minister of India dated August 20, 1948, to the Kashmir Commission and the reply of M. Korbél, the Commission Chairman, on August 25.

He said that, under the August, 1948, resolution, Pakistan had "no voice and no right to be consulted at all."

"This was not due to any oversight or accident of language. It was due to the fact, well known to the Kashmir Commission as well as to others, that Pakistan had aided and ultimately joined in the invasion of the State."

"And, of course, no invader can be given any voice in the disposal or disposition of the protection forces. Such was the position under the resolution of August, 1948—a resolution accepted by Pakistan as well as India."

Sir Narsing Rau said that under the new Anglo-U.S. resolution, even in vital matters affecting the security of the State, Pakistan would have a right to be consulted.

"Furthermore, if Pakistan is not in full agreement with India, the point will have to be decided by arbitrators, in whose selection Pakistan will again have the right to be consulted."

"Thus the draft resolution seeks to reopen in favour of Pakistan issues which had been settled by the resolution of August, 1948."

"First, it seeks to give Pakistan a voice in matters in which Pakistan, as an invader of the State, had been rightly denied any voice under the older resolution."

"Secondly, it seeks to transfer to arbitrators the right to take vital decisions which under the older resolution required India's agreement."

"These are the new concessions to Pakistan. The Council cannot be surprised that Pakistan readily accepts them and India demurs."

"Sir Gladwyn has said that he is unable to see how the proposed arbitration clause can threaten the security of India or work to the detriment of India's rights and responsibilities."

"I would only ask whether Sir Gladwyn would agree to a proposal that matters of military security vital to the United Kingdom should be decided not by its own Government nor even with its consent, but by arbitrators chosen by somebody else after consultation with the very country that has invaded British territory."



## Central Budget

Sir C. D. Deshmukh has presented his first Budget to the Indian Parliament. While the Stock Markets have welcomed the Budget proposals, there has been marked disappointment amongst the middle class and poorer sections of the society. Additional taxation amounting to 31.15 crores has been announced to cover a deficit of 5.5 crores.

The following are some of the important features from the Budget speech :

The Revised Estimates of 1950-51 show a surplus of Rs. 7.93 crores as against the original estimated surplus of Rs. 71 lakhs.

The year's revenue estimated at Rs. 387.21 crores and expenditure at Rs. 379.28 crores, shows an increase of Rs. 48.62 crores in revenue and of Rs. 41.4 crores in expenditure.

At the existing level of taxation, the estimated revenue for next year is put at Rs. 369.89 crores and expenditure at Rs. 375.43 crores, leaving a deficit of Rs. 5.54 crores.

In the capital budget the current year shows a deficit of Rs. 67 crores. For next year the deficit on capital account is estimated at Rs. 78 crores.

The outbreak of the Korean war provided an impetus for price increases, but since September, 1950, the price-level has been more or less steady.

Except for cotton, jute and sugar, industrial production has been encouraging in 1950. The Finance Minister said that provided the season was normal India would have, by March 1952, made significant strides in the direction of practical self-sufficiency in cotton and jute.

India's overall balance of payments position has been favourable since the last quarter of 1949 and it is still moving in her favour—a net surplus of Rs. 66 crores was recorded during the year following devaluation as compared with a deficit of Rs. 249 crores in the year preceding it.

The food position in the country during 1951 is not likely to be easy. Government are doing everything possible to increase internal production and also trying to import the maximum quantity available from abroad. The grow-more-food plan has been reorientated so as to concentrate efforts in selected areas with an assured water supply.

While his new proposals to increase revenue cover a large field, including incomes, Customs and Union excise duties, the extra yield from direct taxation is expected to be only a little over 25 per cent of the whole.

Under direct taxes, there will be a surcharge of 5 per cent on all income and super tax, providing an additional revenue of Rs. 6 crores, and an increase in the Corporation Tax by a quarter of an anna, which will yield Rs. 2.25 crores.

Customs duties on imports are affected by an

enhanced surcharge of 5 per cent on all items, but there will be a 50 per cent increase in the present surcharge on liquor, and a 20 per cent addition to the existing duties on mineral oils other than motor spirit and kerosene.

Increased revenue from exports is provided through a new 80 per cent duty on groundnut kernel and a revival of the duty on cotton coarse and medium cloth, excluding certain specified varieties, such as furnishing materials and towels.

Higher Union excise duties, which are estimated to yield as much as Rs. 13 crores, comprise a 5 per cent rise under motor spirit and kerosene and certain changes in the present duties on tobacco, affecting all classes of smokers.

Of exclusive interest to Delhi is the Finance Minister's proposal to levy a sales tax throughout the State, but he has not specified the rate of the new duty.

By means of the new taxation proposals, the Finance Minister hopes to turn a revenue deficit of next year of Rs. 5.54 crores into a surplus of Rs. 25.61 crores, the total figures for revenue and expenditure being Rs. 401.01 crores and Rs. 375.43 crores.

For the current year, the Finance Minister's revised estimate of revenue and expenditure was Rs. 387.21 crores and Rs. 379.28 crores, showing a surplus of Rs. 7.93 crores, compared with the original estimate of Rs. 338.59 crores and Rs. 337.88 crores.

In next year's Budget, the Defence Service account for a revenue expenditure of Rs. 180.02 crores compared with the current year's revised estimate of Rs. 179.47 crores, but next year's Defence Estimates include the charge on aircraft, previously debited to capital.

An additional sum of Rs. 14.79 crores has been allocated for Defence expenditure under capital, bringing the total cost of Defence for the year to Rs. 1.5 crores, which exceeds the current year's total Defence expenditure, both revenue and capital, by over Rs. 10 crores.

Civil expenditure for next year is estimated at Rs. 195.41 crores, being more than Rs. 4 crores lower than the current year's revised figure although it includes a previous capital item of Rs. 8.31 crores.

As the Finance Minister pointed out in his speech, not all the fall in the civil expenditure is represented by economy, which, in his opinion, amounted only to Rs. 5.53 crores, as against the Economy Committee's recommendation of Rs. 4½ crores.

Capital expenditure for next year has been placed at Rs. 139.62 crores, including Rs. 62.62 crores for loans to States, compared with a total revised estimate for the current year of Rs. 150 crores.

Adopting a rather unusual line of assessment, the Finance Minister included a deficit of Rs. 67 crores on

capital account in the total deficit figure for next year which he estimated at Rs. 78 crores.

He explained that he intended to meet Rs. 31.15 crores of the whole deficit from revenue accruing from additional taxes and the remainder from the opening balance of Rs. 95.42 crores, leaving a closing balance of Rs. 43.05 crores.

In his Budget estimates for next year, the Finance Minister has taken credit for a total borrowing programme of a little over Rs. 140 crores, taking small savings and market borrowings together, which he considered a reasonable estimate.

One of the most unusual departures in the budget is the plan to meet capital deficit from revenue through taxation. This is a practice which is rather uncommon in public finance. Recent disclosures in the Parliament about handling of huge contracts have proved that there is ample scope for caution in big transactions, which, if properly taken, would result in saving crores or rupees. The question of economy has not received the attention that it deserves. Both civil and military expenditure is increasing by leaps and bounds with practically no prospect of a check. The startling revelations made by the Estimates Committee in respect of the working of the costly departments and by the Reserve Bank about the "grow-more-food" campaign show that there are definite grounds for economy which have not been taken into account.

### *Defence Budget Debate*

Defence grants came in for severe criticism. Parliament voted only a portion of the Defence demands totalling about Rs. 58 crores after withholding the major demand for Rs. 128 crores under the head Defence Services in order to enable the Defence Minister to give full details to the House about the contract for 2,000 jeeps with a foreign firm through the Indian High Commissioner in U. K. The debate became stormy when Shri Shiva Rao, Pandit H. N. Kunzru and others alleged that the country had been put to heavy financial loss on account of non-fulfilment of certain defence contracts placed in the U. K.

Giving detailed information about the "jeep scandal" Sri Shiva Rao said the Defence Ministry ordered in the middle of 1948 for 2,000 re-conditioned jeeps, the total value of the orders being £600,000. The firm with whom the orders were placed had capital assets of only £605. The firm was paid about Rs. 23 lakhs to enable it to fulfil the contract.

Sri Rao enquired, "I would ask the Defence and the Finance Ministers whether the payment was made to the firm with the previous concurrence of the two Ministries."

Out of 2,000 jeeps only 155 jeeps arrived in India by the end of that year, but they were declared unserviceable by defence experts and rejected. The contract was defective in that there was no penalty clause.

He maintained, "According to our own legal adviser in England the contract cannot be considered as void on a strict interpretation of the terms." In other words, the Defence Ministry had blundered "hopelessly." The firm had "walked away" with Rs. 23 lakhs of taxpayers' money and Government could not do anything to realise the amount.

"I would tell the Defence Minister that he is taking a very heavy responsibility upon himself in keeping these unpleasant facts from the House."

"I am told this firm has gone into liquidation and I am also told that some high placed military officers of Egyptian Government, who also placed orders with this firm, have been dismissed from service," disclosed Sri Rao.

Pandit H. N. Kunzru said the Government should disclose the total amount of reduction made in defence expenditure and whether the money thus saved was being spent on developing the country's air and naval forces. He asked what was being done to strengthen the defence organisations in view of reduction in the strength of the Army.

Pandit Kunzru revealed another scandal relating to supply of rifles and ammunition worth 2 millions. The contract was made in the middle of 1949 with a firm in England whose total issued capital was £100. When the rifles were not delivered within the stipulated time the Defence Ministry ordered cancellation of the contract, but it was told that the suppliers would demand compensation to the tune of £60,000, if the contract was cancelled. However, an order for steel plates worth £800,000, was placed with another concern with which the old supplier was associated so that no compensation was demanded. The total capital of the new firm was £300.

This firm also failed to supply the goods and when the Ministry asked that the contract should be cancelled it was told that an irrevocable letter of credit had been issued in favour of the supplier, disclosed Pandit Kunzru.

In January, 1950, Government came to know that the supplier was purchasing steel at the rate of £29 per ton, continued Pandit Kunzru, while the contract was made at the rate of £33 per ton. "I would like to know how the High Commissioner's office recommended to the Defence Ministry that it should enter into a contract of this nature with a bogus concern," he demanded.

Referring to the question of the contract relating to the supply of 2,000 jeeps by an overseas firm, the Defence Minister categorically mentioned that there was nothing shady on the part of anybody in his Ministry in the affair. It was only after the actual initial consignment of 155 jeeps came in that they could examine and see that they were not according to their original specifications. Immediately they had stopped further supply of the jeeps.

The contract, Sardar Baldev Singh added, was



executed in 1948 through the Indian High Commissioner in London. The value of the contract was for 500,000 pounds and an advance of 1,72,000 pounds had been made.

Members including Sri Sondhi wanted to know why the jeeps were not supplied in time. Others wanted to know why the Minister could not give fuller details relating to the whole contract.

The Deputy Speaker: This is all the information that the Minister has at present. He has placed them before the House and I would suggest to him to make a fuller and comprehensive statement to the House giving all information he may have.

Sri Sondhi: Why is the Minister not having full information even after 18 months have passed after the contract has been entered into?

Defence Minister: Negotiations are being made from the High Commissioner in London.

Sri Sondhi: Where is the necessity for negotiations with the High Commissioner? He is our paid official.

Deputy Speaker: What the Defence Minister meant was that negotiations were taking place through the High Commissioner and not that negotiations were being made from the High Commissioner.

Other members: We want a judicial enquiry into the whole affair.

Deputy Speaker: "I would suggest to the Minister that when the House is anxious to know full details about this matter, he should have come prepared with full information on the subject. If he has not got them here it would be better if he makes a full and complete statement to the House relating to the conditions in which the contract was made, how far the allegations were correct, what were the bona fides of the original firm, what was the original value of the contract, etc., as early as possible. I would also suggest that voting on this demand—Defence Services, Effective Army—be held over pending furnishing of such information."

Pandit Kunzru: "What has the Defence Minister got to say about the order placed for arms and ammunition and subsequent order for steel plates?"

Defence Minister: "It was true that orders were placed with a foreign firm for the supply of arms and ammunition required in connection with the Hyderabad police action. But subsequently when the Hyderabad affair had been settled peacefully, this order had been cancelled. There was no conversion of the order into an order for steel plates."

This growing tendency to shield not only erring but corrupt and worthless officials is alarming. It does not enhance the prestige of the Government but definitely undermines national prestige. Strong action had recently been taken in Egypt against high army officials for similar shady transactions. Strong steps taken by the Government against corrupt officials before public exposures are made can alone put a stop to

public scandals as well as keep the administration alert. We consider the answers of the Defence Minister halting and unsatisfactory. The High Commissioner's part in these transactions need thorough investigation and elucidation.

### Pakistan Budget

Mr. Gholam Muhammad has presented his fourth budget to the Pakistani Parliament. The budget shows a surplus of Rs. 20.74 crores for 1951-52 against a surplus of Rs. 28.96 crores in 1950-51. The budgetary position is as follows :

	In Lakhs of Rupees.		
	Budget Estimate, 1950-51	Revised Estimate, 1950-51	Budget Estimate, 1951-52
<b>Gross Revenue—</b>			
Principal heads of revenue	59.38	107.08	98.1
Railways and Posts and Telegraphs	.. 42.44	43.96	46.6
Other Heads	.. 13.80	13.92	15.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>.. 115.62</b>	<b>164.96</b>	<b>159.8</b>
<b>Gross Expenditure—</b>			
Defence Services	.. 50.00	60.70	62.0
Railways and Posts and Telegraphs	.. 38.34	41.28	43.5
Other Expenditure	.. 27.18	34.02	33.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>.. 115.52</b>	<b>135.00</b>	<b>139.1</b>

Surplus .. 10 28.96 20.74

The spending of Rs. 34 crores for schemes of social uplift, economic development and defence projects, in addition to the special grants amounting to Rs. 8 crores to the provinces for their schemes of social uplift a special contribution of Rs. 5 crores to the Refugee Rehabilitation Fund and particular allocations for nation-building activities, particularly education, and progress made in the development of industries, agriculture and banking, were the main points covered in the Budget speech.

In laying particular emphasis on social uplift in the context of "the neglect of many decades which the area now comprising Pakistan had suffered," the Finance Minister spoke of inadequacy of facilities for education, medical relief, technical training, housing, etc.

The Budget surplus would be utilized, he said, to form the following special funds :

(1) A fund for schemes of social uplift, with a total allocation of Rs. 10 crores during the two years :

(2) A fund for an aircraft factory and tank and heavy-gun manufacture, with an allocation of Rs. 7½ crores.

(3) A fund for schemes of economic development (industrial, agricultural and others), with a total allocation of Rs. 16½ crores.

Announcing the additional special grants amounting to Rs. 8 crores to be made to the various provinces for their schemes of social uplift, he said the money would be used on education, public health, etc.

The most important feature is the unusually high proportion of defence expenditure. The allocation under defence services is Rs. 62 crores on revenue account

and Rs. 17. crores on capital account. There is also special provision of Rs. 7.5 crores for the manufacture of aircraft, tanks and guns. There is another special provision of Rs. 18 crores for stockpiling of essential stores. Thus the total expenditure on defence works out to Rs. 87.5 crores, as against a total of Rs. 33.53 crores for administration, education, public health and all heads of social and public uplift. Another feature of the Budget is that the Central Government has thrived on the poor provinces. The Premier of East Bengal has publicly given vent to this feeling.

### *Damodar Development Project*

West Bengal's Premier, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, made a statement through Press on March 5 last which is of more than topical interest. It was intended, if we mistake not, to meet the criticism of Bengalee members both of the State and Union Legislatures that the West Bengal Premier has not been able to persuade the Centre to extend full co-operation to this Project. It had another purpose in view—to give expression to his own feeling that neither the Central Irrigation Department nor the Bihar Government have been as co-operative as the necessities the case demanded. Dr. Roy must have had valid reasons to speak like what he did. New Delhi has its departmental bickerings between two Secretaries and the Bihar Government has always been lukewarm because she is interested only in the electrification project, and not in navigation or irrigation which would benefit Bengal more than Behar.

These factors have from the beginning been halting the work. And Dr. Roy has a just grievance to nurse with regard to what is a life and death question to West Bengal's western districts, specially Burdwan, Bankura and certain areas of Birbhum. The general public is keenly interested in flood-control and the almost yearly devastation that floods have been causing to the people near the banks of this "river of sorrow." Therefore are they impatient; and disgruntled politicians take advantage of this feeling. We have indicated above certain of the difficulties, and Dr. Roy's explanation and interpretation of these will, we hope, convince the people that he has been vigilant in this matter at least. His assurance that the Tilaya, Bokaro and Konar "bunds" will be built by June 1953, is welcome, therefore.

Dr. Roy has counselled patience to all. He has told us on the authority of Dr. David Lilienthal, the first Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Project, that it took them about 20 years to finish it and derive the fullest benefit from it; a certain part of it has been finished this year only. This is a lesson we should take to heart.

What Dr. Roy forgot to mention was Lilienthal's categorical statement that the Federal Government of the U.S.A. did not try to saddle the suffering people of the Tennessee Valley for either the interest or the amortization charges for the vast flood-control, navigation or soil-conservation charges, as New Delhi is doing to the poor peasants of the Lower Damodar Valley. Elsewhere in this issue we deal with the Damodar Valley Project in detail.

### *India's Contribution to Irrigation Science*

The words put within quotation-marks summarize the compliment that has been paid to India's irrigation engineers.

"India today leads the world in the science of irrigation engineering. The acreage under irrigation in India running into 50 million is the highest in the world. Important contributions to irrigation research have been made by Indian engineers."

An original and important contribution is the latest theory on sub-soil flow propounded by Mr. A. N. Khosla for the safe design of hydraulic structures on sandy or permeable foundations. Mr. Ganesh Iyer of Mysore has evolved a new type of siphon known as the volute siphon for the automatic release of flood surplus water from storage reservoirs.

The three International Engineering Conferences, the sectional meeting of the World Power Conferences, the fourth Congress on large dams and the first conference on irrigation and canals, attended by about 800 top-ranking engineers from 38 countries of the world explains the world's interest in India's irrigation.

Problems relating to power, dams and irrigation were discussed and ideas and experiences concerning them exchanged and pooled. The papers presented during the five days of technical sessions numbered 186. Of these 40 papers were contributed by engineers from India.

Forty-five papers came up for discussion at the sectional meeting of the World Power Conference. These dealt with the utilisation of electricity in irrigation, on the farm, in the home and the manufacture of fertilizers and the processing of agricultural products. The question of power in relation to cottage, light and heavy industries, traction and mines, and the complex problems of power load planning and methods and research in power utilization were also discussed.

Over 100 papers, the largest number discussed, came up before the fourth Congress on large dams. The subjects discussed were the determination of maximum discharge for surplussing of works, earth and rock-fill dams, silting of reservoirs and concrete for large dams.

The first Congress on irrigation and canals discussed as many as 30 papers dealing with the national review of irrigation development and practice and the present-day problems in irrigation and drainage in different countries of the world.

These conferences were preceded by the fourth meeting of the International Association for Hydraulic Research, held in Bombay from January 2 to 5. Over 300 hydraulic engineers from 27 countries of the world attended this meeting. Thirty papers were discussed. The subjects discussed included design of lined canals, design of head-works to exclude solid materials from canals, effect of barrages and dams on the regime of rivers and distribution and control of water and sediments in canals.



More authoritative, however, was the praise given by Mr. David E. Lillienthal, former Chairman of the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission. He is also connected with the T.V.A. in America. He said: "*India is the world's leader in the field of irrigation.*"

The conception of the new projects like the Bhakra-Nangal project was "extraordinarily good," and the ideas behind it represent "a good deal of planning." The projects were enormous by any measure.

The lesson that India could learn from T.V.A. was "for you people to solve your problems in your own way." The T.V.A. had been built up by the people living in that area. The engineers had only provided the tools.

He, however, agreed that for a country like India which had "to boost up food production immediately" it would be a "mistake to neglect smaller irrigation projects." It is better to have a number of smaller undertakings rather than one large one," he said.

He said about the Indo-Pakistan canal waters dispute: "I have been studying the problem and especially whether the five rivers, if properly developed, could not meet the needs of both countries. I hope to give my views shortly."

### *Satyagraha in Manbhum*

It has always been with the greatest reluctance that we refer to events in Manbhum. An overwhelmingly Bengali-speaking area was separated from Bengal in 1911 when the partition of Lord Curzon was "unsettled" or modified by the formation of Bihar and Orissa as a separate province and a restoration of Assam to its 1872 status. These two measures of Lord Hardinge made the problem for Bengalis in these two provinces difficult, indeed, and kept up an irritation, constantly poisoning relations between neighbours.

The session of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in December, 1911, tried to throw oil on troubled waters by passing a resolution that these Bengali-speaking areas will be restored to their parent province. During the last 40 years it has not been "found possible" to rectify the wrong even after the British regime's withdrawal. In the light of these facts our unwillingness to discuss even the legitimate grievances of the Bengalis of Manbhum is explicable to our readers when in the present atmosphere of India "provincialism" seems to be rampant in every conceivable sphere of public life.

But the Satyagraha in Manbhum, which started on March 9 last under the guidance of the Lok-Sevak Sangha, has a separate objective in view. The leaders of this Sangha were valued fellow-workers of Biharee leaders during the freedom movement and had "carried the burden and gone through the sacrifice required by it," to quote Babu Rajendra Prasad's handsome recognition of their valued services. The founder of the Sangha, Nibaran Chandra Das Gupta, left a cherished memory to Bihar's Congress men and women. His

lieutenant, Shri Atul Chandra Ghosh has organized this Satyagraha. It is directed against the foodgrains procurement policy of the Bihar Ministry, as also to draw attention to the dishonest tactics adopted by Census authorities with a view to inflate the number of Hindi-speaking persons in Manbhum.

The Minister for Local Self-Government, Shri Binodanund Jha has, in reply to a question in the Bihar Assembly on March 12 last, given an answer that is not satisfactory. We do not understand what this particular Minister has to do with procurement of food-grain, unless it be that he is in charge of the Census operations. He replied that under previous arrangement a purchaser could buy 5 maunds of paddy and 3 maunds of rice; the new policy entitles him to 1½ maunds of paddy and 1 maund of rice. But his uncalled-for intervention in a matter pertaining food procurement leaves the impression in the mind that he feels the Satyagraha as an exposure of Census malpractices. And he wants to throw a smoke-screen over these.

But will it succeed ultimately? When Shri Atul Chandra Ghosh and his fellow-workers are found ready to undergo the sacrifices which have become habitual with them under Gandhian inspiration it would be found difficult to suppress truth as is being attempted now in the Bihar Ministry.

### *Communists in Assam*

There can no longer be any doubt that Communists have had a great run in this most north-eastern State in the Indian Union. They appear to have been checked so far as their depredations, arson, killings and loot are concerned. That section of the Press which is given over to imaginative writing have attempted to create heroes out of their leaders. And what they say may be sensational; but deducting the frills, they leave the impression on the mind that the Communists in the Brahmaputra Valley were as consolidated as they have been in the Telengana area of the Hyderabad State. So far as our information goes it was with the appointment of Babu Sriprakash as Governor that the Central Government appeared to have been shaken out of their habitual complacency. Since then the Communists have been on the run, their leaders in their well-chosen hide-outs, sheltered by the fear imposed on the villagers by their methods of blood and iron, found in the inaccessible jungles and hills of this area quite comfortable shelters.

There were other factors that accounted for their early successes against law and order. Across the border over in Burma, the Communists, "white flag" and "red flag," had been able to organize themselves in some sort of military formations; they even dared to challenge the Government in the field of battle. And there have been proofs that the two parties have been co-operating with each other. Then came the Communist victory in China and their success has been like wine to the potential rebels that abound in every society. Now that Commu-

nism has become a fashion, men and women wiser than they have been found flirting with it and its followers. And propaganda has been afoot that poverty and frustration in material life are the seed-plots of this modern scourge to society. We do not share the ideas expressed in this thesis, though there may be a tiny element of truth in it.

But in Assam with her innumerable "tribals," with potential Pakistanis, native and imported abroad, the field of mischief has been specially wide and fertile. Tales have reached the outer world that sections of the Nagas, Mishmis, Kookis have fallen victims to the specious appeal of this philosophy and practice. And as it happened in the past, so it has happened in this State, that "educated" leadership has been in the saddle to mislead the masses. The names of Khagen Barua, of his right-hand man Anil Roy and of "Bolo Basumatari" have been on many lips. The first was a valued Congress worker who helped make the 1942 movement — "the Quit India" movement — the success that it was in Assam; Anil Roy has been killed in an armed fight; "Bolo Basumatari" has been arrested. A weekly paper has featured the news that Bombay's Socialist leader has been leading the Communists in Assam. He has been able to establish contact with Chinese Communists 50 miles off. And owing to his influence at Moscow, he is being built up as the Mao Tse-tung of India.

The development of these men into Communists needs interpretation, and understanding by Authority. It is they who should understand the psychology at the back of Communism in India. We hope that the new Home Minister, Shri Chakravarty Rajagopalachari, will bring a fresh mind to the solution of this problem; that he would be freer from bureaucratic red-tapism. He should be able to signalize his last years by freeing his people from this menace.

### *World Muslim Conference*

The Indian Press in general has developed a habit to ignore or minimize the importance of developments in Pakistan that have for their purpose the consolidation of an Islamic Bloc standing on its own right as a separate entity entitled to speak on behalf of 30 crores (300 millions) of Islamic peoples. This habit is a symptom that is unhealthy for us at least.

In the same way we ignored the proceedings of the International Islamic Conference held sometime during the autumn of 1949 at Karachi. On this particular occasion Pakistan took the initiative in organizing the Conference. This fact alone should have interested the journalists of India. For, the moves on the international chess-board by our potential rivals and enemies — and Pakistan is one such due to its congenital prejudices — are, next to internal cohesion and consolidation, of the utmost importance to national security.

But we in India missed the significance of the Islamic Economic Conference and have also committed the same folly in the case of the World Muslim Conference

(Motamer-e-Islami) held at Karachi on and from the 9th February to 14th last. This Conference is in line with the dream of Jemal-uddin Afghani who during the last quarter of the 19th century had schemed and laboured for the development of a Pan-Islamic Federation. Sultan Abdul Hamid of Turkey, the then Caliph, threatened by the aggression of "Christian" Powers, flirted with the idea with a view to exploit the religious sentiments of Muslims as a barrier to the rising tide of Westernism. Pakistan today claims to be "the greatest Muslim State." And it is quite natural for her that she should be trying to bring in other Muslim States as a counterpoise to India whom she regards as her greatest rival and enemy.

This "complex" has a life-history as old as the late Mohammad Ali Jinnah's brain-child of Pakistan. The late poet Mohammad Iqbal might have been its spiritual incubator, but the great Quaid-e-Azam was the power that brought it out of a poet's fancy and gave it a local habitation and a name. This history no Indian can afford to forget. But we are tempted to indulge in this luxury under the impulse that in human and natural resources Bharat is stronger and richer than Pakistan. But the latter does not forget this disparity, and since its birth has been striving with all her might to throw the world's 30 crore Muslims into the scale to restore some sort of a balance of forces, by seeking to enlist their help against Bharat, by appealing to their Pan-Islamic feelings and sentiments.

We have no doubt that these were the considerations that had weighed with the Pakistani authorities in encouraging and helping the organization of this Conference, and its predecessor, the International Islamic Economic Conference (1949). During both these occasions the Pakistanis had not to take much trouble in persuading their guests to do a little propaganda in her favour over Kashmir. On the present occasion, the Turkish delegation's head was the first to open the offensive. Omar Riza Doghrol, editor of the *Jamooriat*, member of the Turkish Parliament, President of the Turkey-Pakistan Cultural Association, landed on the Karachi air-port on the 8th February last and on the next day we find him declaring: "Kashmir belongs to Pakistan." A member of the Malayan Delegation, Mohammad Khan, declared: "The entire Muslim world wholeheartedly supported Pakistan's stand on Kashmir." As "the biggest Muslim State," her separate Statehood had increased "the weight of responsibility on her shoulders" and whatever steps did she take should be "such as would fulfil the hopes of the Islamic world."

Members of other delegations appear to have been more reticent; at least the Pakistani Press did not headline what they had said. Prof. A. B. A. Haleem, whom we knew as a professor in the Muslim University at Aligarh where he had been one of intellectual leaders of the Pakistan propaganda in pre-partition India, has found a vocation in his "new home." He appears to have been in charge of the Conference's propaganda. On the 8th February, he explained to a Press Conference the objective of this World Muslim Conference working for Islamic



consolidation for the last two years with Karachi as its headquarters. These were "re-orientation of the outlook of the life of Muslims the world over" by presenting to them.

- (1) the real teachings of Islam as contained in the Quran;
- (2) breaking down the barriers of racial nationalism and provincial parochialism;
- (3) annihilating the forces active in creating rifts and schisms in the polity of Islam through active co-operation of all Islamic countries.

Prof. Haleem claimed credit for his Conference organization for sending "good will" Missions to "Middle East" and South-East Asian countries. It also appears to have been responsible for the sending to the United Nations Organization the "Kashmir Scroll," signed by more than a million Muslims and other supporters of the Pakistani stand on Kashmir. Prof. Haleem took particular care to say that his Conference did not represent any Government; it was a gathering of all the clans in the Islamic fraternity.

There are other propagandists for Pakistan who are more specious. One of them is the Aga Khan who is a citizen of as many countries as he has cared to build a palace in; these mansions are financed by his disciples, Indian, Pakistani and belonging to any number of countries where the Ismailis congregate. He has lately been in Bharat as a State guest. In Calcutta, he is reported to have suggested some sort of a "re-union" of Bharat and Pakistan. But at Dacca, he sang another tune, true to the traditions of his past. There he expatiated at "one of the largest meetings ever held in Dacca," on the way in which he had been helping Muslim separatism, the end of which has been Pakistan. The president of the meeting, Nawab Habibullah of Dacca, thus complimented the august guest: "Your movement for a separate representation . . . started in 1906 brought about the national awakening in the Muslims . . . The dream of Pakistan would have been shattered and would never have been realized had you not fought for a separate electorate for Muslims." The Aga Khan also held forth on the same thesis. He was in a reminiscent mood and appeared to enjoy it. ". . . in 1906 when the foundations of the Muslim League were laid at Dacca, the late Nawab Sir Salim-ullah and leading Muslims carried out the principles laid down by us at the Simla Conference."

"Since then it had been one long struggle for the Muslims."

He had also something to say on the future, and indicated it for "this greatest child of Islam"—Pakistan. He advised the Pakistani rulers to "take for their model the first century of Islam" which had "demonstrated the greatest unity among Muslims." His Highness appears to have erred in this interpretation of the "first century of Islam." As a guest, a honoured guest at Dacca, he could not be expected to refer to the way in which Hazrat Ali had been kept out of his succession to the Imamate immediately after the Prophet of Islam, his father-in-law,

as the latter had no son to succeed him at the time of his death; so also did he refrain from reference to Karbala where Hasan and Hosein, Ali's two sons, from one of whom the Aga Khan traces descent were slaughtered by the then rulers of Islam. In this connection it is worth remembering how a section of Ulemas regard "this glorious century." One of their monthly organs published in the Bengali language is found declaring that the then rulers and Ulemas did their best to "bury Islamic democracy within 24 years" of their Prophet's death.

This episode should enable us to evaluate the claims of Pakistan as the 20th century pioneer in Islam's resurrection in its pristine glory. We are prepared to concede that the International Islamic Economic Conference and the World Muslim Conference were first steps in forging anew "Muslim unity," to use the words used by Al-Hajj Amin-el Hussein. A Syrian delegate, Mustafa Zarka, said: "There was a time when Arabia offered the glorious religion of Islam to this sub-continent but he felt that the time had come when Pakistan should carry Islam to the Arab countries." This is praise, indeed. Pakistan has earned a good dividend on the outlay made to organize World Islam. Another delegate is our old friend Abdul Rahman Siddiqi who is neither of Bharat nor of Pakistan and has been roaming over the world as a disembodied spirit. He had differed rather violently from the Quaid-e-Azam, but has been an assiduous worker in the vineyard of Pan-Islam. His speech in certain ways set the objective of this Conference in the clearest light so far as human speech can do it. Once a leader of the Khilafat Movement in India that had awakened the Muslim masses of this country to their separateness from the Hindus, Abdul Rahman Siddiqi was very outspoken, as has been his wont. He called upon his co-religionists to forget the "poisonous propaganda of Nationalism preached by the West, and weld the Muslim nations . . . verily into one." He concluded by declaring:

"We cannot be really free unless the Muslims in other parts of the world are made free from the yoke of non-Muslim domination there."

We hope that this last quotation will be able to shake off Bharat's complacent policy. Our only regret is that the position of the thirty-five millions of Muslims yet in Bharat has been made difficult by the *zehadi* cry sounded by so many delegates from the 30 Muslim countries who took part in this recent Conference. The same attack threatens them if the Anglo-American tricks over Kashmir succeed. This is their *kismet* and ours also. The Conference will create a mental disturbance in the Muslim mind of Bharat that cannot but have adverse reactions in Bharati sensitiveness still raw from the blow of partition that has disrupted its historic continuity and integrity.

### *Reconstruction of Education in India*

The *debacle* in the morality of India's leadership has been brought so palpably home to us again that India must make a supreme effort to re-make her men and women if she is to fulfil the hopes of better and fuller life in the conflicts and competitions of the modern world.

Her educational efforts must be re-oriented in their spirit if her practices are to approach near the ideals preached. The Radhakrishnan Commission has made recommendations that hardly touched this aspect of the matter; the Calcutta University Bill but follows this lead. And both these, therefore, stereotype the conditions that repeat the failures of British administration and her 3 or 4 University Commissions.

It is meet, therefore, that we recall on the occasion what our thought-leaders from Ram Mohun Roy to Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi thought on this problem of remaking the human materials of their own country. For, in the ultimate analysis, their life had striven to effect this reconstruction so that India can recapture some of her virtues and carve out for herself an equal place in the comity of modern nations. The Santiniketan of Rabindranath, nursed in the traditions of the Brahma Samaj, the Gurukul of Swami Shraddhananda, the Ashrams of Gandhiji and of Sri Aurobindo are only examples of how these nation-builders had laboured to teach us a new morality of human dignity and strength.

In line with these were the activities of the Ramakrishna Mission, Swami Vivekananda's vision for his people which his Irish disciple, Margaret Noble, better known as Sister Nivedita, had given shape to. She in her own dynamic way had concentrated on this educational reconstruction her waking thoughts and sleeping dreams. And from far and near she sought examples and inspiration where peoples placed in servitude to alien ideals had been able to recover their soul and their lost self-respect in the world. In an old number of the *Prabuddha Bharat*, the editor gave a letter which Patrick Geddes had written to Sister Nivedita in about 1909 in response to her anxiety in this matter. It appeared in April, 1948. And it showed how this Scotch friend of India, the biographer of Acharya Jagadis Chandra Basu, a social scientist of international reputation had felt and thought over this problem.

We make no apology in making extensive extracts from Geddes' letter. Giving in the "briefest outline," the history of higher education in Europe from the Medieval University to "modernizing or Germanizing" it, Patrick Geddes spoke with admiration of "the reconstitution of French Universities" in response to the *debacle* in 1870-71 war, "a reconstitution no less thorough than that of the Army." He pressed on the attention of education reformers the work of M. Liard, for 20 years permanent Under-Secretary of State for Higher Education which was not only to "rebuild and reorganize the University of Paris" until her students and staff equalled in "sheer number" those of the teaching Universities of England and Scotland "put together." But what was of more importance was that "in spirit and efficiency it greatly surpasses these." The re-establishment of 7 or 8 regional Universities in the leading cities of Bordeaux, Toulouse, Montpellier, Lyons, Marseilles, Nancy, Lille; etc. was another feature in M. Liard's scheme, the beginnings of which were not as yet in sight in Europe.

Now to refer to Patrick Geddes' constructive programme. He told Sister Nivedita, "You require a *French contact (italics ours)* to vitalize your studies in other subjects, say ethnology and political economy. For, while the manufacturing, mercantile, and financial economy of England is not directly related to the needs of India, the peasant proprietorship and rural syndicates of France, like the agricultural banks of Germany and Italy, are of immediate and practical interest (and perhaps even example) for the Indian economist. I, of course, strongly believe that our Indian rulers would become greatly more efficient by this change in their economic point of view, from their present insular and urban one of the manufacturing and exporting, the financial and governing city, to that of Continental economists, agricultural especially, and here, as I have first said, not only French but German and Italian also."

Again, while English ethnologists, like German Sanskritists, have undeniably done good, even fundamental work in the past, the modern French movement originating with Le Play and now revolutionizing, both anthropology and economics, is still almost unknown in both these countries, although (through Desmolins and the Edinburgh Summer School) it is beginning to find its way into one or two lecture rooms at Oxford and Cambridge.

"For, with the School of Le Play instead of beginning with language, or with race, as our initial principle, we begin with the geography of the chosen region; we investigate how this determines the essential occupations, and how from these evolve the family type, the clans, and castes of the people, and ultimately their appropriate ideas and even ideals also, spiritual and temporal, philosophy and education, aesthetics, symbolism, and art."

This would constitute an almost new (*i.e.*, a re-organized) science of the evolution of India—surely one of the finest subjects for the new foundation, and one ideally adapted to the native investigator, once brought abreast of European, not simply English, thought.

Patrick Geddes put his finger on the most unnatural of educational weaknesses generated by British methods, and he re-emphasized that "of the many educational misfortunes in India that you only know the acute insularity of Oxford and Cambridge when you get outside the examination machine of London, except in so far as the Scottish doctor or missionary may have any influence." He asked us, therefore, that in India we should "diminish" our "reverence" for the "academic pretentiousness" of Britain. And to get over this inferiority complex, he pointed to "another university type well worth studying . . . that unique one of the *Universite Nouvelle* of Brussels, which broke away from the existing official University, and has gone on now for five years, almost without money, by the voluntary and unpaid labour of its large professoriate. It is already one of the most living of European centres, especially in the social sciences." And he spoke of a genuine "intellectual movement" that required "not simply an originaive mind, but the friction of a group of kindred



minds. It is largely, perhaps mainly, for lack of this that culture movements so readily die out. Your best professor is but a conductor: you must find him not only room and instruments, but an orchestra." And for an example he reported how he had now "rambled for two seasons among American universities, and more than by all the wealth and variety and magnificence of Harvard or Columbia or Chicago, I have been impressed by the extensive unity of the small Clark University of Worcester, which Boston does not yet appreciate."

The way out of the *malaise* of the spirit—now so much in evidence in our nation—could be found by India's determination to "educate herself." This was the only "alternative" remaining—"a true, a deep, a living development of Indian culture." And turning to an identical development, that in Germany, he drew attention to the significant fact that "the rise of the modern German University" was of "French parentage," and that "the other main line was an Indian one." And in bringing this co-operative effort about "one of its very greatest elements was the re-discovery of Sanskrit, that Greek of a new, perhaps greater, *renaissance* even yet but beginning. Our minds Oriental and Occidental then are most fully complementary; and here lies the open secret of our too common misunderstanding, but of a deeper future understanding also." This called for "mutual education"—the hope of the future that Patrick Geddes had visioned and laboured for in the realm of the spirit. And he had hoped that not "the modern specialism" of the West but "the cosmic sense" of India would enable both to go forward in this mission of world redemption.

Since Patrick Geddes wrote, there has been the emergence of the Soviet Union with its "dictatorship of the proletariat," with her insistence on "specialism" more barbarous and more soul-killing. And the world tries to grope through this uniformism against which he had warned us all. But we live in hope that the spirit of man will re-assert itself.

### *Indonesia's Ministry Resigns*

Reports from Indonesia's capital, Djakarta, tell the world that her Prime Minister, Mohammad Natsir, has resigned on March 20 last, and has agreed to carry on as "Caretaker" head of the Administration at President Soekarno's request.

The immediate cause of this resignation appears to be the Parliament's decision "to dissolve regional councils" and Government's refusal or inability to implement it. The Opposition—the Nationalist Party and other Left-wing parties including the Communist Party—earlier that day boycotted the Parliamentary session to mark their opposition to the Natsir Ministry. The Prime Minister has bowed to this opposition.

We cannot say that we fully understand the various factors that have had their influence in precipitating this Ministerial crisis. The proposal was passed by the Parliament, and we remember that the Indonesian Republic was

declared as "a Unitary State." From this it need not follow that the autonomies, hitherto enjoyed by the different island units of Indonesia, should be taken away.

There may be personal factors involved. The outgoing Premier said that he was "too old to play hide and seek with Parliament," though as far as years go he is not much above sixty. But in frankly revolutionary and political activities he has not been a very prominent figure. In contrast to him stand President Soekarno and ex-Prime Ministers Hatta and Sjahrir. There may be other personalities that have been playing from behind the scenes; "the strong man" of Indonesia, Sultan Amiruddin, for instance.

In this connection, the following news from Djakarta dated March 19 is of more than topical interest:

"Twenty-seven battalions of Indonesian troops have been thrown into action against the *fanatical Darul Islam organisation* in Java.

Sixteen battalions went into a large-scale offensive in West Java, the Indonesian Defence Ministry said today: Another eleven battalions had broken organised resistance by Darul Islam in Central Java.

The spokesman claimed the Army had captured some 10,000 terrorists in the whole of Java and Madura.

Darul Islam claims that it is seeking a purely Islamic State. It is noted for its atrocities. Terrorism has flared up lately in its usual operating grounds of West and Central Java."

### *The "Enigma" at Moscow*

There have been any number of speculations on the "enigma" that has its home and centre at Moscow. But there is no end to these, and as days are added unto days in the Calendar, fresh ones crop up to make the darkness murkier still. We can see darkly through it, confounded and frustrated by the failure of the human spirit to halt the downward trend towards a third World War in course of 50 years. In this predicament, world opinion in general can only fumble in its search for peace and goodwill amongst men, and follow or reject the interpretations offered by men and women who have had opportunity to get to know the "enigma" at close quarters.

One of these is Ellsworth Raymond who was with the U.S.A. Military Intelligence as chief of its U.S.S.R. Economic Section from 1944 to 1946. In an article published in the *United Nations World* he related his experiences of this period, and the article was intended as an attempt to understand and explain "Soviet strategy in the game of power-politics." Raymond has posed two questions—Is Russia ready for a show-down today? If not, what's its D-Day for World War? The article appeared some time after the Soviet-sponsored invasion of South Korea by its satellite, North Korea. We cannot say that we are wiser by his answers. But we get certain facts and their interpretations that can help us see light, fitful light behind the "Iron Curtain." Raymond claims that there are "well-documented clues, a careful analysis of which should yield the current aims of Soviet diplo-

imacy and strategy." He treated the Korean war as a testing-ground of both these tactics. We will allow Raymond to tell the facts as U.S.A. opinion, specially military, views these: "Defensively, Korea shields most of the eastern border of Manchuria, the main industrial region of Communist China. On offense, the peninsula is a gun pointing at the heart of American-occupied Japan. And most important of all, the North Korean frontier is less than 100 miles from Vladivostok the eastern terminal of the Trans-Siberian railway and the greatest port in all Siberia. Port Arthur, the huge Soviet naval base in South Manchuria, is within 200 miles of Korea."

We are told that North Korea is the "Dean" of Communist teachings in Asia having been indoctrinated as early as the birth of the Soviet Union, 1917; it was formed by Korean "emigrants" in the Soviet Far East. "Since World War II, Russia has not only defied the U.N. by setting up a Korean satellite, but also linked itself to North Korea through economic, cultural and trade pacts, and sent both technical advisers and loans to the Koreans." This shows that at Yalta and Cairo the late President Roosevelt and Britain's Prime Minister Churchill were misled by Stalin, and that at Potsdam also President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee were ignorant of the military situation in Korea and Manchuria; in their anxiety to finish Japan at the quickest possible time they sold the pass to Stalin.

The realization of this folly has come rather too late. And the Soviet Union gained all along the line by joining the war against Japan at the last moment. The atom bomb over Hiroshima and Nagashaki has been of little use so far as East Asia was concerned. Now, the democratic Powers have been set guessing, "Where should Russia's Asiatic mercenaries strike first?" The answer could be found in Stalin's book, *Foundations of Leninism*—a concise handbook of his strategy studied by all Communist Parties in the world. Stalin writes: "Surprise your enemy. Take the offensive. Concentrate on the enemy's most vulnerable spot. Seize the moment when his forces are scattered. Once started along a certain course, stick to it regardless of difficulties. Strive for daily successes. And always retain morale ascendancy."

Along with this, Stalin has been capitalizing on world anxiety to see the end of wars, and the conditions that favour these. As Raymond says: "All this strategy fits Korea like a glove. Soviet peace talk had fooled Western leaders, and the whole American administration was caught by surprise when the Korean Communists attacked." The slogan "Asia for the Asiatic" has found a hearty response even from men and women who hate communism as practised by Stalin. But he also feels that the hour of destiny has approached his door. "Today Stalin is faced with one of the toughest decisions of his career: Send Russia into a possibly fatal war to save North Korea, or not fight for Korea, renounce a historic ambition and lose face for Communism all over the world."

"Like most diplomatic decisions, it is not a choice

between good and bad, but between bad and worse. But whatever the decision, it will be made in conformity with the basic policies of the Kremlin. And a knowledge of these principles, and the apparent contradictions they contain may anticipate some of the answers."

Raymond bases his interpretations on Stalin's well-known theses. One of these has been—"Don't pull others' chestnuts out of the fire," or in less colloquial language: "Don't hurt yourself helping others." This was the central theme of his 1939 speech at the 18th Party Congress, when Russia was conducting simultaneous alliance negotiations with Axis and Allies. The same choice confronts him today. The Russo-German honey-moon was a short-lived affair. And today Stalin is almost alone; except Mao Tse-Tung he has no "fellow traveller" who can take the eventual blow.

He has been watching with unconcealed pleasure the U.S.A. getting bogged in Korea; that her production of "three times" the Soviet's should be proving to be naught, while the U.S.S.R. has been concentrating all along on getting even with the U.S.A. Even during the war (June, 1942—May, 1945), Stalin did not trust his allies, and he had gone ahead to develop the war-potential of his State.

Raymond as head of the U.S.A. Military Economic Section in Russia can speak with special knowledge of this economic side of their alliance. He tells an absorbing story: "During pre-war years, Stalin often stressed the importance of such foreign allies as the workers of nearby countries, colonial rebellions, and conflicts among capitalist states. But after having fought and won a great war, he showed little faith in aid from abroad. To him, in the final showdown, Russia's home strength mattered most, not the Comintern, foreign fellow travellers, or workers of the world. Above all, he valued Russia's economic power, and boasted that U.S.S.R. war potential could be seen in its large-scale productions of coal, oil, iron, steel, cotton and wool."

What is the output of these strategic Soviet fuels, metals and farm products today? About 50 per cent higher than the peak output before the war.

The post-war Five-Year Plan of 1946-1950 has done much more to strengthen U.S.S.R. war potential. Of the fifteen listed major goals in this Plan, seven can hardly be classified as pure peaceful construction.

"First, top priority is given to building and rebuilding heavy industry, which produces the steel and chemicals for munitions, and of which war industry itself is a part.

Second, high on the list is putting science into industry, i.e. the atom bomb.

Third, by plan, war industry did not reconvert till 1946, a year after the Axis surrender, so the U.S.S.R. could stockpile huge quantities of the latest World War II weapons.

Three other major goals of the postwar plan are—development of new arms, making each U.S.S.R. region self-contained, and increasing stockpiles of grain, oil and strategic raw materials."



It is a long quotation, but it is worth knowing with a view to appreciate Stalin's answer to the second question posed above. The summary of the article had been headed: "Timing the D-Day."

"... Stalin in 1946 and his Politburo parrots in 1949-1950, still said Russian industrial potential must triple over its pre-war level, and only then the U.S.S.R. 'will be guaranteed against all possible accidents.' What is the date announced by Stalin and his boon companions when this factory tripling will be completed, and the U.S.S.R. ready to take on all comers? Not 1950 or the Pentagon guess of 1954, but ten years from today—1960!

In short, though Soviet Russia now has the world's biggest air, tank and submarine fleets, it does not consider itself ready to win the battle of assembly lines.

U.S.S.R. military journals show no faith in blitzkrieg, but have said over and over again that modern war is war of attrition. . . ."

### *Judgment on Land Reforms Act*

A Special Bench of the Patna High Court held that the Bihar Land Reforms Act, 1950, which seeks to abolish the zamindari system in Bihar, as unconstitutional on the ground that it transgressed Article 14 of the Constitution.

This Article lays down that "the State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India."

Delivering judgment on the suits filed by several big Bihar zamindars, headed by the Maharajahdiraj of Darbhanga, praying for declarations that the Bihar Land Reforms Act, 1950, was unconstitutional and void. Shearer J. held that, as the impugned Act was unconstitutional, the properties of the plaintiffs had not vested in the State of Bihar and that they were entitled to decrees declaring that the Act was unconstitutional and to an injunction restraining the defendants from taking possession of their properties.

They were also entitled to their costs.

Reuben and Das JJ. agreed with the view of Shearer J. in the separate judgments they delivered. Shearer J. held however that the subject-matter of the Bihar Land Reforms Act was a subject-matter within the legislative jurisdiction of the Bihar Legislature.

He also held that Clause IV of Article 31 of the Constitution did not debar the court entering into the question of compensation in order to decide whether or not the impugned Act offended against Article 140.

Clause IV of Article 31 reads: "If any Bill pending at the commencement of this Constitution in the Legislature of a State has after it has been passed by such Legislature, been reserved for consideration of the President and it received his assent, then, notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, the law so assented to shall not be called in question in any court on the ground that it contravenes the provisions of Clause II" (which deals with compulsory acquisition of property).

After declaring that the *ad interim* injunctions which had already been issued would be made permanent, Shearer J. observed: "The Constitution of India recognizes the inviolability of private property except in so far as the property of an individual may be acquired for the purpose of the Union or State or for some other public purpose, in which case compensation must be paid, in order that the individual expropriated may not be compelled to contribute to expenditure incurred by the State more than any other citizen does. Otherwise private property is sacrosanct.

"The impugned Act confers on the executive the power to take over estates and tenures as and when it chooses. The Bihar Zamindari Abolition Act, 1948, which the impugned Act repealed, contained a provision that when any estate or tenure belonging to a particular category was taken over, all other estates and tenures belonging to that category should be taken over also. I can well understand that such a provision may have led to administrative difficulties. Nevertheless the provision in the impugned Act, which confers the wide power it does on the executive, is clearly discriminatory in character.

"The impugned Act, however, discriminates between individuals falling in the class which it affects. In fact, it divides the class into a large number of subclasses and to these subclasses differential treatment is meted out. It is quite impossible to say that the subdivision is based on any rational grounds.

"On what principle, for instance, ought a proprietor or tenure-holder, whose net income is Rs. 20,000 to be given eight years' purchase, while a proprietor or tenure-holder whose net income is Rs. 20,001 is given only six years' purchase? At the other end of the scales are the great zamindars who are to be allowed three years' purchase.

"The conclusion to my mind is irresistible, that the intention is to take over the great estates in the province, paying no compensation or most inadequate compensation and out of the considerable profits which are likely to be derived from them, to take over, in course of time, the remaining estates and tenures.

"In other words, a comparatively small minority belonging to this particular class are to be expropriated without compensation or with the most inadequate compensation in order that when the great majority are expropriated they may receive compensation which will not be inadequate and may, quite possibly, in many cases, be more than adequate. The learned Attorney-General was unable to deny that this amounted to discrimination of a very flagrant kind."

### *Bihar Hoarders' Detention Defended*

In his first public pronouncement after his illness, Dr. S. K. Sinha, Bihar's Chief Minister, denied charges of police excess during the statewide raids on cloth and grain shops in October last. The charges were made in a brochure issued by the Federation of the Indian

Chambers of Commerce and Industry. Dr. Sinha, who was addressing a Press Conference, asked whether it was wrong to resort to preventive detention when millions of people were in acute distress due to want of food and cloth. *If it was right, as it undoubtedly was, to use it against Communists it could not be wrong to use it against those activities which helped Communism.*

"I wonder if those who protest against the use of preventive detention against hoarders and profiteers ever think of the misery which they have brought on the people during the last decade. I wonder if leaders of the business community, who are full of indignation when preventive detention is used against hoarders and profiteers, feel equally indignant about the fortunes made through exploitation of human misery, and if they do, whether it ever occurs to them that they would give practical shape to their indignation."

The Chief Minister said that 500 cases of breaches of cloth laws were detected but in only 52 cases detention was ordered. Over 600 offences were reported but preventive detention was ordered only in 16 cases. These figures showed that detention was not resorted to indiscriminately. Forty-one cases of detention were justified by the Advisory Board. The High Court set aside detention only in 4 cases although practically all the detained persons had moved the Court. He declared, "We mean to stamp out blackmarketeers and hoarders and we are not going to be intimidated."

We wish this firm attitude against blackmarketing had been adopted by other Chief Ministers as well.

### *State Insurance Scheme in Delhi and Kanpur*

Encouraged by the National Planning Commission's favourable opinion, the Central Labour Ministry has decided to proceed with the State Insurance Scheme in Kanpur and Delhi on an experimental basis. The Commission's support however is qualified; that body is stated to have suggested that the Government go slow with the project, carefully studying its effects on industrial economy. A Bill amending the relevant Act will seek to empower the State Insurance Corporation to impose on employers in other areas a levy of  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent on the total wage bill simultaneously with Kanpur and Delhi where the rate of levy will be  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. This is intended to remove the disadvantages in which Kanpur and Delhi industrialists would have been put as against industrialists in other areas, if the former alone were to have contributed to the Corporation's funds. Northern Indian employers' opposition to the scheme on this ground which has latterly been found justified by the Planning Commission, delayed the introduction of the project in Delhi and Kanpur where it would otherwise have been in operation from January 1, 1950. In Kanpur, nearly 90,000 workers are expected to benefit

from the Scheme and in Delhi about 45,000, their contribution to the Corporation's funds amounting to Rs. 33,32,000 and Rs. 16,61,000 respectively. Employers' contribution will be double the amount payable by the workers.

The Corporation estimates the total working population in India insurable under the Act, at about 20,55,000 and its contribution payable by employees and employers at nearly Rs. 37 crores. The Act will apply to factories using power and employing 20 or more persons and to workers earning less than Rs. 400 a month.

### *A New Party*

*Delhi Times* reports that the R.S.S. has at last come out as a political party and the party they have formed has been named Bharatiya Jan Sangh. An informal meeting has been held in Delhi some days back when the decision was reached for the Sangh to convert itself into a political organisation. The R.S.S. for all practical purposes will cease to exist and all activity will centre round the new Sangh. The draft manifesto of the party has been circulated. Its preamble is as follows:

"The whole of Bharat Varsha from the Himalayas to the Kanya Kumari is and has been through the ages a living organic whole, geographically, culturally and historically. She is the mother of all Bharattiyas who all have equal right to her. Its recent partition, instead of solving any problem, communal or otherwise, has given rise to many new ones. Culturally, economically, politically, as well as internationally, United India is essential."

About its Pakistan policy the manifesto says:

"So long as Pakistan remains a separate entity, the party will stand for a strict policy of reciprocity and not one of appeasement as hitherto pursued."

### *The Rebel*

Shri Triloki Singh, leader of the People's Congress, has brought out his own organ—the *Rebel*. The paper in its first issue has shown a remarkable vigour and as the name indicates has shown itself a rebel against the present corruption and nepotism that are so prevalent today. In its first editorial, the *Rebel* says:

"In order to understand the nature of this crisis, it is essential to go deeper into the prevailing moods of the people—workers, peasants and the middle class which constitute the essence of social reality, and the loud claims of high idealism made by the ruling classes. Although formally a paradox but nevertheless true that persons and classes who during the darkest days of British repression remained in the forefront of the struggle are after the advent of freedom the main centres of dissatisfaction against present condition. Instead of reaching to lower levels the fruits of freedom have fallen in the hands of a new irresponsible party bureaucracy which after repudiating its old traditions of truth and service of the common man is forming alliances after alliances with the reactionary remnants of the old regime



and the exploiting classes. It has resulted in a widespread frustration of popular hopes and aspirations."

We wish our new contemporary all success in its campaign against nepotism and corruption, the twin plagues that are working havoc amongst the suffering nationals of our country.

### *Consolidation and Cohesion of Orissa*

There were hopes that with the consolidation of Oriya-speaking areas, there would ensue the emergence of cohesion in her public life to build up the greater Utkal of their aspirations. Like all human hopes these have not taken shape, and the party in power, the Congress Party, appear to be as frustrated as in other States. This came out during the budget discussion in progress in the Orissa Assembly.

Sri Radhanath Rauth, a responsible member of the Congress Party, has held responsible for this state of things the corruption in social life, official and non-official, and consequent inefficiency that have erupted as a disease in our State life. He criticized the top-heavy administration that has been draining the people's resources. In proof, he cited certain figures of the number of I.A.S. and P.E.S. officers in Orissa compared to West Bengal, Bihar, Madras. For instance, Orissa's population is near about 1 crore 50 lakhs; her revenue is Rs. 10 crores 50 lakhs; she has 71 I.A.S. officers and 227 P.E.S. officers. Madras with a population numbering 5 crores, with revenue of Rs. 55 crores has 104 I.A.S. and 208 P.E.S. officers respectively. Bihar has a population of 3 crores 50 lakhs, a revenue of Rs. 22 crores, and has 84 I.A.S. officers and 229 P.E.S. officers. West Bengal with a population of 2 crores 80 lakhs and a revenue of Rs. 32 crores has got 81 I.A.S. and 176 P.E.S. officers respectively. These figures reveal how the legacy of the British regime has stabilized itself in Bharat's administration.

### *Izatnagar Veterinary Institute*

The Diamond Jubilee celebration of this Institute (Uttar Pradesh) started on March 11 last with a speech by the Food Minister, Shri Kanyalal Munshi, in course of which he related the research work that has been carried on there these six decades with praise. Our agriculture depends almost exclusively on human and animal labour. And the Food Minister was not far wrong when he said that by improving the farmer body and mind we could best improve our live-stock. In Shri Satish Chandra Das Gupta's monumental work *The Cow in India* of about 2,000 pages we saw recorded the huge return that the animal-husbandry industry made to our national economy; its value was about one thousand crores of rupees, "16 per cent of the national income," as Dr. Sachchidananda Datta, the Institute's Director, is reported to have said.

The ninth meeting of the Animal Husbandry Wing of the Board of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry in India was held during the same week. Sardar Datar

Singh, Secretary of the Agriculture Department, gave us an idea of how they proposed to improve animals so necessary for our agriculture. There is a comprehensive scheme; it was proposed to select out a network of 600 key villages all over India for the multiplication of the few pedigree bulls available in the country. In conjunction with the "key village" scheme, it was also proposed to establish a network of 150 artificial insemination centres. At those centres, high class bulls would be maintained for the collection of semen. Provision had been made in the scheme for the establishment of 540 bull-rearing farms in conjunction with the "key village scheme." For segregation of old and unproductive cattle, establishment of *Go Shalas* had been suggested to the State Governments.

### *Adult Education in West Bengal*

We have received the latest report (1949-50) of the West Bengal Adult Education Association. Its headquarters office is at Students' Hall, Calcutta—12.

The Bengal Adult Education Association was started in December, 1937. Its name indicates the purpose with which the organizers had in view. With the partition of Bengal, the Association had to withdraw its activities from East Bengal and confine these to West Bengal's 14 districts.

The Government has granted the Association about Rs. 12 thousand during the last two years, and with this backing and the little public financial help that has come, the Association has been conducting 39 Centres in one State. This is a creditable piece of work on which we desire to congratulate the organizers, specially the Revd. Bilas Mukherji who has for the last 12 years been its life and soul, so to say.

If the Government and the organizations like the Nari Siksha Samiti working in the field are as strenuous as this Association, adult education has a bright future for all concerned, the illiterates specially.

### *Visva-Bharati Rural Reconstruction*

The Staff Reporter of the *Hindustan Standard* in a description of the 3-day anniversary celebrations of the Institute of Rural Reconstruction held on February 6 last referred to certain facts that should be better known.

Shri Dhirananda Roy, Sriniketan-Sachiva, in his address said that they had got *Swaraj* but they had yet to achieve a self-controlled social system which had been the dream of the founder of Sriniketan. The Poet had outlined his ideas of evolving such a social system in his writings which should be carefully read by those entrusted with that task. He had founded Sriniketan at a time when the leaders of our country had developed the habit of approaching the foreign administrators with a beggar's bowl. A pioneer in diverse fields of national activities the Poet gave a lead in the field of rural reconstruction also, and his call for rural reconstruction unfortunately did not receive enough response and the "extremists" and the "moderates" ignored his call as the

whim of a Poet. But undaunted he had founded the Institute in 1922. Lack of funds, lack of workers and lack of enthusiasm on the part of the villagers of the neighbouring areas, complicated the task all the more. But these difficulties, however, could not deflect the Poet from his high ideal.

This had been the Poet's experience during his lifetime. Almost unaided except for the handsome help extended by Elmhirst, this experiment has proved that his intuitions and reasonings were all right; and the sceptics have come to recognize that there was no other way in rousing the people to a sense of better life for themselves. An inmate of Santiniketan, a worker there, Sudhir Chandra Kar, in his book *Jana-Ganer-Rabindranath* (People's Rabindranath) has depicted how the Poet's activities, idealistic and practical, had all been inspired by his concern for the sorrowful and the silent millions of his own people, and how in Santiniketan and Sriniketan he had helped lay the seed-beds of richer and fuller life equal to that of modern nations. Free India has now the opportunity and power to give shape to the Poet's ideas.

### *Angry Scenes in Legislatures*

In almost all the Assemblies in the Indian Union angry scenes have marked the proceedings. In the State Legislatures specially, tempers appear to have erupted beyond decency.

But none of the members showed his temper in the way in which Shri Narayandas Gupta of the Madhya-Pradesh Legislature did. The local English-language daily's report said that the general level of criticism "came as a great surprise and seemed to go through the Treasury Benches like electric current making the Ministers jump in their seats." And well it might when we find Shri Narayandas warning that "things were getting pretty serious. Administrative machinery was being used for political purposes. People will come forward not only to face bullets but to return bullet for bullet."

This was plain speaking indeed. By the middle of next year tempers will get hotter still when the elections are due. Not ballot-boxes but bricks and bullets threaten to sabotage the first steps towards democracy.

### *Developing a Common Culture*

Arrangements are said to be afoot at Delhi to organize work for a "common composite culture" in the Indian Union. A conference will be held in this behalf. Some 20 members of the Central Legislature have sponsored the idea; Babu Rajendra Prasad, the Rashtrapati, being chosen Chairman.

This Bharatiya Sanskriti Sangha (Indian Cultural Academy) has Shri Shankarrao Deo as its Secretary; a Provisional Committee of 21 members have set before themselves aims and objects indicated below:

"Development and promotion of a composite Indian culture, closer contacts in the spheres of religious, cultural and social life and translation of best books from the provincial languages into each other and into foreign languages."

The Provisional Committee included Shri Purushottam Tandon, Shri Kanyalal Munshi, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad amongst others. The Committee has sent invitations to about 500 prominent men all over the country, mostly, educationists, journalists and Ministers to attend the cultural conference at Delhi.

The Delhi conference will discuss various subjects connected with the "different facets of Indian culture and its organisations" and will adopt the constitution of the All-India Cultural Academy.

Shri Shankar Rao appears to have rather vague ideas on the work he has set himself to do. The methods suggested by him sound rather easy; he favoured "community singing of songs like *Jana Gana Mana* and *Vande Mataram*"; he was "opposed to ideas of community dancing, forcible introduction of national dress or national salutation."

Remembering the age-old conflict between Hindu and Muslim cultures which on ultimate analysis was at the back of Pakistani demands one of the items of which had been directed against the *Vande Mataram* song itself, its replacement by *Jana Gana Mana* song to be used on State occasions has not improved matters.

More recently linguistic conceits have developed amongst us. Even non-Hindi-speaking Central Ministers have been known to speak of "Hindi imperialism" and the protection of their "cultures" that have grown round their regional languages. Even thought-leaders amongst Hindi-speaking peoples have recognized that Bengali, Guzarati, Marathi, Tamil and Telugu have a richer literature, richer in content and the sweep of their perceptions of the True and Beautiful. Hindi in Devanagiri script has not been accepted at least by Indian Muslims, though their variant of Hindusthani, known as Urdu, has been criticized by the Aga Khan as the vehicle of "decadent" Islamic society in this country.

The Bharatiya Sanskriti Sangha will be faced by these problems early in its career. And we will watch with interest how the 500 delegates of the proposed Conference face these. The only suggestion that we have been making was to recognize the 15 principal languages as State languages in the Legislature leaving to the State-units to make their own choice. That will require more than the 15 years scheduled in the Constitution. In this matter, patience constitutes the essence of success. The immediate future will demonstrate whether or not we have this quality. The only other alternative is to remove the "profit and domination" motives from the Rastrabhasha movement and to arrange for a continuous exchange of ideas from all the states, Hindi and non-Hindi speaking, as to how to remove handicaps that weigh the balance in favour of those whose mother-tongue is Hindi.

### *World Health Organization and Africa*

The World Health Organization's *News Letter* has been commended by us on more than one occasion. Its issue of February, 1951 published an article which indicated a better future for Africans. It gives in light and shade a picture of the millions of "dark" peoples.



"Africa was the Dark Continent until the beginning of this century. Two diseases in particular had long held a rein on development and helped more than any others to give the country its fatal reputation. These two diseases were yellow fever and malaria, both of which have lost their grip today; at any rate as far as the European in Africa is concerned. Actually, thanks to wide control measures and incessant vigilance, yellow fever is no longer a scourge anywhere in Africa and seems to have little opportunity of becoming one again, as over twenty million Africans have been inoculated during the last ten years and every outsider wishing to enter the continent today must produce proof of inoculation. Nor is malaria any longer a sword hanging over the head of the newcomer. The settler, the tourist and the commercial traveller all have easy, modern means of protection. These people are, of course, the privileged few; for, generally the mass of the continental population is still at the mercy of malaria.

"It is with these latter millions—the native Africans—that the future of Africa will be founded. Purely agriculturalists and pastoralists until recently, tribesmen are now being increasingly recruited for the needs of commerce and industry. . . ."

### *Malayan Economy*

The rubber industry and the tin-mining industry make up almost the whole wealth of this Archipelago. Started between 1870-80 by British prospectors mainly, today these explain many of the complicated problems of politics, finance and economics. The alien character of the controlling interests in both these industries created resentments in native Malaysians and other Asians. And Japan by raising the slogan of "Asia for Asiatics" capitalized her temporary success during December, 1941 to May, 1945.

The rubber industry became a State concern to Japan. Since her defeat and the come-back of the British, the country has known no peace. Communist terrorists, mostly domiciled Chinese with a sprinkling of native Malaysians, have been holding up the progress of these industries. Yet, we are being told that these have been making a rapid recovery.

Under rubber plantations, big and small, there are approximately 2,000,000 acres of land; there are 300,000,000 "para trees." Estates account for a little more than half the acreage; the rest is made up of 350,000 small holdings. The British had a monopoly of these industries; U.S.A., the largest importer of rubber, has been creeping in.

This is the picture that emerges out of a recent report we have based our comments on.

### *Nepal*

The Prime Minister of India struck a hopeful note on the occasion of his latest Press Conference (March 13 last) on prospects in Nepal. King Tribhuvan Bir

Bikram Sha has returned to his kingdom; the Prime Minister Shri Mohan Shamsheer Jung Bahadur, has agreed to modify his family autocracy, and the parties that count in Nepal, the Rana party and the Congress party, have agreed to co-operate in setting up a stable government. We can hope that the march of democracy is really a question of time.

But we should not be lulled into complacency that all is well in Nepal. There have been stories of Nepal-born Communists being active in taking advantage of unsettled conditions, of Kiratas rising up in revolt, of their claiming the return of the old days when their community supplied rulers to parts of this hilly and forest country. Then there are centuries-old maladjustments to set right between the upper and lower strata of society. This would be taxing the wisdom and capacity of the Rana family and the responsible men in the popular parties. A U.S.A. scientist, Dr. Dillon Ripley, Associate Curator of the Peabody Museum of Natural History at the Yale University, on a recent visit to Nepal, was struck with this country of "extreme and sudden contrasts;" it was "a land in which the most ancient and the most modern can be found side by side."

It is up to the new rulers to bring nearer these two epochs. The opportunity that has come to them with India's help should not be neglected. The good wishes of our people will follow them in their up-hill task.

### *Place of Patience in Defence*

Captain Liddell Hart is an outstanding theoretician of military strategy in Britain as authoritative as Hans Baldwin of the *New York Times*. His latest book is entitled *Defence of the West*. The *Worldover Press* of New York, an interpreter of news on matters of world interest, has released an article of his, critical of U.S.A. impatience with the U.S.S.R. In course of it his remarks on the use of atom bombs and other missiles may be accepted as a criticism or anticipation of General Eisenhower's threat to use the atom bomb if the Soviet Union dared attack Western Europe.

But more interesting are Liddell Hart's remarks which have a bearing on the advice, which India's Prime Minister has been offering to the U.S.A.'s angry men, counselling patience. We quote these below:

"Any adjustment of the two conflicting requirements calls for the most delicate handling—if we are to have any chance of retrieving our basic mistakes of disarming the Germans completely and demobilizing ourselves. To minimize provocation in the process of building up our power of defence, we need to get into 'the other man's mind.' We must try to understand Communist-Russian mentality—not only its Marxist logic, missionary fervour, and urge for expansion of power, but its underlying fears, suspiciousness and ignorance, all accentuated by prolonged isolation, and the nature of its system.

"If it be difficult to fathom that mentality, we can at least put ourselves on 'the other side of the hill,' and try to look at things from that angle. It

would help us to understand, for example, what the Russians may feel about American military activities in Iran, close to their vital sources of oil supply in the Caucasus, or about efforts to make Sweden join the Atlantic Alliance.

"Above all, we must keep cool. Indignation and exasperation are all too liable to produce a fatal explosion. No less dangerous is the feeling: 'It is bound to come—let's get it over.'"

"Itching to be 'at em' may now spell 'atomization' for everybody—into disembodied spirits. Tensions so intense as now is almost bound to relax eventually if war is postponed long enough. That has happened often before in history, for situations change."

### *All-German Unity*

The Communists have been experts in playing hide and seek with problems. The case of all-German unity has been one such since May, 1945 when the Hitler war ended. Previous to this, at Yalta, President Roosevelt, Marshal Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill had decided that Germany should have one unified administration. Subsequent to German surrender at Potsdam, Roosevelt's successor President Truman, Marshal Stalin and Churchill's successor Prime Minister Attlee endorsed the Yalta decision.

But for reasons of his own the dictator of all-Russia, chose to give the greatest lead to sabotaging this unity. And the following two news add to the confusion of Europe.

"Bonn, March 9.—The West German Bundestag (Lower House) today passed by an overwhelming majority a resolution calling on the forthcoming "Big Four" Foreign Ministers' Conference to bring about free general elections in all four zones of Germany.

Only eight Communists and two extreme Nationalists voted against the motion. Seven Communists were absent.

West German Chancellor, Dr. Konrad Adenauer, had earlier rejected East German appeals for a Round Table Conference on German unity and demanded "really free elections."

He was introducing in the West German Parliament a motion, supported by all parties except the Communists, demanding free all-German elections."

"Berlin, March 14.—The East German Prime Minister, Herr Otto Grotewohl, to-day rejected West German conditions for all-German elections.

Herr Grotewohl told the Soviet Zone Lower House that if the West German Premier Dr. Adenauer and Socialist Opposition leader Kurt Schumacher really wanted all-German elections 'they must first consent to the formation of an all-German body which can then discuss and decide on vital and mutual German problems.'

"We have again and again stated our willingness to select representatives to discuss all-German elections with West German delegates," he said."

In these two cable-news lies the real secret of the prolonged negotiations at Paris which threaten to be as unsuccessful as their predecessors.

### *Samarendranath Tagore*

The elder brother of Acharya Abanindranath Tagore and the eldest of the Tagore family till now living has died at his 80th year. A lover and student of India's composite culture, a man of wide reading in many languages—Sanskrit, French amongst them—his appreciation of art did not a little to develop the culture-forms that have flowered in India during the last 50 years. We tender to his sons and other members of the Tagore family our condolence.

### *Dhirubhai Desai*

Another young life was cut short on March 21st last at Berne. Dhirubhai Desai, Ambassador to Switzerland, died on that day.

Only son of the late Bhulabhai Desai, Congress leader, Dhirubhai was one of the youngest of Indian diplomats, the other being Shri R. K. Nehru commissioned to Sweden. Report has it that he was universally popular in Berne.

We extend our sympathy to his bereaved family.

### *T. J. Kedar*

This eminent lawyer and a former Vice-Chancellor of the Nagpur University, died on 14th March last at his 66th year. Madhya Pradesh's wider public life is the poorer for this.

Along with the late Hari Singh Gour, founder of the Saugar University, also a lawyer, he represented a type which could not fit itself into the popular mould. Therefore Dr. Kedar could not make way into political leadership. He leaves an example that should be cherished.

### *Bastimull Lunawat*

Death has cut short the life of a worker in the Santiniketan, her Manager of the Visva-Bharati Hindi Patrika and Librarian of the Hindi Bhavan. In every capacity he had given his best. He was in his early thirties, and we share with Visva-Bharati her sense of loss at his death. Our condolences to the bereaved family.

His father, the late Jalimchand Lunawat, came to Bengal about 50 years back, settled in the Bolepur area and shared in all its activities. A Rajput, Bastimull inherited from his father love of country and was ever ready to sacrifice himself at her altar.

His life was largely spent behind the prison bars and in the few and far-between interludes of freedom he worked for 'the poorest, the lowliest and the lost.' Prison life had taken the sap out of him and when he was finally released after the last World War his health was completely shattered.

While a detainee he had passed his M.A. degree in economics from the Calcutta University with a First Class, and found in Visva-Bharati congenial work. May his soul rest in peace!



# MEDICAL PROBLEMS MET WITH IN TEXTILE INDUSTRIAL CENTRES

## Suggestions Regarding Promotion of Their Health

By DR. T. H. RINDANI, M.D. (Bombay)

### "HEALTH IS WEALTH"

THE growth of Industrialisation in India is taking place at a fast pace and with the winning of independence, the same is expected to be much faster still. Textile Industry is one of the chief industries in this country, and its growth is quite natural here. But development of an industry has its own accompanying problems and unless these are tackled properly with sincerity and foresight, the gains of the industrial development may be eclipsed by the loss due to these problems. Amongst the many problems that arise with the growth of an industry, the chief and the foremost is that of the state of health of the workers; for the efficiency of the worker and consequently that of the industry depends upon the working capacity of the worker which in turn runs parallel to their physical and psychological health. The industrial workers also form an important section of the society and hence they have a profound influence on the health of the general public also.

To the common man and even to the Government that was, industrial prosperity meant swollen profits, larger dividends and greater revenue by taxation, etc. That the prosperity of an industry must also take into account the effect it produces on those connected with it, and on the nation as a whole, has received scant attention so far. However, it is gratifying to note that interest is being now aroused in the various problems connected with different industries.

The growth of machine has caused migration of rural population to urban areas and their concentration in these places, with the result that urban industrial areas have become ideal centres of insanitation and diseases. This is further aggravated by several other factors like bad working conditions, etc. The net result has been a very low level of the state of health in industrial centres. Thanks to the growing consciousness of the workers and the efforts of some of the sincere and benevolent Trade Unions, together with the establishment of a National Government whose aim is to convert the country into a Welfare State, that definite signs of improvement in the condition of the working class are visible. With the determination of the Government, one can almost be sure of seeing an era of true industrial prosperity affecting all its aspects, economical, social, cultural, etc., in the not very remote future. But towards this end, efforts should be made by people to see that the workers get the correct leadership and education and that the Government gets the maximum co-operation from all the sections of

the society. The Government is obviously facing a critical time. The various political elements are taking advantage of the keen sense of frustration amongst the working classes. Industrial workers are today made pawns in the game of power-politics. It is the duty, therefore, of the intellectual class in the Society to help the industry by offering all its co-operation by suggesting ways and means to eradicate the very cause of this dissatisfaction amongst the workers and give them a practical demonstration of the fact that they are considered as of key importance to the Society and will get their due. In this dissertation an attempt is made in this direction by outlining a programme to attain a better standard of health in the Textile Industrial Centres.

A cursory study of the textile mills tells us immediately that the state of affairs so far as the protection and promotion of health of the workers is concerned, is far from satisfactory in most of the mills. Barring a few ones, the medical department of all the mills just consists of an emergency unit. The incidence of illness amongst the workers is quite great and amongst the contributory causes one cannot omit bad working conditions, lack of proper facilities for prevention and treatment of diseases, low standard of nutrition and bad living conditions.

The incidence of diseases amongst the working class in the textile mills in Bombay can be put down to about 40 per thousand per day. The following table gives a general idea of the health conditions of textile mill employing a fairly large number of workers :

Average number of patients per day per thousand employed	40
Total number of patients in a year per thousand employed	12000
Average incidence of various diseases per thousand employed during a whole year :	
Asthma	100
Pulmonary Tuberculosis	20
Influenza and other common respiratory infections	1800
Malaria	275
'Fevers'	30
Diarrhoea and dysentery	350
Digestive disorders : Dental	200
Others	700
Anæmia	300
Vitamin deficiencies	300
Ear, Nose and Throat affections	1000
Skin Diseases	150
Veneral Diseases	50
Rheumatism	300
Diabetes	10
Injuries	20

An analysis of the above gives us an idea as to how vital it is for us to realise that a shortsighted policy of many of our millowners is affecting us adversely to a great extent. In considering the health problem of industrial workers we must not lose sight of the fact that they form a nucleus from which disease will spread even to the surrounding areas and adversely affect the health of a large section of the community. The social and economic implications of this spread can be easily understood. It, therefore, becomes extremely important for us to take active steps to minimise the incidence of these illnesses.

The factors that are responsible for the high incidence of ill-health amongst the workers are :

- (1) Low standard of living.
- (2) Employment of workers without a pre-employment check-up regarding health.
- (3) Failure to adopt proper means of prevention of diseases peculiar to the working conditions in the various departments of the mills.
- (4) Failure of early detection of a disease due to inadequacy of facilities.
- (5) Low nutritional status.
- (6) Unsuitable working hours.
- (7) Bad housing conditions.
- (8) Lack of education.
- (9) Psychological mal-adjustments due to physical strain, difficulties of domestic and family life, low wages, etc.
- (10) Overcrowding, promiscuity, lack of education, giving rise to a large incidence of contagious, infectious and venereal diseases.
- (11) Occupational diseases. This is last because the incidence of these has been low compared to other illnesses for two reasons: overwhelming incidence of non-occupational illness and prevention by factory acts and regulations.
- (12) Accidents.

From the above it will be seen how great is the problem and how manifold it is. Its proper solution, would, therefore, need a well-organised plan and support both of the Government and of the people. To draw out such a plan, it would be necessary to entrust the work to a group of trained persons. The best would be to form an Industrial Health Council for the whole of the country with subcommittees to look after each industry. The Council should consist of experts from the various states, and act as an Advisory Body to the Government. The Council in its turn would first appoint a subcommittee for different industries. Each subcommittee should first take up a statistical survey of the health conditions of the employees of a particular industry and draw out a plan to improve the same. The subcommittee for the textile industry would work on some such lines as indicated below :

1. Make a statistically correct survey of the textile centres regarding the conditions of nutrition, housing conditions, etc., and state of health of the employees.
2. Recommend to the Government steps to be taken in

regard to the above. These recommendations would be in the form of :

- (i) Definite rules regarding the working hours. It appears that the figure at present allowed by the Government is too high. ○
- (ii) Making it compulsory for the employers to arrange for suitable living conditions by (a) either supplying residential quarters in the vicinity of the employment or by arranging for these in open spaces with facilities for transport, (b) ensuring sufficient space for the families to stay. The separation of a worker from his family on account of economic or other difficulties entails a great psychological maladjustment. The spread of venereal diseases also would be less if a happy family life was assured, (c) Sufficient scope for recreation, outdoor exercise, etc., (d) popular methods of education in prevention of illness, personal hygiene, family restriction, venereal diseases, etc.
- (iii) Pre-employment examination with thorough investigations by auxiliary aids like radiology, pathology, etc., examinations. Laying down a definite standard for declaring a prospective employee physically fit to enter service.
- (iv) Repeated periodic examination of all the employees. This should include a routine radiological examination of lungs and vital capacity test in all cases.
- (v) Thorough investigation of the workers that present with complaints, suspicious of infectious conditions, particularly pulmonary tuberculosis.

Early diagnosis of a disease half wins the battle against it, and this is no less so in pulmonary tuberculosis than in other conditions. This needs the services of trained and experienced personnel and since each textile mill cannot keep a complete equipment for all the modern investigations, it should be recommended that the Mill-owners Association or some such group should have a centre for the use of the workers of all the textile mills. In fact the best plan would be to have a central hospital service with mobile units attachment for the workers of a number of mills. In big centres, it would be really very convenient if different groups like the various industries, Banks, and semi-Government institutions, had their own hospitals aided, if necessary, by the Municipality and by the Government. The plan would be much economical and, if properly organised, efficient. The hospital should have sufficient accommodation for indoor patients, with isolation wards and an out-patient clinic as well as maternity and child-welfare centres attached to it, together with a complete modern equipment for diagnosis and therapy, manned by wholetime staff trained if necessary, in Industrial Medicine. This would make the service efficient, give the best facilities to the workers to maintain and repair his health as also would minimise the loss of working hours by needless prolongation of disabilities etc. It would also help to keep a check over the Workers' Act, etc.



The plan envisaged above is not a substitute but a supplement to the contemplated Labour Health Insurance Scheme\* of the Government. It would be a step in the right direction if the scheme is put in force forthwith in all the States. An example, although modest, of a central hospital for textile workers is available in the Hospital for the Calico group of mills in Ahmedabad. This hospital keeps a panel of eminent consultants and specialists of the city who are available to the workers when the Chief Medical Officer needs their help. One feels reasonably certain that unless there is a good central institution, a scientific study of the problem would be difficult if not impossible. In short, the health problem should be investigated on a wide basis and benefit given to the workers of the best form of advice for their state of health through organisation on a group basis. Thus a central institute would be both a research and a therapeutic centre with amenities for all forms of treatment, medical, surgical, physical and psychological. The institute would also give out valuable indications of the prevalent illnesses and this would be a basis for the recommendations for the prevention of the same.

3. Suggest ways and means to improve the nutritional status of the workers.

Even a general survey shows that the nutritional status of the mass of our population is below standard; that of the workers indeed is much lower. But before we can tackle this problem efficiently, we should be in possession of adequate data regarding the nutritional status of the textile workers. This needs first a correct dietetic and nutritional survey of the textile workers, on the basis of which we can find out the chief deficiencies, both of quality and quantity, and devise ways and means of eliminating them.

The textile mill worker comes nearer the category of a manual worker and naturally his dietetic requirement is different from that of an ordinary sedentary worker. The fact has been partly borne in mind by the foodgrain rationing authorities, but that is not enough. I think, if the Mill-Owners' Association of Bombay or Ahmedabad, arranged with the Departments of Physiology of the Medical Colleges of the two cities to get a dietetic and nutritional survey made and in the light of that draw an optimal diet for the workers, much can be said to have been done in this direction. The only thing that would remain to be done then is to organise mill-kitchens where workers are served free of charge their meals that are adequate physiologically, and to make such diet popular also in their homes. Incidentally much of the inflation would be combated if workers were given facilities in kind in the form

of food, housing, care of their children, clothing and means of recreation rather than be paid rising cash wages. Co-operation should be forthcoming in this direction from the workers' organisations, who look for the welfare of the workers as well as that of the nation. It would be out of place to go into the details of the nutritional survey, optimal diets, etc., since work on these lines has been already done and has to be extended to the Textile Industry. One point however, I cannot but emphasise and that is about rationalised distribution of milk. Centres, such as the Textile Industrial ones, should make it a rule to see that each worker gets at least half a pint of good milk daily. Towards this end, the Government must act by Nationalisation of the Dairy in the whole country. Today milk has become a luxury of the few. This state of affairs is not in keeping with our professed aim of a Welfare State. The basic need for maintaining sound health in the face of any factors that are likely to impoverish the same is to ensure an optimal diet containing all the constituents in requisite proportions both quantitatively and qualitatively. This point is so important that it bears repetition and needs constant emphasis. No amount of elaborate programme for the promotion of the health of the workers would be of any purpose unless it was based on the sound foundation of a balanced diet. This must be done at the Government level. Many of the diseases that occur in workers will disappear if their diet is made up properly.

4. Recommend proper working hours.

The working hours of the employees of the textile mills are not conducive to a state of good health. The defect is threefold:

- (a) Number of hours is more than it should be;
- (b) The third shift system is definitely not desirable;
- (c) The arrangement of working hours needs an alteration.

The number of hours should be reduced to six hours a day net. The arrangement should be so made as to take into consideration the climate of the country. One can imagine the plight of a worker working in a textile mill in Ahmedabad or Pulgaon in the month of May in the hours of the noon and afternoon. The working hours in the summer months, at least, should be so arranged as to cut out the 12 to 4 P.M. completely. It is highly immoral and incorrect to expect textile mill workers to work in such extreme heat simply to swell production of the goods. After all due consideration must be given to the fact that such a use of human body is bound to affect it adversely although the deleterious effects may not be seen immediately. In fact the tendency of the capitalist has been to take greater care of the machine (lest it may suddenly fail and not being replaceable easily, may entail a loss of a few thousands of rupees) than the men who

\* It is highly regrettable that the Government of India have put off indefinitely the introduction of the Health Insurance Scheme even on an experimental basis in Delhi and Kanpur.

handle it because they can be replaced forthwith. The State must step in to stop such evil influences on its subjects.

5. Outline a definite programme for the living conditions of the workers :

This is one of the factors that contribute greatly to the ill health both of the textile workers and of the surroundings. The housing condition of the worker, to say the least, is appalling. It has been so since the inception of the industry and has remained so still, nay, has worsened after war. It is not necessary at all to link up the extremely unsatisfactory housing condition of the industrial workers with the general housing shortage for it existed long before that. The past Government if it would have cared to, could have solved the problem very easily by a planned industrial housing programme incorporating the Millowners' Association in the attempt. The housing condition needs improvement in two ways ; first, ensuring adequate per capita space with necessary amenities like water, latrine, drainage, etc., and secondly the proximity of the residence to the place of employment as far as feasible. Whenever, residence cannot be in the vicinity of the place of work, the Employers' or Employees' Association must arrange for proper transport facilities. Much of the worry, fatigue and time of an already over-worked worker can be spared by this arrangement. The housing arrangement should provide for facilities for recreation and education also nearby, thus ensuring all the circumstances conducive to well-being at home after arduous work in the mills. It is therefore desirable that the industrial population should be colonised with as far as possible ideal conditions of living, recreation, educational facilities and free and full scope for a good healthy family and cultural life.

6. Recommend a plan for educational facilities:

Apart from the need to teach the three R's to all, true education, in the form of understanding of the laws of nature, general and personal hygiene, planning of family budgets, upbringing of children, value of economy in life, and finally an understanding of their own importance in the national life of the country is imperative. A textile worker should be able to promote his health and that of the family by the knowledge of the value of subscribing voluntarily to the discipline of the factory and home life and by understanding the value of respecting the laws of preventive and curative medicine. This can be done by lectures and popular films showing the ways to a healthy happy life. The families should be visited by trained health-visitors, whose function should be to explain the reasons of the generally low state of their health and the means to improve the same. Towards this end, one should see that the medical personnel is such that inspires

confidence in the workers and thus makes them responsive to the advice.

7. Recommend steps to look after the psychological aspect of the workers' health :

This is of no less importance in view of the fact that a large number of factors present in the daily environment of the worker make fertile field for emotional upsets and psychological mal-adjustments leading often to a very unhealthy and unhappy state both of the mind and of the body. Lack of a good family life is a potent factor and all facilities must be provided for the workers who have migrated from rural areas to establish their homes and have with them the attachment of the family. Behaviour of the superior staff also is a factor that counts. The industrial worker who is already hard-worked and poorly provided being under constant physical and financial strain, soon succumbs to the strain of small injustice which make his life miserable. The worker, once again, for emphasis it may be pointed out, must be respected more than the machine that he handles for while the former has a mind and susceptibility the latter has not. In spite, however, of all reasonable precautions, the incidence of psychoneurotic and psychosomatic ailments cannot be stamped out completely. Hence, together with the other services, the services of a good psychiatrist may be requisitioned as and when required. The problem of children's mental health should engage particular attention.

8. Recommend suitable steps for the prevention of contagious, infectious and venereal diseases.

This in general should be tackled on the routine lines. But certain features peculiar to the industrial worker may be mentioned. The first and the foremost point is the ignorance of these people regarding the protective value of the prevention of diseases. Any regimen suggested to them is rarely taken in the correct light. Prevalent superstition and counter propaganda by certain elements seem to be responsible for this. Hence it is imperative that attempts should be made to see that the workers are convinced about the role of these in the prevention of diseases.

The general preventive measures should precede the specific means for the latter are of restricted value in the absence of the former. Hence, properly ventilated spacious living accommodation, good water supply and other general hygienic measures should be enforced. The specific measures in the form of immunisation against preventable diseases by regular inoculation should be introduced as a routine. Isolation arrangements for infectious diseases of short duration should be available in the central hospital only.



Prevention of venereal disease is a medico-social problem of great importance. The incidence of this seems to be low in the reports of the Medical Departments of mills and factories but unless every worker whether he complains or does not about this disease, is examined, reliable data cannot be said to have been available. In preventing the venereal disease apart from the routine preventive methods, an adequate chance to live in a family should be accorded to the workers. A number of workers live away from their families who are often in their native places. If this can be remedied, there would be a reasonable decline in the incidence of venereal diseases. A venereal disease prophylactic treatment centre and a birth-control advisory centre should be incorporated in the central hospital in every industrial centre.

9. Suggest ways and means to combat the incidence of occupational disease :

The incidence of this is relatively low, thanks to the growing consciousness of the preventive aspects. The only desirable thing that needs adaptation is research in Industrial Medicine. Occupational diseases like renal damage in dye industry etc., are rarely recognised here.

10. Recommend enforcement of known preventive methods of accidents, etc. :

The incidence of industrial accidents and injuries still remains fairly high. Sufficient strictness is not being enforced for their prevention. The only way by which the loss of working hours and the disability and suffering of injured workers can be minimised is by enforcing rigidly all the known preventive methods and thorough treatment of those injured.

The question of female and child labour is also a problem that needs consideration. After all the tender aged children and the women are not physically fit to endure the hardships of the industrial employment. One wonders whether it is necessary at all in our country to engage these persons in manual work. However, if they are employed greater attention has to be paid to their health and they should be given many more facilities than what they get today.

Finally it would not be out of place to put down here a rough outline of a Central Industrial Health Institute catering for 5 mills employing on an average 3000 workers each. Such an institute would be on some such lines as indicated in the Scheme below :

SCHEME OF A CENTRAL HEALTH INSTITUTE FOR -  
GROUP OF 5 TEXTILE MILLS

(Employing about 3000 workers in each)

Capital Expenses :		Rs.
Building .. .. .	200,000	
Equipment :		
Indoor (100 beds) .. .. .	300,000	
Outdoor (daily attendance 500 patients) .. .. .	50,000	
Surgical, Obstetrical & Gynaecological equipment .. .. .	100,000	
Pathology Laboratory .. .. .	25,000	
Radiology & Radiotherapy .. .. .	50,000	
Mobile Units .. .. .	100,000	
Other Equipment .. .. .	50,000	
Research Centre .. .. .	75,000	
..Total Rs.		950,000

Recurrent Expenses: (Annual)		
Medical Personnel full time.		
2 Physicians .. .. .	25,000	
2 Surgeons .. .. .	25,000	
1 Obstetrician & Gynaecologist .. .. .	12,000	
1 Pathologist .. .. .	12,000	
1 Radiologist .. .. .	10,000	
1 Ophthalmologist .. .. .	10,000	
6 Assistants .. .. .	20,000	
5 Assistants for Mobile Units .. .. .	10,000	
Nurses .. .. .	15,000	
Other staff .. .. .	6,000	
Drugs .. .. .	15,000	
Diet, clothing, etc. .. .. .	1,09,500	

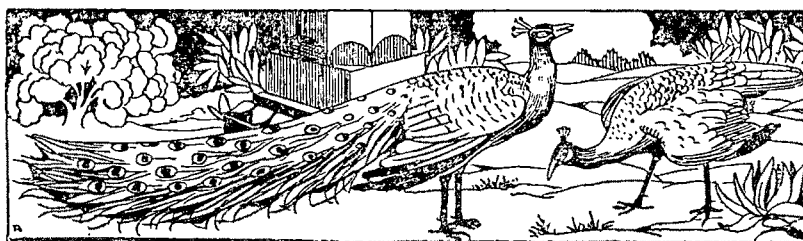
Total Rs. 2,69,500

If the mills contribute 75 per cent of the above expenses and the State Government or Municipality 25 per cent the share of the mills would work out as under:

Rs.	
Capital Expenses .. .. .	7,12,500
Recurrent Expenses .. .. .	2,02,125

That is each mill will have to bear a capital expense of Rs. 1,42,500/- and recurrent annual expense of Rs. 40,425/-. This would work out at an initial expense of Rs. 47/8 and a recurrent monthly expense of rupee one and annas two only per worker.

In conclusion, one feels that it would not be very difficult for the State Government as well as for the Millowners to organise a programme for ensuring a state of good health for the various textile centres in the country.



## LONDON LETTER

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

'In the conditions of Party politics,' says a commentator this week, 'there is a gap between Reality and Policy.' And he adds, referring, of course, to the present British Government, 'it is to be doubted whether it was ever wider than it is today.' This is a startling observation. World affairs are in a most anxious condition. It is a toss-up whether the Free World can maintain its position *vis-a-vis* Russian Communism. It can never have been truer than it is today that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance. And yet our Government, we are asked to believe, is more concerned with party politics than with realities.

This is too hasty and too harsh a judgment but it voices a very general opinion here. Parliament resumed last week and at first everyone felt relieved to think it was back. In the confused and exceedingly sensitive situation existing at Lake Success, where America took one view of Chinese aggression and Asia another, we all hoped that England would play a useful part. Most of us felt that America was right in principle, in seeking to have China named as an aggressor, but wrong in her timing if she pressed for sanctions, since the Asiatic bloc were hopeful of finding peace by negotiation. What light, then, was the Prime Minister going to shed on the situation?

Unfortunately the Prime Minister's speech had a disastrous effect in America. And at the time of writing Sir Gladwyn Jebb is engaged in picking up the bits. The speech was ambiguous where Americans would expect it to be most clear—on this very issue of naming China an aggressor. Who, one cannot help wondering, was responsible for the drafting at this point? Or was it merely an unlucky slip on the part of an over-burdened man? For it just neatly evaded describing China outright as an aggressor. 'The Government,' he said, 'would agree in condemning Chinese intervention in support of an aggressor.' And so exasperated was American opinion by this speech, that the United States Senate at once and unanimously passed resolutions calling on the United Nations to declare Communist China an aggressor and to bar the Peking Government from membership!

It is tempting to digress on this question of the uses and abuses of ambiguous or 'diplomatic' language. My own opinion is that it is never worth while. It is far more important to safeguard the truth than to safeguard one's own position. In the present instance, was it an unintentional ambiguity—or, as many would have us believe, a concession to some section of opinion within the Labour Party?

India is so much closer to the problem presented by a Communist China, is playing such an unwearying part in trying to find a peaceful solution of the Korean question, that I will say little more from this side. Only, since India seems the only other Power

aside from Russia to have any influence on China, may I express one hope. And this is that India will try to save the Chinese from becoming so completely shut in on themselves as are the Russians.

Communism is a world tragedy because it saves the body at the price of the soul. Everything in a Communist state is done for the people, provided they live and think only as Communists. It is the only great movement in history that has repudiated the eternal verities. Until the advent of Communism all civilisations and all classes, primitive or advanced, rich or poor, recognized the authority of absolute values. Everyone knew it was right to tell the truth and to speak the truth, to beware of prejudice and to learn from history and from one's neighbours. No one had or pretended to have the only allowable view of what constitutes the good life. Indeed, Leonardo's famous standard—*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*—was the only test any reasonable being would ever think of applying. But Communism repudiates everything but itself. Everything outside itself is considered hostile. Lest its people should discover the untruth of this, its people must not be allowed to travel abroad.

In an article in the week's *Time and Tide* India is described as the democratic anchor of Asia. A heavy destiny indeed. She must often feel, as she sees the Communist tide advancing, 'The times are out of joint, O cursed spite that ever I was born to set it right!' One great achievement on her part, however, is that she has not made a fatal beginning to her relations with her Communist neighbour. They have not begun in war as did our relations with Communist Russia. It will not be so easy for Communist propaganda in China to represent democratic India as reactionary and imperialist.

If in their dealings with India the Chinese Communists can remove fear from their minds, it will be a tremendous boon to the world and not the least to the Chinese themselves. It may leave a door open to our common humanity. And it seems as if only India can keep that door open. A most disturbing broadcast was given in this country the other day on the subject of Communism and the Chinese tradition. Many people here, who have lived and loved in China, find it hard to believe that the Chinese could ever completely surrender their minds to propaganda. But the Communists have discovered—and surely it is the most mischievous discovery of the age—that if something is said over and over again, no matter how palpably false, in time the mind will unquestioningly accept it. Thus over and over again they tell the Chinese that in the last war it was the Russian armies who defeated Japan! And now the Chinese believe that fiction. This same speaker threw a little indirect light



on the matter of why Communists are not encouraged to travel abroad. 'A Chinese,' he said, 'had just returned from America and when he read the papers, he said: "What's suddenly happened in America? When I left there a month ago, everything was all right, and now it seems to be in a state of collapse." Communism is indeed an astonishing system. It challenges the greatest promise that was ever made to mankind: 'Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free.'

But to return to this country. The Government, on the reopening of Parliament, met with a hail of criticism. Even the *Daily Mirror*, its supporter, and the *News Chronicle* which tries to keep an open mind, have joined the mentors. The latter feels that the country has not been informed of the Government's intentions on a number of important and urgent issues and addresses pungent questions to each responsible Minister in turn. It begins with the Foreign Secretary and remarks that 'there is nothing very wrong with British foreign policy today—except that hardly anybody outside the Foreign Office understands it.' The truth is, of course, that Mr. Bevin ought to resign. For some time now he has been a sick man. He has been in harness now for nearly eleven years, ever since he was Minister of Labour during the war, and the strain has been too much for him. It is essential, at the present time, that England should have a Foreign Secretary who can take an active part in shaping and elucidating the country's foreign policy. And, as this same critic concludes, echoing General Eisenhower, 'the really critical period in world affairs will not be in 1953 or 1954 but *Now*, this year of destiny—1951.'

But if Mr. Bevin resigns, who is there on the Government benches to take his place? Mr. Attlee has just re-arranged his Cabinet with the result, alas, of revealing the lack of talent he has to call on. New figures have not been found for two very important posts—at the Air Ministry and the War Office—although there is much criticism of the present holders of these offices. Indeed since Sir Stafford Cripps resigned because of illness—and Mr. Bevin has been on and off the scene for the same reason—it has become obvious that there is only one other Minister with great force of character and that is Mr. Bevan, till lately Minister of Health and now Minister of Labour. He has his critics, especially amongst the Tories whom he does not try to placate, but his is the one new appointment that may achieve something. If rearmament is to begin in earnest, some direction of labour there must be. As Minister of Health Mr. Bevan changed the whole nature of the health services at breakneck speed. His sympathy with his own class cannot be doubted by *them*. But even he will have a difficult task in making the dreary policy of direction of labour acceptable. Even his opponents must agree

that he has taken on an ungrateful and distasteful job.

Some of his critics, however, believe that one good reason for his translation to the Ministry of Labour was to take him away from a spending department. And if rearmament is ever to be paid for, it is clear that there must be heavy cuts in Government expenditure. (Although so far no lead has come from the Government on this point). We are too near to the beginning of all-in National Insurance to be able yet to form a just idea of what it should be and what in fact it has turned out to be. But there is little doubt that its benefits have been abused and that the country has been let in for a far greater expense than it was led to expect or indeed can afford. Worse still, it has engendered in many quarters the idea that there is such a thing as a bottomless public purse. *Punch*, recently, published a cartoon which illustrates a mood that has been pretty prevalent. It depicts an optician calling out to a workman who is fitting a sign over the door, to enquire whether he would like to come in and have his eyes tested (with of course two pairs of spectacles to follow, 'free' to the user but not supplied free by the optician!)

This idea that the State can always pay is a very dangerous fallacy. The leading Banks have just been issuing their Annual Reports. These Reports are not the stuffy things they appear to be. Often, tucked away in a paragraph, a point is made which a Chancellor of the Exchequer might with profit expand into a thesis. The Chairman of the Westminster Bank, for instance, explodes two fallacies. One is this idea of the State purse. The other is the cost of living index. 'Ve used to be told,' he says, 'that the State purse was not inexhaustible; that is an understatement; the State purse *does not exist*.' (Italics mine). A more colloquial way of putting it would be—There is always the bill in the morning!

With regard to the cost of living index, he makes a particularly striking point. Hitherto this index has largely regulated wages; in many trades, wages go up and down with the index. But, says the Chairman, 'There must be a wider understanding, that it is American charity that has enabled us for some years to live, as a nation, beyond our means. The national standard of living in future must be set by reference to the production index, rather than to the cost of living index. It will, in fact, be so set, whether we wish it or not.'

Another report, from the Midland Bank, is more concerned with the present inflation. It too emphasises that a lead must come from the Government in cutting expenditure. In fact, they go so far as to suggest that the coming rearmament can be fitted into the compass of the present volume of Government spending . . . Wish-fulfilment this, surely, on the part of Bank!

Some way or other, none the less, a halt will have

to be made in the pace of Government expenditure. For the wretched tax-payer has at last been reduced to the state when it is no longer profitable to squeeze him. Indeed many men of former substance are themselves driven on to accelerate the process by living on their capital. Even within my own experience, I have been struck by the number of people who are doing so. In fact, it is not too much to say that when one hears, for instance, of someone who is maintaining three children at a boarding school, he is drawing on his capital to do so. No wonder the face of England is changing. But the strangest thing of all is that there is so little sympathy for these classes who are suffering really revolutionary changes in their circumstances. Only the other night, on the radio, a speaker advocated a capital levy on all capital above the amount of £10,000. He admitted that such a levy would have no effect at all on the financing of rearmament. He merely advocated it 'as a measure of social justice.' Social justice! We used to hear that there was one law for the rich and another for the poor. But now the new poor are to be deprived of justice.

When presentday circumstances press too closely on the spirit, it is a relief to turn to the world of art. However the world may wag, time has a way of sifting the false into the background. In our libraries and in our galleries only the best continue to speak with authority. Recently I have read a book which is profoundly impressive. It was written by a cousin of the late Stanley Baldwin, Monica Baldwin, and it is called *I Leap Over the Wall* (which is the motto of the Baldwins dating back to the time when a Baldwin escaped from the Tower). She wrote it at Stanley Baldwin's suggestion. It describes her experiences—her impressions—on coming out of a convent after being closely immured in a contemplative order for nearly thirty years. She entered the convent at the beginning of the 1914 war and came back into the world during the last war. As she says, she did not find that the world had changed, she found a completely different world. She is a woman of very great courage and her experiences in many arduous and unpleasant war-time jobs move one to pity as well as admiration. Think of it, to set out in middle age, with no possessions except those just acquired and contained in two meagre suit-cases, and no experience at all of the kind of conditions and people with whom one must work! Of course, she was exploited and stuck it out, even putting up with verminous bedding in a badly run camp and taking a room in Pimlico, where no person stays if it can possibly be avoided. But the story is enthralling not for these experiences which she recounts in such vivid fashion: it is for the constant flash-backs which she gives to life in the convent, as some happening recalls her to the past. It is not too much to say that one can never look at things quite in the same way after reading her book. Very little is known by the average

person of the kind of life which a nun leads in such an order. Her order existed to pray and to call down spiritual grace for the 'comfort of humanity.' It is staggering—and most deeply moving—to learn of the constant hardship of such a life, of the many austerities and mortifications which a nun deliberately seeks in her unending attempt to make herself a channel for the Divine Spirit. And all this not for her own salvation, but for the salvation of the rest of us! It is the kind of book to come back to again and again.

Indeed, in these lean and discouraging days—with the meat ration down to 8d a head a week (with meat at 2/8d per pound weight) and the former great stand-by, Tea, never holding out until the next ration period begins—it is to the life of the mind that one must constantly resort for necessary refreshment. And mercifully that side of life shows no signs of attrition. Detective novels are a very common form of relaxation and I have often wondered why this should be. An ingenious explanation has just been put forward by a woman novelist. Formerly we are told, and before the psychologists made havoc of issues of right and wrong, we read novels because we enjoyed 'virtuous entertainment.' We dissociated ourselves from the cads and hissed the discomfiture of the villain with great gratification. But now that the springs of human conduct are revealed, we no longer sit in judgment—we no longer know for certain when we are on the side of the angels. In detective novels however all we have to feel is that we are on the side of the police! So with a sigh of relief we turn to a more simple world. (I doubt whether this theory goes far enough. Surely, our siding with the police is a revolt against the psychologists? And about time too . . .)

Westminster, London, January, 1951.

## II

In France Governments think nothing of resigning but in England, they hang on to the bitter end. We live in an age in which world government is gradually emerging and in matters of defence at any rate we are all going to live under a mixed command. What a pity we cannot extend the idea to the home front too! The Government and the Opposition get so sick of themselves and of each other and they communicate their *taedium vitae* to the country. But if we could borrow an idea from Opera—and invite guest-Ministers as Covent Garden invites guest-Conductors—what new life we might breathe into each other's bodies politic.

Having said so much, the question arises: Could any visiting Star reanimate the present Government? For the truth is that they have got quite out of touch with feeling in the country. To read the papers during the past week or two has been to receive nothing but a series of shocks. Steel, coal, groundnuts, eggs; railways, inflation, Atlantic defence—in each and all of these if the Government has not let the country down,



its handling of the business has been so inept as to give the impression that it *has*.

Inflation has for some time been a shadow on the horizon. Now it is taking giant strides. At Oxford a lecturer in economic statistics anticipates that by the end of this year the cost of living will have risen by at least fifteen per cent compared with the previous year. In particular, wool and leather are threatened. Already wool costs twelve and a half times its pre-war price. And a fifty per cent increase is forecast in the price of shoes.

Prices of course were bound to rise as a result of devaluation and rearmament. But there need not have been this headlong inflation. The reason for this is that the Trade Unions have thrown overboard their policy of wage restraint. For one reason or another they no longer feel it is a part of their loyalty to a Labour Government. (Unkind critics observe that the Unions see that the Government's number is up. So it suits them better to secure the loyalty of the workers to *themselves*.)

If the Conservatives are returned at the next Election, they will have a very difficult and complicated task. They have promised to revoke the nationalisation of steel. But coal and the railways will remain. And the Government's handling of a wage crisis in the coalfields two months ago and on the railways last week leave an uneasy precedent. If great industrial projects are to be nationalised, two things are essential. First, it is of the utmost importance that the nationalised industry should be kept out of politics. (We do not want to see Governments angling for the railwaymen's vote or the miners' vote). Second, a nationalised industry must get along under its own steam and not assume that the Government can always come to its rescue.

Both these principles have been flouted at the outset and the Government has over-ruled both the National Coal Board and the Railway Executive. The National Coal Board negotiated, as the *Economist* points out, on the principle that the industry's ability to pay higher wages was limited by the existing prices. Whereupon the Government decided that coal prices should go up. In the case of the Railway Board a Court of Enquiry, after sitting for just over a month, recommended a 5 per cent increase in wages. But the Unions demanded 7½ per cent—half as much again—and they got it, after the intervention of the Minister of Labour. Of course nothing could more certainly bring industry to a standstill than strikes in the mines and on the railways. And, with our rearmament programme just beginning, they are unthinkable. But it is always a boomerang to depart from principle. What sort of a boomerang this is—leaving aside for the moment the inflationary aspects—is well set out in the aforementioned *Economist*.

"No union in a nationalised industry," it says, "will ever again accept as final either the 'No' of a public corporation as employer or the recommenda-

tions of an arbitration tribunal or industrial court. The union will always appeal over their heads to the Government. Harassed and overworked ministers have now brought upon themselves, on top of everything else, direct responsibility for the level of wages and for industrial peace in the nationalised industries. . . . It is not even a matter of real power passing from the corporations to the responsible departmental ministers—for Fuel and Power, Transport, and so on. With wage questions occupying the crucial place that is inevitable in inflationary times, the Minister of Labour, of all people, may well become in practice a sort of grand co-ordinator for the affairs of the nationalised industries . . ."

The present Minister of Labour, Mr. Bevan, may feel that is all right by him. But pity a poor Conservative Labour Minister—and pity the industry which may become the sport of politicians.

Time will reveal the place of nationalised industries in our general economy. For the moment, the Unions have it all their own way. Do some of them feel it is about time? Perhaps it is worth while to try to understand their point of view, however mistaken we find their present policy. For some years they loyally supported the wage freeze. During all that time the Communists fomented unofficial strikes—as they are still doing, notably in the docks—strikes which the Government allowed to go on and on. These unofficial strikes, more than anything else, have damaged the Government. Everyone is heartily sick of them and, it must be said, of the Government that did not take effective action to put them down. Now, when they see the Labour Government on its way out, is it so very surprising that the Unions should be trying to steal the thunder?

Anyhow, to mix a few metaphors, the Unions have not only stolen the thunder, they have got the oil between their teeth! They are pressing for the abolition of 'Order 1305,' an order which prohibits strikes and lockouts unless twenty-one days' notice has been given to the Minister of Labour. And they have issued some advice to the Chancellor who is now considering his Budget. This advice, amusingly but not unfairly, has been described as 'a recipe for other people's patriotism.'

The Trades Union Congress want to increase Income Tax. But not for the workers, who are to receive special concessions to encourage them to greater effort. In the same key, food subsidies are to be increased and purchase tax on household goods reduced. On the other hand, taxes on luxuries are to go up, although they are taxed already to the point of diminishing return. Profits likewise, distributed and undistributed, are to be mulcted. The proposal to tax undistributed profits is the most equivocal. To do so is quite literally to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. And it prompts the thought—does not industry need encouraging as well as the workers? How is it to keep up with its competitors, to launch out and exploit new fields, if the Government is to have a call on its reserves? Still, one notable ingredient is left out of this recipe—the capital levy.

Just as I had written the last paragraph, the Marquess of Salisbury, Leader of the Conservative Party in the House of Lords, came on the radio, giving a party political broadcast. All party broadcasts cry aloud for discussion afterwards, but one thing which he did say is extremely relevant to this question of taxing undistributed profits. Speaking of private enterprise he said that between thirteen and fourteen times as much is paid out to the workers as is paid out in profits. If the Chancellor is thinking of penalising private industry, let him put that in his pipe and smoke it!

Lord Salisbury spoke of the collapse of the ground-nut scheme but he did not mention eggs in The Gambia. The failure of both these schemes has done great harm to the Government. £36,000,000 was lost in the one case and about £900,000 in the other and it is easy to make political capital out of these facts. Indeed they are discussed solely from the point of view of the taxpayer in this country, although the dislocation and disfigurement which they caused in Africa must have been considerable. (The hens did not like The Gambia. Let us hope The Gambians did not like the hens. And they can find a better use for the land cleared of scrub, now that the hideous bulldozers have gone. The land, it is now clear, is entirely unsuited for growing the necessary foodstuffs for hens.) But the really damaging feature of the business is the over-optimistic Report issued last summer by the Colonial Development Corporation. I have heard it compared with a fraudulent prospectus. The Report said:

"The undertaking has progressively overcome all its difficulties so far; the health and fertility of the flocks is excellent and the output is expected to work up within 18 months to its maximum of 20,000,000 eggs and 1,000,000 pounds of dressed poultry per annum."

And even last October the Minister of State for Colonial Affairs estimated that the scheme would yield ten million eggs in 1951. Instead, not twenty nor ten million eggs will be forthcoming. In fact no more eggs are to come here at all. And, as one correspondent in the London *Times* points out, each egg, so far, has cost us about £42. (As a tailpiece, there was no egg allocation to non-priority customers at the shops this week. . . .)

But a tide of woes has come rushing on the Government this week. The failure of the egg scheme in The Gambia, into which bad luck entered as well as bad business, is as nothing compared with the mishandling of the matter of the appointment of an American Admiral to command the West's Atlantic Navy. This is already a *cause celebre* and it will go down to history as such. Indeed it is a safe bet that Ministers generally must be lying awake at night wondering just how they could have allowed themselves to drift into such a sea of troubles. For *drift* is the word. To read the course of the negotiations is to advance all the time in amazement. And as for the manner in which the news has burst on the country! Though the appointment was agreed to in principle by the Defence Minister as long

ago as last October—and approved by the Foreign Secretary in December—we only learn of it now by accident, through a report in the Danish press. Worse still, when the Prime Minister is tackled in the House of Commons, he attaches so little importance to the matter that he has not even taken the trouble to brief himself. And finally, when he returns a few days later with a specially prepared statement, he is so unable to stand up to the storm of criticism he encounters that he has to be rescued by one of his supporters—who torpedoed further discussion by using the parliamentary convention of giving notice that he would raise the matter on the adjournment! The whole story is astounding. For if there is one thing more surprising than that Britain, with more than a thousand years of naval history, should not furnish the Admiral to command in the Atlantic—it is that a British Government should see nothing odd in the business.

At the moment of writing the Government has postponed further debate on naval matters for about a fortnight. When the full debate does come on, doubtless the whole field of naval defence will be under review and a truer picture will be given of the part which Britain is to take in policing the seas. The Pacific no doubt will be America's care, but it is suggested, by a political correspondent in the *Observer*, that we may be strongly represented on both the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean commands.

"An area roughly stretching from Gibraltar to Singapore," he thinks, "may thus largely come under British control."

But whatever jobs we are asked to take on in distant seas, something more satisfactory will have to be concluded as regards this side of the Atlantic. This is not a matter of *amour propre*; it is a matter of experience. In time of war, our life depends on keeping the sea-routes safely. Nothing else, of course, accounts for the third great surprise of the present uproar—the way in which the Admirals, the top-ranking members of the 'Silent Service', have rushed into debate in Parliament and in the Press. I have not kept a tally but the number of Admirals, past and present, who have intervened, must be getting on for a dozen. The most impressive testimony, as might be expected, comes from Admiral of the Fleet, Lord Cunningham. He makes two truly startling points. The first is that he doesn't even know Admiral Fechteler to whom our safety is to be entrusted.

"I have no knowledge of Admiral Fechteler," he writes, "I am sure that he is an officer of great distinction and ability, but he cannot have the experience of anti-submarine warfare gained at first hand by numerous British admirals."

His second point is one of which much will be heard hereafter. He feels that

"A Supreme Naval Commander of the North Atlantic will be a fifth wheel to the coach and liable to be an embarrassment to naval authorities on both sides of the Atlantic concerned in the defeat of the submarine."



When the Admiral wrote this letter, which appeared in the *Times*, he had still to hear the statement made three days later in the House of Lords by the First Lord of the Admiralty. From that speech it is clear that to talk about fifth wheels is a huge understatement. There are to be wheels *within* wheels. We are to have Eastern and Western Atlantic Commanders, who will be responsible to the Supreme Commander, who will be responsible to the Standing Group, who will act under the North Atlantic Treaty Organization represented by the Ministers of Defence! . . . This is bureaucracy run mad. Not nearly so akin to Jack Tar as to the House that Jack Built.

The Prime Minister did not guess the feeling of the House in this matter—and it is said that Labour Members are relieved to find how few of their constituents have written to them in similar protest. From this they are hoping, according to a writer in the *Observer*, that this unruly passion for the sea may be entirely confined to the middle classes—a freakish bourgeois emotion that can be ignored. Well, time will tell. Meanwhile I cannot resist commenting on a remark which I heard the other day. Some working class women had been indignantly discussing this affront to our national pride. And the indignation meeting closed with this gorgeous and crowning irrelevance: "That settles it. They have given the Navy to *Russia*!"

Parliament, both Lords and Commons, has been very vociferous during the past week. Last Wednesday, the Lords devoted almost the whole of their time to discussing the vacuum created at the Foreign Office through the sickness of Mr. Bevin. From all sides, including Lord Samuel who spoke for the Liberals and even Lord Chorley, a Labour Peer, came the demand that Mr. Bevin should resign and so give us back a Foreign Secretary. Lord Chorley revealed that there are many in the Labour Party who would like to see Mr. Attlee at the Foreign Office and someone else—unspecified—at Downing Street. However this may end—and by an unlooked-for coincidence Mr. Bevin returned from convalescing on the very day following the debate—there will be no more absenteeism at the Foreign Office. We have only to look back to the anxious but energetic days of the Berlin Air Lift to realise how much we have since let go by default through not having a Foreign Secretary in the picture. In those days we gave a lead to everyone's morale. Now, inevitably, we have been dropping behind in the race.

Lord Chorley and others may wish to see Mr. Attlee at the Foreign Office but at the moment it looks as if Mr. Herbert Morrison were making a bid for the position. In a vigorous and most opportune speech—opportune because the deputies of the Four Great Powers are about to meet in Paris—he has concerned himself in a most unusual way entirely with external affairs. There was one passage in the speech which

everyone is quoting and which will find its way into the history books.

"It is ironic," he said, "that capitalist America's relations with Europe can be taken as a model of democratic relations between States, while the worst example of imperialism in recent years has been the Soviet Union's attempt to turn Yugoslavia into a colony, notwithstanding the fact that the Soviet Union claims to be a Communist State and that Yugoslavia is one."

Marshal Tito will be wondering just how much he can read into this statement. He is said to be very anxious as to the outcome of the talks between the four Powers. He thinks that if Russia agrees to a settlement in Germany, it will be in order to free her hands further East—to enable her to bring greater pressure to bear on Yugoslavia and Greece. As in Korea, Russia may seek to fight an imperialist war through her satellites. In this case the satellites are Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria. Accordingly Marshal Tito would like the disarmament of these three countries to be considered simultaneously with any proposed settlement in Germany. Will anything come out of these new discussions? They are beginning most inauspiciously with a threat on the part of Russia to withdraw from the United Nations. (Curious, how closely she follows the Nazi pattern). And, alas, about one thing there would seem to be no uncertainty. Hungary is definitely contemplating war. Along her frontier with Yugoslavia new military roads and a number of bridges have been constructed.

When we think of the plight of Eastern Europe, we cannot help speculating as to what will be the verdict of history on our conduct *vis-a-vis* Russia in the last war. We went into that war to rescue Poland from Nazi aggression. And, at the end of that war, we delivered Poland over to her more ancient aggressor. And not only Poland but practically all Eastern Europe passed under the Soviet shadow. Only Greece and Turkey escaped and Greece preserved her freedom at the price of ten years of continuous war. (And theirs is an uneasy immunity. Greece and Yugoslavia are drawing closer together and are about to exchange military attaches. Turkey is seeking a guarantee of American intervention should she become the victim of aggression). As Miss Barbara Ward, in her recent book *Policy for the West*, puts it:

" . . . few nations have taken so little time to annex so many territorial possessions or to extend their imperialist control over so many neighbours as have the Russians since the end of the second World War. In five short years they have added 179,954 square miles and 21,762,684 millions of inhabitants to their own empire and exerted their direct control over five sovereign European states. This estimate leaves out their total control of Eastern Germany and the still uncertain extent of their influence in China . . . On the fringe of the vast Soviet system the process of collecting satellites still continues. . ."

Is the satellite Hungary to play the part of another Korea?

Westminster, London, 5th March, 1951.

## DYNAMIC MYSTICISM (IN INDIA)

By DR. MAHENDRANATH SIRCAR

PROFESSOR BERGSON characterised Hindu mysticism as static, as it seeks escape from the dynamism of Life and Spirit. In a conversation with me when I went to see him in his house at Paris he asked me a question, "Do you worship void?" I replied, "No sir, we, Hindus, worship the basic bliss Ananda from which the Upanishadic seers conceive the world is emerging and is being sustained. It is the fundamental conception of Life of the great teachers of the Upanishad." Bergson was much satisfied. In fact, the concept bliss covers both the sides of Life, Dynamism and Transcendence. The Hindu Mysticism embraces both, though emphasis is laid sometimes upon the one or the other. The great Mystic teachers of the Upanishad find the path to mystical silence and illumination by the rhythmic dance of psychic being, which after acquainting life in its aesthetic beauty and divine brilliance finally discloses the depth of being in its transcendent sublimity and dignity.

The Tantras represent the dynamic mysticism of the Hindus. It begins with the conception of Sakti (Power or Energy), as creative, preservative, and redemptive, which awakens power in us and moves the psychic and spiritual being, bringing forward the brightness of spirit in us.

The Dynamic Mysticism unfolds the being of man and unsheathes the covers of the Soul manifesting the effulgence of Spirit. In fact, the spiritual discipline does not leave aside Life as an illusory process, it welcomes it as the concentration of Spirit, a spark, a flame that twinkles within the dazzling brilliance and dignified silence of Spirit. The Tantras therefore accept creative process as an expression of the divine delight, gradually concentrating itself into endless forms and beings. The creative process is followed by a redemptive urge, for the creatures have a force of expansion along with concentration. The mystical phase is associated with expansive force for the hidden urge of Life is to overcome the concentration and to enjoy the thrill of a greater life in its unlimited being and overflowing vastness.

Mysticism in any form has its origin in the inherent force in us to feel and enjoy the sleeping eternity in finite beings, which for the time being has been concealed and suppressed but which has the perpetual tendency to come to the front and regain its true self. To the mystic life in any form is an umbrage and a burden for indeed it is the greatest curse to be enclosed in a finite body forgetting its pristine glory. Mysticism is therefore a natural effort of our being to regain the Paradise Lost temporarily.

Mysticism is natural, it comes out when from the depth of being the demand for infinite life becomes persistent. This demand is in us, it finds natural support and stay there. The infinite is not far off and naturally our being has a craving for it as its pivot. This is the cheap attraction and secret of mystical life. This craving unlocks our contracted being and leads forward towards the Infinite. In Dynamic Mysticism this craving is always in the front. For the natural urging for expansive being is in our heart of heart and it discloses itself in an opportune moment in a rhythmical setting and environment. The aspiration for the infinite expanse of being spontaneously comes out and moves the being to spiritual actualisation.

In Dynamic Mysticism aspiration after the Infinite is the start. The aspiration sets the subconscious and the unconscious parts of our being active and it induces movement for purification in them and produces rhythm in vital nature. This part of our being is to be unlocked for the support of the nature and better life in spirituality. If the vital nature is clogged in ambition and gratification, the wider life in purity and fineness can not be reached, far less the divine life can emerge with its expansiveness, transparency and wide radiation of sweetness, beauty and dignity.

The Dynamic Mysticism, therefore, emphasises the wider receptivity to get hold of the natural urge towards the divine locked in the citadel of our hearts. There is in our nature a divine urge towards undisturbed quietude of being where the spiritual current is active and assert itself in subconscious impelling, and inertia of the unconscious part of our being is driven out and the purifying influence of spirit gets hold of the vital nature, which now becomes receptive of the higher influence.

The Dynamic Mysticism of the Tantras opens the lower vital and the unconscious parts of our being and tends to connect the higher with the lower centre of being. Each centre has its natural propelling, when this is established properly, the propelling rises to the higher centres and begins to quiet down the challenging force and helps to make the nature receptive to the higher dynamic divine currents sleeping in our nature. This Dynamism is styled *Kundalini* which is described in the Tantric literature as the lightning in our inner being. This when properly guided rises upward throwing open the psychic forces and finally comes to the thousand-petalled lotus in the brain, and it enjoys transcendence and becomes the manifesting centre of the divine force.



# POPULATION AND ITS CONTROL

By S. K. GUHA

THE control of numbers had ever been a pertinent and now almost a permanent question among the tribes, races and nations of the world. Each tribe, group, or nation has faced the issue and has made the best efforts to tackle the problem with equal seriousness, only the methods of control used have been different in different ages. While it is interesting to follow the various methods of control used by the different races or nations at different stages, it is difficult to find any satisfactory explanation on economic or religious basis for those various methods employed by the different groups of people. Besides the methods, adopted mainly with a view to reduce the number, there were some customs and superstitions in all ages which have been contributing reasonably to the control of population. However, a brief review of those methods will only show that the ultimate object, *viz.*, reduction or control of population, remaining the same, the methods of control have changed with the development of human society.

## I WORLD REVIEW

The various methods of eliminating population so long used in the different parts of the world at different ages may be grouped into two broad divisions, *viz.*, (i) elimination by direct methods of killing or destroying human lives and (ii) by preventive methods. Let me now enumerate those methods under two classifications one by one:

### A. POSITIVE METHODS

(1) *Killing the Old*: The old being unnecessary burdens to a wandering and hunting tribe, there was a widespread custom among the primitive people to kill the old members of the family in different ways, *viz.*, by beating with a club, by hanging with a rope, by drowning and by leaving them alone in forests with little or no food to die of starvation within a short period or to be destroyed by the wild beasts of the forests. This was a common practice specially among the Tasmanians, certain tribes of Eskimos, American Indians, and Africans. There were instances too where the old and the infirm committed suicide in order to relieve their supporters.

Thus according to William and Calvert, the Fijians in destroying their decrepit parents, "sometimes plead affection, urging that it is a kindness to shorten the miserable period of second childhood . . ." And according to G. M. Theal :

"The Bushmen frequently forsake their aged relation when removing from place to place for the sake of hunting. In this case they leave the old person with a piece of meat and an ostrich egg-shell full of water: as soon as this little stock is exhausted, the poor deserted creature must perish by hunger, or become the prey of wild beasts."

(2) *Witchcraft* : The primitive and the superstitious people did not believe in natural death. Rather they attributed death to the magic and charms of some enemy and as such witchcraft was widespread among the primitives. According to Maugham, in British Central Africa, the belief in witchcraft "was so general that deaths due to it were in the larger villages matters of daily occurrence." According to Miss Kinsley, witchcraft was the greatest single cause of death in Africa.

(3) *Human Sacrifice* : Sacrifice being an important part in many primitive rites human sacrifices were often part of the ceremony. In case of a great disaster, a beautiful maiden was sacrificed to take away the sins of the people. Besides this, in ancient times in accordance with *suttee* custom, the wives voluntarily sacrificed their lives along with their deceased husbands on the same pyre. Even now-a-days death on similar grounds is reported in papers at times, of course on rare occasions.

(4) *Abortion* : The practice of abortion was almost universal among the primitive people. The action of abortion was adopted solely to keep the number of children in proper bounds to enable the parents to look after them. Abortion was generally effected by certain magical rites, drinking of certain decoctions or in some other mechanical way. Thus B. C. Allen speaking of the hill tribes of India says:

"Amongst the Kupis where marriage by service is common, a strange custom is in force. Cohabitation is freely permitted during the time the lover is serving in the house of his father-in-law, and pregnancy entails no disgrace, but the girl must not bring forth a *living child*. After the seventh month after conception an old woman skilled in such matters is called in. This worthy dame locates the position of the baby's head in the womb, and strikes it a sharp blow with a flat stone, with the result that premature delivery takes place, and the child is born dead."

The limitation of family being the main object, abortion was helpful in maintaining many superstitions and customs of those days, *e.g.*, prohibition of childbirth among the Pima Indians during the period of lactation for six or seven years, and also among the Cheyennes until the first child was ten years old.

The effect of abortion in the control of population will be apparent from Bancroft's sayings of the Nootka Indians :

"Women rarely have more than two or three children, and cease bearing at about twenty-five, frequently preventing the increase of their family by abortion." Of course, according to East, "abortion is decreasing in England, Holland, France, Australia, New Zealand and the United States due to the spread of the knowledge of birth-control methods."

(5) *Infanticide* : Having its origin in the circumstances arising out of the question of the capacity of parents of supporting their children infanticide was

widely practised chiefly on an economic ground, of course, with a eugenic bearing too. It was more widespread than abortion.

The deformed and the weak, and being of less economic value than the boys, the girls had more chances of being killed than healthy male infants. In the case of two small children more often one, preferably the girl, was killed by the primitive people for the better nourishment of the other. According to Harold Wright:

"In the Hawaiian islands all children after the third or fourth were strangled or buried alive. At Tahiti fathers had the right (and use it) of suffocating their newly born children. The Areois in the society of islands imposed infanticide upon the women members by oath. In some countries infants are destroyed in times of scarcity only."

Some tribes in Torres Straits destroyed some of their children if they are all of one sex, "it being held proper to have an equal number of boys and girls." For some strange reason among certain tribes children who cut their upper teeth before their lower ones were killed; while among others twins met a similar fate, believing twin-birth to be unnatural. Many tribes required a definite period, sometimes as long as ten years between births; any child born during these intervals was killed. The Tenguas required a lapse of seven or eight years between children and killed those born during this interval. Some tribes thought it best to kill the first born, specially if it were a girl.

Various methods of disposing of children were adopted among which the following were more popular: some children were placed before wild animals, some were strangled, and others permitted to perish; sometimes the father or grand-father struck the infant across its mother's knee and then hit it on the head; in case of shortage of food supply or attack by enemies children were strangled, buried alive, or left in the desert.

Infanticide was common among the Jews, Babylonians, Egyptians, Syrians, Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans and Indians, and met with little or no opposition. Such outstanding men as Plato, Aristotle and others did not oppose the practice. Pliny thought infanticide a necessity because of the over-abundant fertility of women. Mohammed, however, opposed it, and so it was less widespread in Turkey than abortion. The Christian religion condemned the practice and brought it under ban by law, and so it was less widespread in Europe and the United States of America.

While the practice of infanticide was one of the chief means of control of numbers among many tribes, there is no reliable statistics to show how it has affected the total population. However, writes Ellis:

"The first missionaries have published it as their opinion that not less than two-thirds of the children were murdered by their parents."

Some rough estimate may also be obtained from a lady contributor to the *North China Daily News*, who furnished the following statistics:

"I find that 160 Chinese women, all over 50 years of age, had borne 631 sons and 538 daughters. Of the sons 366 or nearly 60 per cent had lived more than 10 years; while of the daughters only 205 or 38 per cent had lived 10 years. The 160 women had, according to their own statement, destroyed 158 of their daughters but none had ever destroyed a boy. As only four women reared more than three girls, the probability is that the infanticides confessed to are considerably below the truth. I have occasionally been told by a woman that she had forgotten just how many girls she had had more than she wanted. The greatest number of infanticides confessed to by any one woman is eleven."

In modern times with the development of celibacy, postponement of marriage, contraceptive knowledge, infanticide being a less important means of control is resorted to on rare occasions, such as in the case of defective, deformed and illegitimate infants.

(6) *War*: Warfare had always been more a means of recreation or sport than of actual bloodshed or killing among the primitive tribes. In those days war was held up to the young as the chief object of life.

Though war has never been resorted to as a direct measure for the control of population, yet indirectly war in different ages has positively affected the population of the world until recently. With the advancement of civilization warfare has become more destructive causing greater loss of life. Thus it has been estimated that up to 1914 over 15,000,000,000 men sacrificed their lives to the God of War. According to Kirby Page, the human cost of the World War I was as follows: 20,000,000 wounded; 13,000,000 dead civilians; 10,000,000 known dead soldiers; 10,000,000 refugees; 9,000,000 war orphans; 5,000,000 war widows; 3,000,000 presumed dead soldiers; 3,000,000 prisoners—Page's estimate being too conservative. Conservative statisticians estimate that for every soldier that was killed, five civilians died of hunger, disease, massacre, exposure, or heightened infant mortality. The World War I alone reduced the population of the world by 40,000,000.

The figure for the casualties in the World War II is much more alarming. The Atom bomb No. 1 alone, dropped over Hiroshima, destroyed 60,000 human lives. And thus the total casualties rose up to 52,108,231 in the World War II. Besides the huge number destroyed as the direct consequence of the war, a large number of civilians mainly dependent upon those dead soldiers and civilians died of hunger, disease, massacre, exposure, or heightened infant mortality.

So the picture of the two World Wars only reveals how the war has contributed to the control of world population. Then there are the civil wars and communal riots in the various regions of the world at different ages.

(7) *Disease*: Though diseases were rare among the lower classes of people until the Industrial Revolution, yet at present disease, specially in epidemic form, remarkably affects the population. A glance at the vital statistics of the different countries of the world



will show clearly how the various types of diseases take a heavy toll of lives every year.

Thus even during the sixth century in some parts of the globe Bubonic plague alone killed 5,000 daily for a considerable period. Again in the 11th century this malady spread over Europe taking one-fourth of the population. According to Bhore Committee Report, the average annual deaths during 1932-1941 due to the more common diseases like cholera, small-pox, plague, malaria and tuberculosis, etc., was 6,201,434. And in the United States where the most reliable statistics are found at present the total deaths due to the more common diseases amounted to 1,445,379 in the year 1947, the rate being as high as 1007.8 per 100,000 population. The corresponding figure for England and Wales during the same year amounted to 517,615.

So the above figures for only a few diseases in some parts of the globe reveal the effect of diseases on the total world population.

(8) *Infant and Maternal Mortality*: Both these factors are still responsible for a high number of deaths among the world population. According to many writers, there were heavy infant mortality due to a number of causes, such as exposure, lack of sanitation, poor and unsuitable food and less often to diseases among the primitive people. According to Bhore Committee Report, even in the present century nearly one-half of the total deaths at all ages in the then British India took place among children under 10 years. A glance over the world figure shows that in the year 1943 the lowest rate for infant mortality was 29 per 1,000 live-births in Sweden and the highest was 194 in Chile.

Maternal mortality is not a less prominent cause of death-rate in population. Though in the primitive stage the rate was very high, yet in the twentieth century too it has not been possible to bring it down to the lowest possible figure. Thus according to Bhore Committee Report a conservative estimate of annual deaths among women in the reproductive ages from causes associated with pregnancy and child-bearing was 200,000 in the then British India. Even when in the scientifically advanced countries like Great Britain and U.S.A., the present-day maternal mortality rates are 1.17 and 2.1 per 1,000 live-births respectively, the total number of deaths on account of maternal mortality alone will not be an insignificant one.

(9) *Famine*: It is a major factor in the control of population. Literally speaking one famine means the loss of lakhs of human lives. According to some estimate, so far not less than 350 serious and an indefinite number of famines have occurred in the world. In India alone there have been 39 serious famines up till now taking a heavy toll of lives every time.

To quote a few examples, official estimates of the 1943 famine in India placed the number affected at about 7,000,000; and the fatality estimates range between 2,000,000 and 3,000,000 for Bengal alone. The famine

mortality in Greece during 1941-43 was 450,000. A survey by an agent of UNRRA reported in July, 1947, that 6,000,000 people in Kwangsi (China) province and 10,000,000 in South Hunan were so weakened that thousands more than the usual death-rate were dying in the year, the crop production in the areas being only 25 to 50 per cent of normal.

Thus from the few figures given above it is not difficult to imagine the unthinkable large number of the world population affected by the famines which have so far occurred on this surface of the earth.

(10) *Other methods*: Among the 'other methods' there are the natural calamities like earthquake, cyclone, typhoon, etc.; and the modern industrial accidents like factory accidents, rail and plane accidents, and road or traffic accidents which are responsible for the loss of not an insignificant number of human lives throughout the different parts of the globe.

Of all the natural calamities earthquake, cyclone and flood are major factors. For example, casualties for 1923 earthquake in Japan were 90,000; for 1935 earthquake at Quetta (India) were 50,000; for Chile earthquake in 1939 were 30,000; and the 1939 shock in N. Turkey alone destroyed 100,000 lives. Then the 1864 cyclone and the 1876 cyclone in India washed away 70,000 and 215,000 lives respectively. And the human losses due to 1882 tidal wave in India and 1906 typhoon in China, were 100,000 and 10,000 respectively. Then again the 1896 flood in Japan washed away 27,000 lives; China flood in 1939 made 10 millions homeless and half-starved, and Pakistan flood in 1947 made 1,000,000 homeless. Besides these, our daily papers record a large number of casualties every year caused by earthquake, tornado, typhoon, cyclone, and snowstorms, etc., the latest one being Assam earthquake during the last August-September which has caused heavy losses in lives and property.

Again, the yearly deaths due to industrial accidents throughout the world total to a considerably large number, the highest being in the U.S.A., the most highly industrialised country of the world in the present century. To cite an example, it is found that the total casualties due to all accidents like motor, rail, plane, drowning, poisoning, etc., were 99,579 in U.S. alone in the year 1947. Thus had the world statistics for all the natural disasters and industrial accidents been available, it could be easily shown that not less than lakhs of people are being killed every year in this way.

#### B. PREVENTIVE METHODS

While all the positive methods for the control of population which had been existent at different ages have been enumerated above, it will be very interesting now to record the various preventive methods adopted by the people from time to time in the different parts of the world.

(1) *Pre-puberty Cohabitation*: While the exact effect

of early cohabitation upon fecundity is not known, it is believed to be detrimental to health and to reduce fecundity. According to Carr Saunders:

"It is also known that when of two races both living a similar kind of life under similar conditions, one practises early marriage and the other does not, as for example, the Hindus and Mohammedans in India, fertility is higher among the latter than among the former."

Cohabitation before marriage had been common among the American Indians, Eskimos, and the tribes of Africa, India, Australia, and New Zealand. Again, cohabitation among the unmarried people of the primitive people was so common that Gibbes writes of the Red Indians of the North-West thus:

"Cohabitation of unmarried females among their own people brings no disgrace if unaccompanied by childbirth. This commences at a very early age, perhaps ten or twelve years."

(2) *Initiation Ceremonies*: Most primitive tribes had certain initiatory customs which the boys and girls had to pass through at puberty. Male and female circumcision was often the most important part of these ceremonies. It being a probability that the mutilation of genital organs has an injurious effect reducing fecundity and perhaps in more extreme cases causing complete sterility; the genital organs among some tribes, especially the Australians, were considerably mutilated. Among some tribes the old men had the priority rights during the initiation of the girl, while with others the girl was subject to all the men who might get hold of her. Wilshire reports that after initiation the girls were sexually "at the mercy of all who may get hold of them."

Since prostitutes and charity girls are often sterile, it is quite probable that excessive indulgence greatly reduces fecundity; hence the unrestricted cohabitation, among the girls initiated probably reduces their fecund powers.

(3) *Delayed Marriage*: Delayed marriage, delayed voluntarily or involuntarily, is one of the easiest, harmless and most important factors in the control of population. It has been in practice among the people since the evolution of human society. Practically it was universal among the primitive peoples, and even in the present century it is practised by a large section of the population.

The various reasons for adopting delayed marriage may be enumerated as follows: pressure of changing social conditions, customs and laws, low income of young men, shortage of accommodation in living huts, religious celibacy, willing and forced celibacy of the wretched, the invalids, and the very inefficient.

Thus among some tribes marriage was by purchase and often it took the boy considerable time to accumulate the purchase price. The Jakun expected the husband "to provide a hut, cooking pots, and other necessary articles such as will suffice to enable house-keeping to be started with reasonable comforts."

Among the tribes of British Guiana, a man "must prove that he is a man and can do a man's work" before he is permitted to marry. To fulfil one of the requirements, "he clears a space in the forest to be planted with cassaba, and brings in as much game and fish as possible, to show that he is able to support himself and others." Similar ideas which had been existent among many tribes in olden times are still prevalent among our society.

Again, due to the custom of polygamy in practice among most primitive peoples, many of the young men were unable to obtain wives.

"There was a constant complaint," writes Weeks, "amongst the young and vigorous men of the middle and lower orders that it was almost impossible for them to procure wives. Thus we found a small number of men possessing nearly all the women in a town, having from four to five up to twenty-five or thirty each, and a large number of young men who could not secure wives."

Then, again, in many instances, the shortage of accommodation was mainly responsible for delayed marriage. Thus according to Marshall:

"Country life was as elsewhere rigid in its habits; young people found it difficult to establish themselves till some married pair had passed from the scene and made a vacancy in their own parish; . . . consequently whenever a plague or famine thinned the population, there was always many waiting to be married who filled the vacant places."

Thus whatever be the causes behind, delayed marriage, voluntarily or involuntarily, have been reducing the population through its double effects, e.g., (i) first, the very postponement of marriage for a particular individual reduces the number of children per couple throughout their lives, (ii) secondly, an extended delay in marriage limits the possible number of children by reducing the fecundity of the woman specially. Thus according to Dunlop:

"A year's delay when the woman is aged from 20 to 25 averages 0.45 of a child, 0.37 when she is aged from 25 to 30, 0.32 when she is aged from 30 to 35, 0.29 when she is aged from 35 to 40, and 0.19 when she is aged from 40 to 45."

(4) *Prolongation of the Period of Lactation*: In most cases the nursing period was prolonged among the primitive peoples. The period generally covered two to three years, but sometimes four, five or even eight years.

Although important in respect of reducing the number of children per couple, the effect of lactation on fecundity is not definitely known. Carr-Saunders says:

"There is a considerable amount of evidence to the effect that the continuance of lactation to some extent inhibits heat in animals and menstruation in women."

(5) *Tabooed Cohabitation*: While abstinence during the period of lactation is undoubtedly an important factor in the control of population, tabooed cohabitation



too, though observed mostly on superstitious grounds by the primitive people, did not affect the population to an inconsiderable degree, specially when continued for a longer period. Its practice was common among the North American Indians, the Bangala, the Chinese, and the Pipiles of Central America. And this is practised even now by almost all the nations; of course, the period of lactation varies with nations.

Thus according to Heriot, the women among the North American Indians nurse their children "for three or four years during which period they do not cohabit with their husbands." According to Gray, "Any violation of this practice among the Chinese is supposed not only to cause the child to become sickly but to provoke the displeasure of the ancestors and to bring misfortune upon all members of the family. Wealthy Chinese are generally very careful in the practice of such abstinence."

There were other periods too for observing abstinence, such as, before planting crops, hunting, fishing, preparation of war, and pilgrimage to Mecca. Thus before going to war people in the Kei Islands, New Caledonia, and Malayas, had no intercourse with women, otherwise the bullets would wound them—it was the superstition. A seven days' taboo among the Malayas was the usual practice while on fishing. Speaking of the inhabitants of New Britain, writes Brown:

"If a man was wounded and was under treatment, no man who had recently slept with a woman, nor any woman who had recently slept with a man, could visit him. He would certainly die if this were done . . ."

Before pilgrimage to Mecca every Musalman has to abstain from all sexual intercourse. Again, even in modern society in India, any married Hindu male who has lost either of his parents is not permitted to cohabit with his wife during the period of bereavement—the longest period being one month in the case of certain non-Brahmin castes.

(6) *Celibacy*: Though celibacy was not so common among the primitives, yet the number of celibates has increased with growing civilisation. Among the primitives, sometimes prevented by law and sometimes prevented by poverty people remained unmarried. Thus Richardson writes that among the Kulchins, "poor men whose abilities as hunters are small and who have been unable to accumulate herds, remain bachelors." Among the Swangtung Karens, according to Webb, "there are to be found many grey-haired bachelors and spinsters whom custom has prevented from marrying."

Besides, there are the religious celibates particularly in India, Egypt, Chaldea, Rome and Tibet. In the modern society there is an increasing tendency of celibates both for economic and religious reasons.

(7) *Prevention of Fertilization*: In the absence of sufficient knowledge of modern contraceptive methods certain practices and ceremonies were observed by the primitives to prevent conception of women. Different methods were in use among different tribes. Most of the methods though deemed as artificial and sometimes magical, had some positive effect on the reduction of sterility. While speaking of certain women among the Sinangolo engaged in magical practices to render conception impossible, Seligman writes:

"There is generally a woman in the village or one of the surrounding villages who is supposed to be gifted with a power inherited from her mother of causing women to become *Lageabari*, literally incapable of having more children. Suppose that a woman considers that she has had enough children, she will by stealth seize an opportunity of consulting such a woman and will pay for services. The woman gifted with the power sits down behind and as close as possible to her patient over whose abdomen she makes passes while muttering incomprehensible charms. At the same time herbs or roots are burnt, the smoke of which the patient inhales."

"The woman, I believe," writes Brown, speaking of the inhabitants of New Britain, "eat some leaves, to prevent conception, but none, so far as I know, to increase it."

Again, H. A. Junol in his *Life of A South Tribe*, mentions that

"The girls of the Shawance Indians drink the juice of a certain herb which prevents conception and often renders them barren through life."

So it is clear that those magical practices which were very interesting had really some positive effect on the control of population until the introduction of the modern birth-control methods.

Finally, comes into the picture the modern 'Birth Control Movement' for the prevention of fertilization. Practically speaking modern contraceptive knowledge became known from the time of Malthus who gave the impetus to the birth-control agitation in view of the evils of an excessive and uncontrolled birth-rate. The modern contraceptive methods have contributed immensely to the family limitation in the different countries. The effect of the application of modern birth-control methods in the advanced countries like Great Britain and U.S.A. will reveal the true picture. As an example it may be mentioned that these methods have been successfully used in Great Britain since 1871 when it was found that the population of Great Britain doubled during the last 70 years, viz., it rose from 10½ millions in 1801 to 26 millions in 1871. Thus finally the following table showing the decrease in family size during 1911-1946 in Great Britain alone will clearly show the positive result of modern birth-control methods on the control of world population.

Table XVII, Royal Commission on Population Report, June, 1949:

*Changes in Distribution of Families by Size*

Number of children born	Marriages taking place about 1860 (based on 1911 Fertility Census of England and Wales)	Marriages of 1925 (Great Britain, 1946 family census)
	Per cent	Per cent
0	9	17
1	5	25
2	6	25
3	8	14
4	9	8
5	10	5
6	10	3
7	10	2
8	9	1
9	8	0.6
10	6	0.4
Over 10	10	0.3

The trend of smaller family size has been mainly due to the extension of deliberate family limitation through modern birth-control methods besides other reasons. Again according to the report of the Family Planning Association of Great Britain of 3,000 women who attended the Association's clinics between 1943 and 1945 for advice on birth-control, 72.8 had used some form of contraception before coming to the clinics. A glance over the statistics of the family size during recent years of some other very advanced countries will also reveal the same trend of smaller size achieved through modern birth-control methods.

## II

## INDIA

*Introduction:* The brief world review of the methods of control of population made in the first part has revealed the attitude of the people towards the limitation of the family-size in different ages. It has also been interesting to find how nature has been always helping man directly in his efforts to reduce the human population so as to cope with the food-production for his own survival. In spite of the unusually high number of casualties due to natural disasters as well as war, riot, famine and diseases, man has been threatened by the rapidly increasing rate of population. So the tendency of population to outgrow the available food supply has revived fears of over-population through ages. Thus in his *Principles of Economics*, first published in 1848, John Stuart Mill developed the argument that with a perfect distribution of wealth and an unchecked rate of population growth "a time would soon arrive when no one would have more than necessities, and soon after a time when no one would have a sufficiency of those and the further increase of population would be arrested by death." And the present century has been witnessing the problem in a more serious form from year to year. Especially this year, the world has been faced with the most critical problem of food and population. Conferences and symposia on the subject are being held

in different parts of the world from time to time, mainly through the efforts of UNESCO, in order to evolve ways and means to tide over the present crisis. Thus while opening the proceedings of the last conference on Food Problem held under the auspices of the Association of Scientific workers, Great Britain, Dr. J. Huxley has revealed that the world population has risen from 900 millions in 1800 A.D. to 2200 in 1950, the present rate of increase being 1 per cent per annum. He also proceeds to mention that even if population remained stationary an increase of 15 to 25 per cent in food production would be needed to bring up the level of the badly nourished, but during the last ten years population has increased faster than food production.

Now the Republic of India presents a grim picture of the population problem, particularly with the partition of the then British India since the dawn of Independence in August, 1947. Undoubtedly during recent years India has sacrificed a large percentage of her population to the ravages of war, riot, famine and epidemic diseases in addition to the huge number of casualties caused by natural disasters and industrial accidents. Yet India today cannot escape the question of control of population even in view of her heavy losses of human lives on various accounts. On the contrary, the question is becoming more and more prominent and pertinent deserving immediate careful attention equally by the government and the people of the land specially in view of the appearance of diverse complex factors with the advancement of time.

While proceeding to decide whether India today should encourage control of population, a complete analysis of the present position of Indian population, food position, and her economy will speak for itself.

The excess of birth-rate over death-rate in 1940 in British India being 11.0, next to Japan but much higher than U.K. and U.S.A., there had been always a remarkably increasing tendency of Indian population. According to the 1941 Census, the present Indian territory had been left, after partition in 1947, with a population of 319 millions of which nearly 50 millions were Muslims in British India alone excluding the States. The latest estimate made by the Census Commissioner for purposes of the coming general elections, has revealed that Indian population figure has risen from 319 in 1947 to 347.34 millions on March 1 last, calculation being based on the adjustment of births, deaths and also the movement of persons displaced from the original places of residence since then. Although the estimates are provisional, these are expected to be 95 per cent correct according to the Census Commissioner. Far from being stationary this figure again is swelling up from month to month by the entry of Indians from Burma, Malaya, Ceylon, Africa with the introduction of more tightened up immigration policy there, and particularly by the excess of Hindu



migrants from Eastern Pakistan over the Muslim migrants from India. Then the improvement in infantile mortality, maternal mortality, and in the mortality rate due to diseases, will only add to the population by the saving of more lives. Thus even if the infant mortality rate continues to be 160 per mille (1940-figure) for the next two decades, substantial additions of 6.5 and 11.1 millions are likely to result by 1951 and 1961 respectively. Even if maternal mortality is reduced by 1 per thousand, 63,000 women would be added to the population in a year, or, 600,000 in a decade even allowing that ordinary death-rate would consequently apply to them. And all these women will be left not only to contribute their own quota of one but the additional elements represented by the children they will bear. Similarly good saving in lives is also expected due to the decrease in mortality due to diseases like cholera, small-pox, plague, malaria and tuberculosis. Then there remain two other factors, *viz.*, unchecked growth of family size, and the improvement in life expectation, to contribute to the population of India. Thus the growing Indian population with already a normally higher rate of increase is increasing at an alarmingly high rate mainly because of the positive effect of (a) Migration, (b) Mortality, and (c) Marriage. So in the absence of any other additional factor this increasing tendency of Indian population is to continue for years to come provided no epidemic disease or famine or natural calamity visits the land.

Now turning our attention to the food position we find that India, despite her vast tracts of land, has been a deficit country in the matter of food for a long time. The problem of food and population in India has been a constant source of anxiety to many Indian economists who have given serious consideration to the matter through a large number of literatures. On the basis of the nutritive value of the total food-products available in the country, the population capacity of India has been worked out from time to time, specially by Prof. K. T. Shah and Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee. Thus according to the calculation made by the former, the total food-products available in the then British India, if distributed evenly among all the inhabitants, would not suffice to give more than one full meal a day to each citizen, and that too, of the coarsest and cheapest kind, and the poorest in nutritive value. And in terms of nutrition the available food supply would allow only 1200 calories per head per day, as against the 3,600 required for an adult working man to maintain efficiency. In plain words, the great majority of the population—over 65 per cent—habitually lived below the barest needs of human existence.

Again, according to the calculation made by Dr. Mukherjee sometime in 1935, assuming the agricultural seasons normal without droughts and floods all the year round, India's population capacity to an average

rate of roughly 2,800 calories per man per day, may be tabulated as follows:

1. India's population in 1931—353 millions.
2. India's population capacity on the basis of her food supply in 1931—291 millions.
3. India's food shortage in 1931—42 billion calories.
4. India's present population, 1935—377 millions.
5. India's addition to food supply between 1931 and 1935—30.3 billion calories.
6. India's present food supply—280.4 billion calories.
7. India's present food needs—321.5 billion calories.
8. India's present population capacity, 1935—329 millions.
9. India's present food shortage—41.1 billion calories.
10. Present number of "average men" estimated without food assuming that others obtain their normal daily ration—48 millions.

Above is the picture of the then British India before the World War II when Burma was still part of British India and when Pakistan was not yet born. Since then the food position has markedly deteriorated. Burma with her abundant rice supplies was cut off even before the World War II. Thus the present territory of India, left after partition, with nearly 80 per cent of the population of undivided India, but only 73.1 per cent of the total land surface, 72.5 per cent of the rice area, 70 per cent of the wheat area and 70 per cent of the irrigated land, has been faced with acute food crisis and growing population problem since August, 1947.

Now on the basis of the nutritional standard of 1 lb. of food-grains per adult per day, the annual requirement of present-day India in respect of food-grains amounted to approximately 48 million tons; and on the basis of 1 lb. per adult per day for producers and heavy manual workers (70 per cent of the population) and 12 ozs. per adult per day (30 per cent of the population), the annual requirement amounted to nearly 45.4 million tons in 1949 while the production of the principal food-grains in the country during the same period totalled very nearly 43 million tons.

Leaving aside all sorts of calculations so far mentioned, the food position of India with respect to her population can be best judged from the important figure of food-grains during recent years given below:

Year (July 1 to June 30)	Quantity imported (in million tons)	Cost of imports (in crores of rupees)
1947-48	2.855	122.49
1948-49	3.444	138.42
1949-50	2.175	82.50

Far from improving, the situation is deteriorating from year to year mainly due to the increasing influx of refugees from Pakistan, failure of crops due to devastations caused by natural calamities like cyclones and floods. Thus according to the latest report by our Rehabilitation Adviser, Government of India, out of 19,036,027 Hindus left at partition in Pakistan (according

to 1941 census), already 9,000,000 Hindus have migrated to India, while the conditions in India have not been unfavourable enough as to compel an equal number of Indian Muslims to migrate to Pakistan. So the import of food-grains during the current year have already been stepped up from 1.5 million to 2 million tons because of unexpected shortage due to failure of the monsoon, the influx of East Bengal displaced persons, and cyclones and floods. In consideration of all these factors, the latest statement issued at the first week end of August by our Food Minister at the Centre, has revealed that the food-deficit in the country at the end of 1951 have been calculated at 4.4 million tons. And this too was disclosed just before the last earthquake and flood havoc in Assam which has suddenly lost her balance of self-sufficiency and has been compelled to seek help, both in respect of food and money, from the Centre as well as sister-states of the country.

In view of this gloomy picture of food supply, it is necessary to examine the possibility of better food production in India even beyond 1951. Programmes under Grow More Food Campaign had been undertaken even as early as 1942. The main objectives of food production efforts between 1943 and 1947 were :

- (a) A switch-over from cash-crops to food-crops;
- (b) Intensive cultivation of existing cultivated lands through better irrigation, better seeds, better manures, and better farming practices; and
- (c) Extensive cultivation by bringing under plough current fallows or cultivable waste land including old fallows.

Intensive cultivation took the form of raising the yield from the cultivated acreage by—

- (a) provision of irrigation facilities,
- (b) supply of manure,
- (c) supply of improved seeds, and
- (d) supply of better implements and other miscellaneous measures.

Measures by which production in India can be increased and the drain on foreign exchange reduced, undertaken by the then Government of India and the Committee of Enquiry, had been given more serious and urgent consideration by our National Government since 1947. Only the multi-purpose river projects under the Central and Provincial Governments, in which some progress has already been made, are expected to provide after their completion in 10 to 15 years, for about 19 million acres which it is hoped will increase production of food-grains by about 4 million tons. Programmes prepared under Five-Year Grow More Food Plans, have been undertaken with all seriousness in order to achieve self-sufficiency in food by 1952.

But the results achieved so far are far from encouraging, for up to the end of 1948 the increase in production was 764,000 tons only, and during the period 1949-50, the increase was 934,797 tons only. And in 1950-51, though the expected increase according to paper calculation was 27,73,070 tons, a worse situa-

tion than in previous years has already been indicated before with a food deficit of 4.4 million tons at the end of 1951.

Though there has been no lack of efforts on the part of the Ministers at the Centre and the Provinces, at least so far as paper-planning is concerned, yet it has not been possible so far to implement the schemes in practice with due success as is apparent from the results recorded above. New decisions and resolutions are being adopted in High-Level Meetings and Conferences from time to time, but no prospect of better food production in the near future seems to be in sight, particularly in consideration of the following points :

- (a) Poor results according to estimate obtained so far,
- (b) Frequent labour unrest,
- (c) Temporary suspension of work due to probable communal flare-up from time to time,
- (d) Allowance for failure of monsoon,
- (e) Allowance for natural calamities like earthquake, cyclone and flood,
- (f) Probable delay in completion of multi-purpose river projects mainly on financial grounds,
- (g) Not substantial increase in yield per acre through the application of the results of scientific researches in large-scale agricultural field experiments, and
- (h) General migration of agricultural workers to industries, and sharp increase in urban population from year to year (there being 81 per cent rise in urban population in India during 1931-41) in the absence of any hope for immediate rural development.

Once the survey of the population and food position is made, it is desirable to look into the living conditions of the people in India with special reference to housing accommodation, health, education and employment.

Though the density of Indian population—246½ population per square mile—does not literally rank high in the world, yet it is an uneconomic figure for India, particularly in view of the area available for food, low yield per acre, and incomplete utilisation of the available raw materials. Again the population is not distributed uniformly, the province with agriculture or industrial wealth having the highest density, for example, West Bengal with a density of 751, Bihar 521, Madras 391, and Delhi with only 149.53 population per square mile shows clearly the wide variation. And the villages being neglected by our Government even until this day, the cities of India have been thickly populated beyond their population capacity, specially with regard to housing facilities and water supplies, while there has been no proportionate extension and improvement of houses until now even in the important cities. As a result, even before the partition while describing the condition of Indian cities, the Bhoré Report mentions, "Conditions in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Cawnpore, to mention only a few cases,



are *indescribable and intolerable*." Now due to the influx of refugees majority of whom have centred round the cities, the housing conditions have deteriorated to the furthest possible extent, particularly in the cities like Calcutta, Delhi, Bombay, and Kanpur. Though no reliable statistics about the number of people per standard house in a city are available, yet a survey of the important cities, specially Calcutta, will probably reveal an unusually large number of instances where a family of six in the least is living in a single room of 100 square feet roughly. Recently the National Planning Commission has estimated the shortage of houses for workers in large-scale industries alone at over 1 million. So gloomy is the picture of average housing condition in India!

While turning to the state of health of the Indian population, it is found at a glance that India reveals a picture of very poor health conditions in comparison with other civilised countries of the world. A glance over the vital statistics of the world will show that India ranks high in the world, specially, with regard to her general death-rate, infantile mortality, and maternal mortality rates. The following table will show her real position in these respects:

Country	Death rate (1937)	Infantile mortality rate (1937)	Maternal mortality rate (1937)
		(per 1000 live-births)	(per 1000 live-births)
British India	22.4	162	20 nearly (1938)
U. S. A.	11.2	54	2.1 (1946)
England and Wales	12.4	58	7.17 (1946)

Besides the roughly calculated maternal mortality rate, it is also found according to some estimation that, in British India, maternal deaths totalled about 200,000 annually.

Again, India is also conspicuous in the world for the wide prevalence of the diseases like cholera, small-pox, plague, tuberculosis, and fevers, specially, malaria, causing high mortality among her vast population. Thus malaria, the largest single cause of death, caused 2,400,000 deaths annually in British India (excluding Burma) accounting for 37 per cent of the total deaths during 1932-41. And tuberculosis causing annually at least 500,000 deaths in the whole of India, ranks next among diseases. Again, during the same period in British India, fevers contributed 58.4 per cent, respiratory diseases 7.6 per cent, cholera, small-pox, plague together 4 per cent of the total deaths. In respect of death-rate of tuberculosis India occupies the first position among the three countries as follows:

#### *Tuberculosis Deaths*

India	150 per 100,000 population
U.S.A.	56 " " "
England	69 " " "

It is more surprising to note that medical facilities are too inadequate in consideration of the wide prevalence of diseases causing high mortality among the

people. Thus according to Bhore Report the number of beds, doctors, nurses, health visitors, mid-wives, and qualified dentists available in the then British India may be summarised as follows on a comparative basis:

TABLE I

U.S.A.	10.48 beds per 1,000 population
England & Wales	7.14 " " " "
British India	0.24 " " " "

TABLE II

Class of personnel	Number available now	Ratios of numbers in column 2 to the present population of British India (300m)	Existing ratio in U. K.
Doctors	47,000	1 to 63,000	1 to 1,000
Nurses	7,000	1 to 43,000	1 to 300
Health Visitors	750	1 to 400,000	1 to 4,770
Midwives	5,000	1 to 60,000	1 to 618
Qualified Dentists	1,000	1 to 300,000	1 to 2,700

Though targets were fixed by the same committee for improving the existing ratios, for example, 1 to 2,000 for doctors, 1 to 500 for nurses, 1 to 4,000 for midwives, and 1 to 4,000 for dentists by 1971, yet very little progress has been made so far in spite of a number of additional schemes drawn up by the present National Government.

Then the condition of Indian population is awful as far as the educational standard is concerned. According to a rough estimate even today over 85 per cent of the population of India is illiterate. Of the 15 per cent literate population a microscopic minority only can proceed for school education and for higher education in arts, science and technology. True, some progress was made in the years between the wars. Consequently the number of children attending primary schools increased from 6 millions in 1920-21 to nearly 12 millions in 1940-41, and the number attending secondary schools increased from one million to nearly three. In spite of this progress the latest statistics of the Education Department, Government of India, reveals that during 1946-47, the average percentage of *students to population* in India stands at 6 approximately, the highest percentage being nearly 10 in West Bengal, and the lowest being nearly 3 in Bihar. According to the same source, the average percentage of *school-going children to children of school-age* is 22 nearly, the highest in this case being nearly 36 in West Bengal and the lowest being nearly 10 in Bihar.

A more gloomy picture of the educational standard than this in a country, can hardly be imagined while a very high percentage of literacy exists in countries like U.K., U.S.A., Japan, and U.S.S.R., the percentage of literacy being as high as 98 in the last-named country.

The poor state of health and education in India as indicated above, leads anyone to easily form a concrete idea about the deplorable economic situation of the land. Poverty and unemployment together reflected in the very low standard of living of the Indian

masses, has been a chronic and typical problem of India since long. On a comparative basis, India has a very low annual income *per capita*, Rs. 65 only which is 1/22nd of that of a citizen of U.S.A., and 1/16th of that of a citizen of U.K. Again, this *per capita income figure* cannot be deemed to have the same significance in India as in U.K. and U.S.A., as the distribution of wealth among the Indian population is far from being uniform. There is a wide range of variation in the income of different classes of people in India—a microscopic section comprising very nearly 2 per cent of the population has superabundance commanding one-third of our total wealth, and the remaining two-thirds of the wealth, left for the 98 per cent of the population, hardly permit the large Indian masses even to keep their body and soul together. A vivid picture of the economic condition of the vast majority of the Indian population, can best be judged from a glance over the table showing the income-groups of India along with the cost required for a well-balanced diet of an ordinary adult.

#### *Income groups of India (Pre-war figure)*

Source : *India's Population Fact and Policy* by S. Chanārasekhara.

Estimated average Income per year Rs.	Number of earners	Number of persons supported
100,000	6,000	30,000
10,000	230,000	1,150,000
5,000	270,000	1,350,000
1,000	2,500,000	12,500,000
200	35,000,000	100,000,000
50	The remainder	The remainder

Thus according to the above estimate, more than 50 per cent of the working population had an average yearly income of Rs. 50 only on which again the vast majority of the Indian population had been depending merely for their subsistence. The pitiable condition of these masses is better realised when the cost of a well-balanced diet (consisting of cereals, milk, pulses, vegetables, fruits, fats and oils) for an ordinary Indian adult, works out to be between Rs. 4 and Rs. 6 a month in pre-war days. So taking into account other essential expenses for housing accommodation, clothing, and education of children, an average Indian with a family of four (which may be taken as the average family size) finds himself non-existent in this world. Again, the economy of India has been seriously affected by the World War II and Partition of the then British India. Thus the cost of living index and specially food-price index have already risen to 285 and 317 respectively at the end of March, 1950, on the basis of 100 in 1937. And these indices are shooting up higher and higher month by month, while the income of the people has not increased proportionately. Again in consideration of the deteriorating employment situation of the country, the present picture of the economic condition of the Indian population has become extremely gloomy with little or no better prospect in the immediate future. Though no statistics of employed

persons are available in the 1941 census, however, according to 1931 census, out of a total able-bodied male population of 124,015,009, aged 10 to 60 years, there were 17,720,365 idle persons. During war-years the employment situation improved to a great extent. But in post-war India, a large number of persons in military and civil departments of the government being retrenched, and there being no expansion of Indian industries according to expectation, the huge number of migrants from Pakistan, has added to the large percentage of the working population without employment. In the absence of reliable statistics of employment even today, a rough estimation of unemployment is possible only from the fact that there are at present nearly 2,00,000 registered unemployed persons in addition to those (about four times this number) seeking employment through independent sources in West Bengal alone.

Here it is worth mentioning that this pitiable economic condition of the Indian masses, besides being mainly responsible for the poor state of health and education in the country has been also producing its harmful effect on the population. It can hardly be denied that *efficiency, honesty, sincerity of purpose, co-operation*, and above all *sense of nationalism* which are the essential qualities to be possessed by a citizen of independent India, have been damagingly affected by this deplorable economic condition. An average Indian has been faced with the critical problem of housing accommodation, food and clothing. The question of survival in the hard struggle for existence has been the problem of the day. Consequently *Communalism* of the then British India has been replaced by narrow *Provincialism* in India, and employers or top-ranking men in most organisations particularly under government, seem to have become more interested in the employment of their kith and kin than in selection of the best available men—the main reason behind these being the *question of survival*. Undoubtedly the progress of national schemes and projects is being hampered by these factors to a great extent.

Thus in view of the fact of growing population and deteriorating food-situation in India, the argument developed by John Stuart Mill more than a hundred years back (1848) seems to have its significance in India in 1950. The above exhaustive survey of the population food position, state of health, education, economic condition, and accompanying harmful effects on the population of India, points to the same question of over-population. So, while considering the important problem of tiding over the crisis, the question arises—how to proceed? The answer is not far to seek. Though even at present one school of thought forming an Anti-Malthusian group, pleads that India, in view of her vast tracts of land, comparatively lower density and percentage of increase of population in the table of world-statistics,



vast resources of raw materials yet unexploited, and lower rate of production, cannot be deemed as over-populated, *yet the question of birth-control in India at least for the few years covering the most critical period in the history of India, cannot be avoided at all today.* To state more clearly, the immediate adoption of the deliberate family limitation seems to be the first essential approach necessary for the solution of the pressing problem of food and population in India. True, in India, even today, a large percentage of arable land remains unutilised, vast resources of raw materials remain to be exploited, an unusually high percentage of water-power is wasted, and above all a reasonably good percentage of man-power is wasted on account of high mortality, ill-health, under-employment, and chiefly unemployment. And it may be equally true that fullest utilisation of those arable lands in combination with increased yield per acre through the application of science, complete exploitation of vast resources of raw materials, and utilisation of water-power as well as man-power with cent per cent efficiency, may enable India not only to support her present population but to cope with the future growth of her population even at the existing rate of increase. But at the same time, the vastness of the problem of utilisation of land, raw materials, water-power, and man-power, specially at the present critical stage of India, must not be lost sight of. It has already been shown how India, particularly after partition, has been faced with the tremendous task of refugee resettlement in addition to her normal programme for the gradual improvement of education, health, and standard of living of the millions. Above all, besides the question of unproductive persons, mostly beggars, and of the infirm and the invalid (insane, blind, deaf-mute and leper) numbering roughly not less than five millions, the problem of unemployment of a large percentage of the working population demands careful attention and long-term planning by the Government for its successful solution.

Thus considering the present situation of the Indian population as well as the possibilities for more production through better utilisation of raw materials, and better efficiency of people, there must be an agreement between the Neo-Malthusian and Anti-Malthusian groups of modern India on the issue of birth-control in India at least for some years to come. India today cannot allow her population to grow at the existing rate until her development plans for education, health and land, are completed to ensure a higher standard of living for her masses. Rather a stationary population, if possible, in India for the period referred to above, would be really congenial to the interest of the Government and the people.

Now turning our attention to the history of the introduction and the spread of family limitation in Britain, we find that the same causes of unchecked

growth of population as mentioned in the first part, changed social and economic outlook, and insecurity in life, led the people there to accept the practice of deliberate family limitation even as early as 1910. And from the recent investigation by the Council of Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists (1949) it will be interesting to find from the following table, how the people there had been using birth-control since 1910 for reasons like housing difficulties and incapability of supporting more children. (An extract of the table 123 of the said report):

<i>Date of marriage</i>	<i>Reasons for using birth-control</i> Could not afford more children	<i>Housing difficulties</i>
Before 1910	60	—
1910-19	48	4
1920-24	44	6
1925-29	44	6
1930-34	40	10
1935-39	36	13
1940-46	29	32
All marriages	38	16

[N.B.—The figures given above represent the percentage of the total birth-controllers for marriages during the respective periods.]

While it has been already shown in the first part of this article how there has been a trend of smaller family size in Great Britain during 1911-1946 through the practice of modern birth-control methods, the table given below will show the extent of success in the family-planning achieved by the people there.

Table 108 (Source: The report referred to above).

The average number of children planned at marriage with the average size of family actually produced by date of marriage and success in family planning:

<i>Date of marriage</i>	<i>Planned at marriage</i>	<i>Actual size of family produced</i>
1910-19	2.37	2.23
1920-24	2.35	2.03
1925-29	2.10	1.99
1930-34	2.14	1.35

It is more surprising to mention that though the present stabilized family size is 2.25 children per married couple in Great Britain the parents there are not satisfied even while they are getting sufficient help from their Government in the form of family allowances, free compulsory education of children, housing facilities, sickness help through National Health Insurance and income-tax benefit. And the parents have recently formed an Association to decide the course of family-planning and also place their demands for further aid from the Government.

So finally it may be expected that in India too the parents themselves will not hesitate to consider the practice of deliberate family limitation through modern birth-control methods in their own interest, even if our National Government fail to take up their cause. It should also be borne in mind that the question of birth-control is not without precedent even in

India. In the world review it has been found that primitive people in India used various methods, such as infanticide, late marriage, religious prohibition of sexual intercourse during stated periods, only in order to control their family size. In modern India too, the question has not been overlooked altogether. Not long ago, before the achievement of Independence, the Population Sub-Committee of the National Planning Committee of which the Chairman was Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the present Prime Minister of the Republic of India, stressed among its resolutions on the following points :

(1) In the interest of social economy, family happiness and national planning,—family planning and limitation of children by birth-control are essential and as such Birth-control Clinics should be established.

(2) A eugenic programme which should include the sterilisation of persons suffering from transmissible diseases of a serious nature, such as insanity or epilepsy.

Now that the Chairman of the then National Planning Committee is at the top of the administrative machinery of the Republic of India, it is hoped that those resolutions instead of being kept any longer in the shelves of big libraries, will be given a chance to reveal their significance before the public both in the interest of the Government and the people.

Then, while pleading for the immediate adoption of birth-control it cannot be denied that birth-control being one of the live questions of the world today should be scrutinizingly analysed mainly from the political, social and eugenic point of view, as the opponents see in it murder and national decline. Thus the introduction of voluntary birth-control may lead us to three directions: (i) it may cause depopulation and ultimately bring about the extinction of the human race; (ii) it may reduce the reproduction of the provident, prudent and intelligent, and the economically and socially ambitious, leaving the future race to be bred out of the imprudent; or (iii) it may cut off the strain of the silly and selfish, the weak and inefficient who will dispense with children for the very good reason that they lack the physical stamina or the economic ability to support a large family.

Thus the totalitarian countries in the West like France, U.K., and Germany have already been faced with the problem of decline in the population, and more with the unbalanced proportion of young and old men in the whole population. Even as early in the first part of the twenties of this century just after the World War I, France had to encourage more births by declaring bonuses for every child born in the state. According to the estimate of Mr. A. A. Berie, Assistant Secretary of State, U.S.A., the population of U.K., Germany, and France will decline from 46, 69, and 41 millions in 1940 to 42, 64 and 37 millions respectively in 1965. Again, the recent Royal Commission on popu-

lation in Great Britain has found that between the years 1891 and 1947, the number of people above sixty has increased from 7 per cent of 1891, to 15 per cent of 1947 while the percentages of under-nineteens has fallen from 45 per cent of 1891, to 28 per cent in 1947, which is really an unhealthy sign for the ultimate survival of a nation. This sign of degrowth has been a great source of anxiety, as in the past Britain supplied a third of the man-power requirements of the Dominions of the Commonwealth to people the British Dominions in order to maintain Western culture and civilisation. In view of this, the Commission while feeling the need for a replacement level of family size has recommended increased family allowances to encourage bigger family size.

Now it is very likely that the same question of the decline of population may arise within a decade or so after the introduction of voluntary family limitation in India, yet in view of the pitiable condition of the vast Indian masses this vital question of voluntary family limitation cannot be overlooked unless every citizen of the Republic be assured of a reasonable income to secure a better standard of living. Again, in view of the present unfavourable food position too, it seems to be unwise to allow the present unchecked growth of population until India can attain self-sufficiency in food. Moreover, every married couple in modern India should be fully conscious of the heavy responsibilities of bringing a child into the world, and should fix the number of children they are capable of maintaining before a child is born of them.

The important points to be remembered in connection with the introduction of birth-control in India are: (1) that the methods used are reliable and effective; (2) that proper education on birth-control methods is first spread among the people before they adopt the methods; and (3) that the voluntary birth-control does not remain limited only among the more provident and intelligent section of the population but is propagated, and if required, even thrust upon the slovenly, the vicious, the physically unfit, the improvident, the extravagant and the idlers of the community by law.

Thus if the exercise of birth-control by individual parents could be controlled by a eugenic committee, India could undoubtedly conquer degeneracy, dependency and delinquency, and develop into a much superior nation in a few generations.

So it is finally hoped that the eugenic measures and use of contraceptives will not be opposed while the oft-repeated quotation of Professor Thomas Dixon Carver of Harvard University remains true:

"Foxes think large families among the rabbits highly commendable. Employers who want large supplies of cheap labor, priests who want large numbers of parishioners, military leaders who want plenty of cheap food for gun-powder, and politicians who want plenty of voters, all agree in commanding large families and rapid multiplication among the poorer classes."



## ENAMELLING AS PRACTISED IN INDIA

By TINKARI MUKERJEE,

*Dy. Keeper, Government Art Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta*

ENAMELLING is the master art-craft of the world, and in India it reached a state of perfection of the highest order. It has been defined as "a term, strictly speaking, given to the hard vitreous compound, which is fused upon the surface of metallic objects either for the purpose of decoration or utility. This compound is a form of glass made of silica, minium and potash, which is stained by the chemical combination of various metallic oxides whilst in a melted condition in the crucible." Men had a perfect knowledge of this chemical compound at a very early age and utilised it in many ways as a means of decoration. "It was upon pottery and brick that the ancient Egyptians and Assyrians achieved their greatest work in enamelling. For, as yet, no work of such magnificence as the great enamelled walls of the palace of Rameses III, at Tell el-yehudia in the Delta of the Nile, or the palace of Nimrod in Babylon, has been discovered upon metal of any kind. But there were gold ornaments and jewellery enamelled of noble design in opaque turquoise, cobalt, emerald green and purple, some of which can be seen at the British Museum and the Louvre."

In India this craft has been utilised in decorating various objects in such a perfect manner that the works turned out by Indian craftsmen were in no way inferior to the products of the Western countries. Indian products even ranked before all others in perfection and brilliance, in colour harmony and superiority in design. According to Labarte:

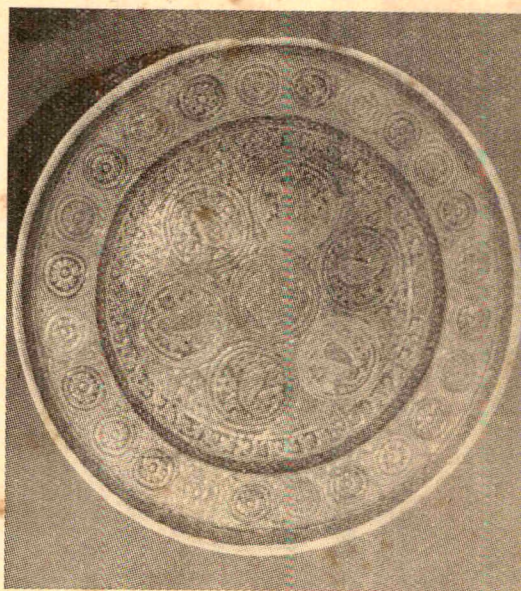
"The art of enamelling originated in Phoenicia and thence found its way into Persia, when it was known in the reign of Chosroes (A.D. 531 to 579). The Greeks and Indians, in their turn acquired the art from the Persians."

The art of enamelling admits of a division of labour between (1) Artist, (2) Engraver and (3) Minakar. The artist prepares the design to be transferred to the metal. Generally he keeps books of patterns, some of great age from which the customers may make selection of designs to be executed. Any addition or alteration required in this direction is made by the artist. The engraver engraves or punches the design on the surface of the required object. The Minakar fills the outlines of the designs with mineral substances and completes the design by polishing. The success of enamelling depends not merely on the perfect combination and proportion of the different ingredients of enamel and the main-

tenance of a uniform temperature throughout the process but to a great extent on the harmonious co-operation of the artist, the engraver and the Minakar. According to Col. T. H. Hendley:

"The engraving is done with steel styles and the polishing is completed with similar tools and agates. The surface of the pits in the gold is ornamented with hatchings, which serve not only to make the enamel adhere firmly but to increase the play of light and shade through the transparent colours. The enameller or Minakar now applies the colours in the order of their hardness, or power of resisting fire, beginning with the hardest. Before the enamel is applied, the surface of the ornament is carefully burnished and cleansed."

In India this craft attained a high state of perfection under the sympathetic patronage of the



Enamelled copper tray in cloisonné style from Kashmir  
*Courtesy: Indian Museum, Calcutta*

Great Mughals during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Mughals were the great patrons of art and they maintained in their service a band of artists and craftsmen to turn out objects of daily utility not only for the royal palace but also for the nobles to be given as presents, as a special favour. Various types of arms in vogue in those days were enamelled by expert Minakars and the art was in a thriving



condition through royal recognition and healthy rivalry.

With the downfall of the Mughal empire the royal support was withdrawn. A spirit of commercialism crept into the craft, a competition in the price of the craft goods became apparent and a tendency to get cheaper goods at a lesser price developed bringing about the deterioration in this art as in all other cases of arts and crafts in India. The specimens of enamelled wares turned out during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries attained such perfection as to be reckoned amongst the master-crafts of India.



Enamelled vase with cover in cloisonne style from Kashmir

*Courtesy: Indian Museum, Calcutta*

The different colours of enamel are obtained from silicates and borates of metals—"yellow produced through the use of chromate of potash; violets through carbonate of manganese; blues through cobalt oxide; browns through red iron oxide; blacks through cobalt by a proportionate mixture of copper, manganese and red iron oxide with a glass compound of quartz, borax, red lead." Of all the colours red and white are very difficult to produce. An experienced Minakar by long years of practice evolves out new techniques and colour schemes through intermixture of different colours which he vigorously preserves as a family secret. Enamelling is a well-known craft and is practised in various towns of

India. There is, however, an appreciable difference in designs and colour schemes of the craft practised in the different towns of India.

Sir George Birdwood recognises three forms or styles of enamelling as under:

(a) In the first form the enamel is simply applied to the metal to be ornamented, like paint applied on the canvas.

(b) In the second form a design is etched on the surface of the metal and the outlines of the designs are then filled up with enamels.

(c) The third form is by means of encrustation which is very ancient and admits of two forms: (i) Cloisonne, (ii) Champleve.

In Cloisonne wires or strips of metal are welded over the outlines of the designs and the designs thus outlined are afterwards filled up by fusing over them enamels which when finished give an appearance of raised designs on smooth surface. In Champleve the designs are cut into the metal itself. The depressions thus hollowed out of the metal are then filled up with the enamels which are made to adhere on the metal by fire. In all these various forms of enamelling "the colours are applied time after time, those that can stand the greatest amount of heat being first used and the others in order of their fusibility."

Besides the various forms of enamellings mentioned above, a form of enamelling termed as 'quasi-enamelling' is practised at Pratabgarh and Ratlam. The process consists of melting a thin layer of green or deep blue enamel on a thin plate of gold or silver with raised rim. While the glass is still hot very thin gold plates cut into mythological or hunting scenes with delicate network of floral scrolls, elephants, tigers, etc., are pressed over the glass. After the enamel has hardened the gold work is etched over with a graver to bring out the details of the ornamentation proposed to be executed. When finished a design in brilliant gold appears on a green or deep blue background. The workmanship in Pratabgarh and Ratlam is the same, the difference is only in colours—Pratabgarh works are deep green while those of Ratlam are deep blue.

Although enamelling in India is essentially a northern Indian art, at Jaipur it has reached the highest state of perfection. The art was introduced into Jaipur by Maharaja Man Singh in the sixteenth century who brought with him some enamellers from Lahore who settled in Jaipur and carried on the art in that region. The type of workmanship is of Champleve nature as described above. It is splendid in design and pure in colour. In cases of the richest and best works only a narrow band of the original metal separates one colour from another. The surface of the metal is so engraved that all but the finest lines of the metal disappear and the entire surface becomes as it were a sheet of translucent enamel. In consideration of the perfection of Jaipur enamels it has been remarked:



"The colours employed rival the tints of the rainbow in purity and brilliancy, and they are laid on the gold by the Jaipur artist with such exquisite taste that there is never a want of harmony; even when jewels are also used they serve but to enhance the beauty of the enamel."

Now Jaipur enamellers occupy the foremost place in the whole of India. The works enamelled by them

received worldwide recognition. This instinct of a weaver has found itself expressed not in a lesser degree in their art of enamelling also. For copper wares different shades of blue are preferred and for silver wares a light blue colour is used, red and yellow being less common. Besides ornaments the wares enamelled are large water basins and Aftabas, plates, boxes and



A richly enamelled huqqa base with Kalka designs in cloisonne style from Bhawalpur

Courtesy: Indian Museum, Calcutta



A huqqa base of silver, richly enamelled in champleve style from Lucknow

Courtesy: Indian Museum, Calcutta

are varied in number. The sphere of their work includes the tiniest scent-holder, *Kairi*, the mango-shaped locket, ornaments of various designs and shapes, small *kautas*, plates and betel boxes. Red, creamy white, green and yellow are the colours generally favoured by them on gold and silver wares and the designs consist of flowers and creepers.

Kashmir stands next in importance in the art of enamelling. The industry has achieved considerable development and commands a wide market all over India. The work is not limited to gold or silver alone but it embraces within its scope brass and copper wares. The type of work is of the nature of Cloisonné. In Kashmir enamelling the colours are much coarser and are not transparent. Although the art has not attained the eminence of the Jaipur works in brilliancy and purity of colour still a variety of interesting designs have been introduced in enamelling. The Kashmiris are noted weavers and their shawls have

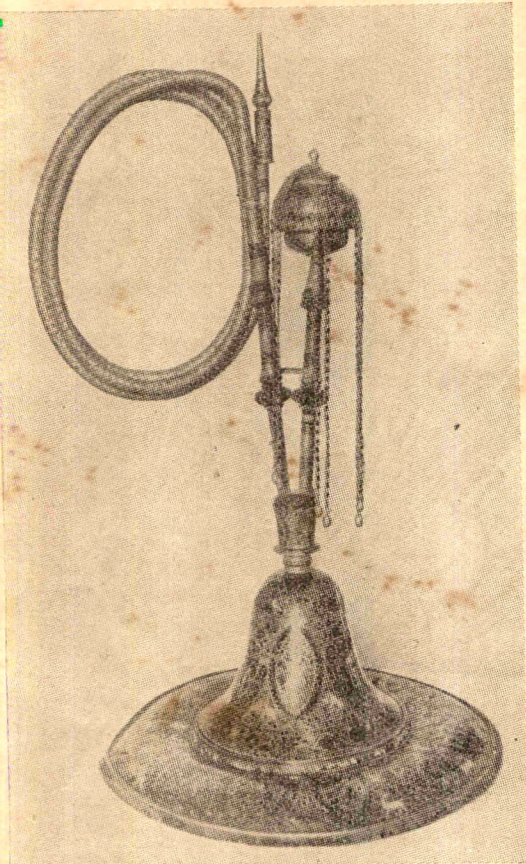
other types of wares of daily usage. The following styles and qualities of the Kashmir enamelling have been recognised:

- (a) The shawl pattern,
- (b) The Arabesque style,
- (c) The Rosette pattern,
- (d) The embossed form,
- (e) The mosaic style—a coarse form of enamelling, bold and effective, composed of large patches of colour.

*Lucknow and Rampur*: These towns turn out enamelled products of considerable merit though the enamellers of these two towns have not attained the standard of excellence of the Jaipur workers. Patterns are etched out on silver in which green and blue with patches of yellow, brown and orange enamels are applied. The designs consist of flowers and creepers which are sometimes overburdened with animal figures. The articles enamelled in these two towns are



numerous varying from small *kautas* to large-sized *huqqa* bottoms. The enamels in these two towns are mostly done by Muhammedans to meet Muhammedan demands and as such they are conspicuous by the absence of any form either human or divine. The



A huqqa complete with chilumchi and mouth-piece, influenced by Delhi enamellers

Courtesy: Indian Museum, Calcutta

inferiority of the products of these two towns is due to the absence of a background or any well-marked scheme of composition and colour.

*Kangra, Multan and Bhawalpore* : These towns are noted for turning out various enamelled ornaments. The enamellers of Kangra have a particular aptitude for enamelling small silver ornaments—finger and toe rings, necklaces of various types and ornaments for the brow, head and ears connected by chains and these are enamelled with dark blue and green colours with considerable success.

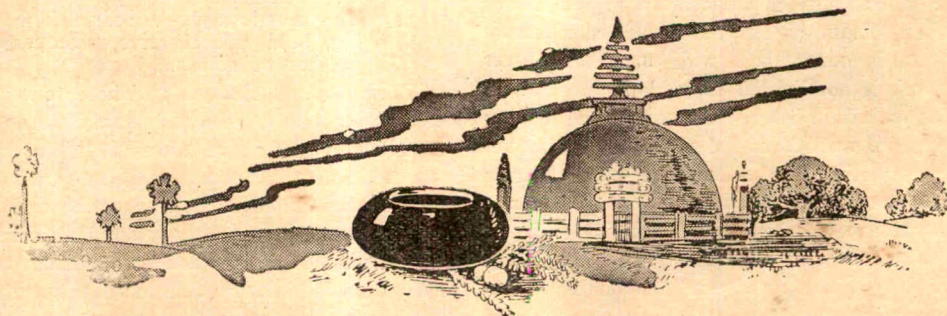
*Benares* : A variety of enamelled works of diverse colours are produced here and the style is of Champ-pleve. The art has developed here not in its own course but as means to an end. Noticing this characteristic of Benares enamels Sir George Watt wrote:

"The art of enamelling seems confined to the production of large patches of colour in imitation of jewels or as a setting to jewels, rather than in the elaboration of a floral design or other designs that could be regarded as a distinct style of enamelling."

Regarding the development of this art in Bengal, the following remarks offered by Mr. T. N. Mukerjee while compiling the catalogue for the Glasgow International Exhibition, 1888, seem interesting:

"About sixty years ago the art of enamelling was introduced in Bengal from Delhi but it did not take root, and as an industry it has now entirely disappeared."

As has already been said enamelling as an art was and is still practised in the various towns of India as a means of decoration both of ornaments and of various articles of daily usage. Each town developed a particular style of work both in colour schemes and designs influenced to a considerable extent by the artistic tradition of the particular province from where the enamellers came and secondly by their religious convictions. Thus a discriminative feature in the style and workmanship developed in the enamel products of the various provinces. In the above paragraphs only the enamel products of a few important towns of India have been briefly described, as an exhaustive report on the works of the other towns left out would be rather lengthy. In modern times signs of deterioration in the art have been apparent due to a demand for cheap articles.





## COCHIN

By L. N. GUBIL

COCHIN is a beautiful native state, which is about 1,500 square miles in extent with a population numbering about 1,205,000. It consists of hilly tracts and plains, where there are rich forests which teem with fauna of almost every kind. In the extensive plains we find an endless succession of rich fields and vegetable gardens

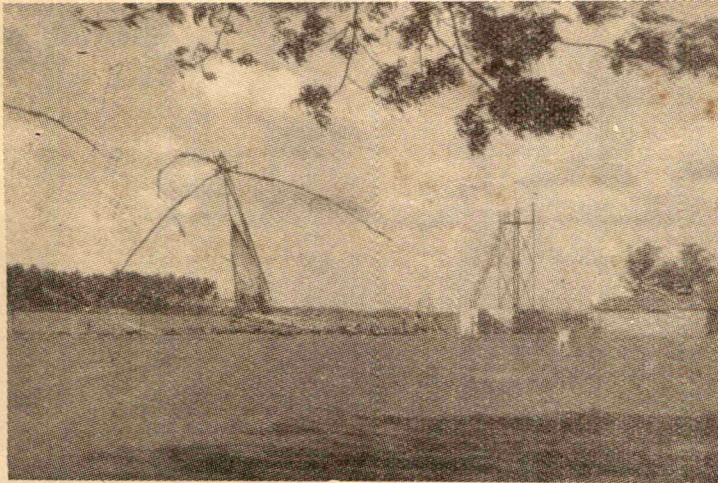
waters, a large section of the people depend on fishing as their main occupation.

Cochin stands foremost in point of education as there are no less than 186 Government institutions consisting of 27 High Schools, 14 Lower Secondary Schools, 9 Primary Schools, 126 Malayalam Schools and

5 Fishery Schools besides two first grade Colleges, a Training College for Teachers, a Sanskrit College, a Music School and a Sanskrit School. There are also 476 schools under private management including two Colleges, 24 High Schools, 53 Lower Secondary Schools, 318 Malayalam Schools besides a school for the blind, another for the children of lepers and a third for the deaf and the dumb. Without any sort of compulsion, over 80 per cent of the children of school-going age attend school in Cochin.

As a result of the vast progress made in education people are advanced also in the political sphere. About 15 years ago a Legislative Council with a majority of elected

members was inaugurated; and from the very outset it enjoyed substantial powers. These powers



The Harbour, Cochin

besides countless groves of graceful cocoanut palms. All the several rivers and canals, which beautify the landscape, serve as arteries of traffic and trade.

The forests and lagoons of Cochin occupy nearly a third of the total area of the State; and the habitable portions of the State support a very dense population. We find among the people different types who talk in most of the living languages. But the vast majority of them have the Dravidian Malayalam as their basic language. All forms of religion flourish in the State. Thus there are great variations to be found among the people—variations in respect of appearance, language and culture.

In recent years the State has become very progressive; and it now stands far ahead of every native state and province in India. Quite recently the port of Cochin has been developed at an enormous cost, and now the whole of the sea-borne trade of the State as well as of adjoining territories is carried on through it. Between the sea and the mainland is a vast stretch of backwater, which along with the subsidiary canals extends as far as Ponnani in the north and Trivandrum in the south. As fishes of various kinds abound in these



Cocoanut grove on the backwaters of Cochin

were extended from time to time until in June, 1937, a new constitution was ushered in, which transferred all the "nation-building" departments to the charge of a "Minister for Rural Development," who was chosen from among the elected Members of

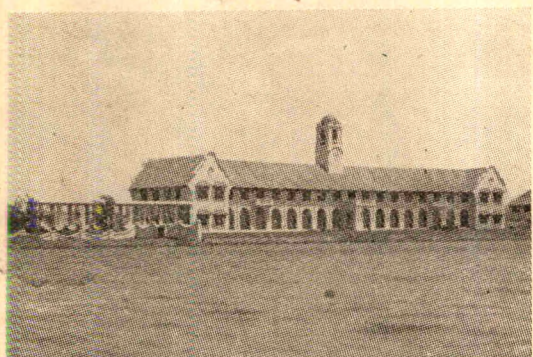


the Legislative Council. The Minister, who is amenable to popular control is exerting his utmost energy to the problem of advancing the economic condition of the people of the State. Subsequently several steps have been taken for improving the morale and efficiency of the administration. And Cochin richly deserves the honour of having introduced a measure of responsible Government for the first time among the native states of India.



Law College, Secretariat and Irwin Park

The State has various attractions for a tourist. The most spectacular is the forest tramway which was introduced solely for the purpose of tapping an area of about 200 square miles of virgin forest. Its construction was a very difficult piece of engineering work. This tramway runs to a length of 50 miles from Chalakudi in an easterly direction. In the forests tapped by the tramway much of the work of transporting logs to the tramway line leading them on to trucks is done by the elephants, which live in large numbers in the dense forests.



Administration Block, Cochin Harbour

Among other attractions are a number of ancient places, temples and churches, which possess architectural beauty. In some of them are to be found fine

examples of painting, exquisite alike in conception and execution. There is also the oldest palace in the State known as the "Dutch Palace" at Mattancheri. This was built by the Portuguese and presented to the Raja of Cochin about the year 1555 A.D. It is a beautiful quadrangular building of three storeys divided into long narrow chambers. In the centre of the courtyard the Patron deity of the Royal family is enshrined. The walls of the Palace are adorned with beautiful paintings; and important functions of the State are now performed in this stately Palace.

By the side of the Dutch Palace is situated the "White Jews Synagogue" which is one of the interesting sights in the State. This synagogue is about 40 feet long and 30 feet wide and is walled around. The floor of the hall is in beautiful blue, while willow-pattern tiles and silver lamps hang from the ceiling. In this synagogue is preserved the famous copper plate grant of Bhaskara Ravi Varma, by which a piece of land was made an independent principality under the Jewish Prince Joseph Rabban and his heirs.



Road bridge from W. Island to Mattanchery

About twenty miles off Mattancheri is Cranganur, a place of very great historical interest. In ancient days it had great commercial importance, as the Phoenicians, the Egyptians, the Greeks and the Romans came in turn to this port for commercial purposes. The ivory, the sandalwood and the peacock feathers that graced the palace of Solomon must have been exported from this ancient port.

The Jews, the Mahommadans and the Christians claim Cranganur as their first settlement. And two of the most important temples in the State are in Cranganur—the Thiruvanchikulam Temple and the Bhagavathi temple. According to tradition, the Thiruvanchikulam temple was founded by one of the early Perumals on the model of Dravidian temples. By the side of this temple, is the "Cheraman Paramba," where it is believed the Perumals had their residence. And



The Bhagavathi temple at Cranganur is famous throughout Kerala because of the annual "Bharani" festival, which attracts thousands of worshippers from all parts of the West Coast. This festival lasts for seven days after which the temple is purified, as it is believed to have been profaned by the presence of the untouchables during the festival time. There is a small mosque at Cranganur, which is the first mosque founded in the whole of India. It does not face Mecca like other mosques, but faces due east. There are several ancient Christian churches as well in and about Cranganur, of which the one at Kottapuram is the best known. Saint Thomas, the apostle, is said to have landed at the site of this church about 1900 years ago, and this is one of the churches founded by him.

Ernakulam is another important town, which is the capital of the State. It is a picturesque town situated in a beautiful setting. It faces a broad expanse of backwater which spreads to the north and south as far as the eye could see. In the backwaters which are dotted with islets and islands, thousands of country-craft ply at all hours of the day. Almost all the important public buildings are on the foreshore. Although Ernakulam is the headquarters of the State, the seat of the Royal family is at Thrippunithura, which is six miles east of Ernakulam.

At Thrippunithura, there are several palaces built for the members of the Royal family.

In the centre of this town there is a very important Vishnu temple of great antiquity. Around the palace of the Maharaja is a beautiful garden, which is attractively laid out. From the top of the hill near by, a panoramic view of the green fields around can be had.

Another important town of the Cochin State is Trichur, which is built round a hillock, on the top of which is the famous Vadakkunthan temple. Trichur is a busy centre having an extensive bazaar. In the heart of the town is situated the Havelock Market, which is the biggest market in the State.

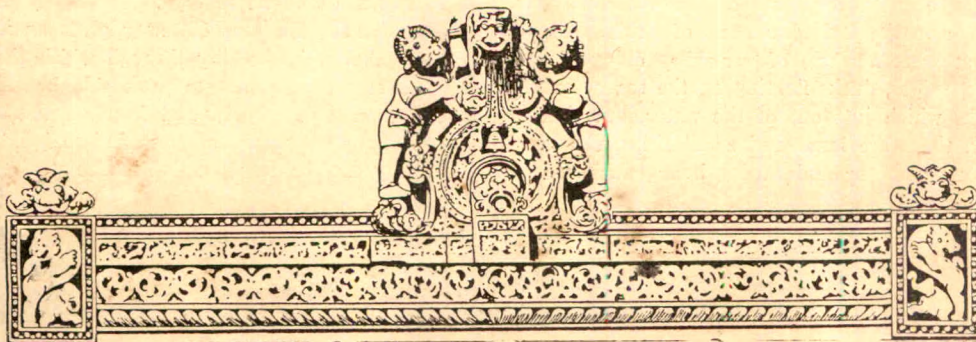
On the way from Shoranur to Trichur is the small town of Cheruthuruthi, where the Kerala Kalamandalam

founded by the well-known poet Vallathol is situated. Regular classes are held in the institution for teaching the fine arts to the enthusiastic band of art-lovers.



Jew Street with the Synagogue, Mattanchery

The Cochin State is thus teeming with several places of historical interest, which attract many hundreds of visitors of its borders. The genial climate as well as the physical charm of the State have attracted the attention of countless people who have made Cochin their home. Really Cochin is an advanced native State, which competes in all respects with any highly advanced province of India.

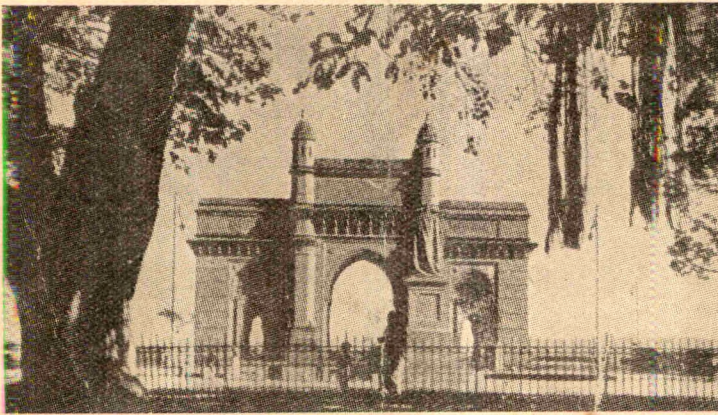




## A GLIMPSE OF BOMBAY HARBOUR

By G.

BOMBAY Harbour is the mighty gateway to the East where Orientals and Westerners have poured in for centuries from the continents of Asia, Africa, North America, South America, Europe and Australia. These foreigners came for the purpose of trade and as a result of emigration, and enabled Eastern and Western cultures to progress side by side.



Gateway of India, Bombay Harbour

Far across the blue sunny sparkling water, purple mountains enshrouded in mists and vapours soar to the sky, and faintly visible through a pair of binoculars are the famous Elephanta Caves. To these caves, trawlers and steam-boats convey tourists and local folk, who come to see this spectacle of mystery and wonder of ancient Hindu art and archaeology of a bygone age and to enjoy a pleasant afternoon in the cool shadows of their interior. Usually the more enthusiastic bring along their cameras, and from a high altitude on the mountains snap an ideal picture of the whole harbour. What then can the onlooker see of this pleasant spectacle but great numbers of sea-gulls, did-you-do-its, water crows, snipes, ducks floating on the sea or seated on the rocks which jutt out of the water, but that is not all, for, there are large and small ships, steamers, trawlers, barges, motor and sailing boats, anchored in

mid-stream, while frailer craft tied to ropes hug the shore.

Large mansions line Ballard Estate which look on to the harbour and increase its importance. Lying adjacent to some of the most prominent offices like the Customs House and other Houses, are the mighty Clock Tower and the Tajmahal Hotel, a famous mansion where wealthy European and Indian businessmen and visitors put up. This mansion looks on to the sea, and in the evening thousands of cosmopolitan men, women and children are seated on the walls overlooking the hotel, and enjoy the saline breeze and boat-trips across the calm waters where the glorious crimson sun slowly sinks to rest, clothing the harbour with a faint pink mantle which enhances its beauty and charm.

At Alexandra Dock where large ships of different nations are anchored, embarking and disembarking of passengers and cargoes go on in a bustle. Here Police, Customs officials, and clerks of Shipping Companies and their coolies carry out their tasks according to schedule.

Hawkers have chosen this spot as an ideal centre to increase the profits of their monopoly, and sell sweetmeats, cold drinks, tea and other things to the passengers that come off the boats.

An awe-inspiring sight is a statue of Zeus, with a sceptre in his hand and as he stands aloft in his majesty he leaves behind an impression to many that he is master of all he surveys.

The famous Harbour Gateway gives an impression to many that it is the way through which the Eastern and Western traders meet to work side by side to exchange their ideas freely and lay the foundation of a better India, to ensure progress and to build a better democracy for the free peoples of the world.





# THE DAMODAR VALLEY PROJECT

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

THE Damodar Valley Corporation has come under fire recently. The immediate cause has been certain remarks made in a loose way by a Minister at the Centre who should have known better, and a stormy debate initiated by some of our parliamentarians. There is a spate of vague accusations and wild charges made upon the D.V.C., and as a consequence the whole scheme is jeopardized. If these charges had been specific and if the basis of the accusations had been firm then the Damodar Valley Corporation might have been subjected to a definite indictment before the tribunal of public opinion with some justification. But even then the scheme itself should not have been assailed in the irresponsible fashion as it is being now. For, the scheme is not merely a grandiose plan to enhance the prosperity of a few, it is in the main an extremely urgent plan to assure the social and economic security of some fifteen-odd million nationals of India who have suffered bitterly for decades in the cause of liberty.

If this measure of Social Security is thrown overboard in a fit of rage or malice, then it will just be the beginning of the end. We know that there are some morons, who are solely motivated in all their conscious and unconscious actions by petty parochial considerations, and to our sorrow we have to admit that the number of such persons in high places of office and political forums is by no means inconsiderable — thanks to the party alignments and political campaigns that are the order of the day—but surely there must be some with judgement and vision broad enough to see the danger of disruption and chaos that these anti-national and anti-social moves indicate. We have a long way to go and vast deal to learn, by bitter experience and by the process of trial and error, before we become au courant with the methods and procedure of marshalling and leading a great nation to progress and security. But does that mean that we must start by setting each other's houses on fire and by striving with all our might and main to deprive others even though it might mean providing ourselves with little, if any, substantial gain?

We might be accused of painting a lurid picture without any reason or rhyme. To that we have to say, much to our regret, that there is this cancerous growth in the body politic, and the sooner it is diagnosed and operated upon the better for the future of the Union. Only the other day a Cabinet Minister of the Centre tried to stop the long delayed and long overdue Messanjore Dam by forwarding to President Rajendra Prasad, on the eve of the foundation-stone laying ceremony, a fairy tale about all the fabulous treasures of El Dorado lying at the site of the proposed dam. The Minister knew, at least it was incumbent on him to know, that the geological survey had already reported after labourious investigation, that copper was present only in such ultra-microscopic quantities that it would not pay to extract it even it were

many times more precious than gold, that in the strata at the damsite, there was no more possibility of the occurrence of coal than cheese, and finally that the alleged "Vast Coal Seam" shown to the survey officials was not coal but useless dark muck and it was nowhere more than 1/8th inch thick!

All praise to President Rajendra Prasad for scotching this fairy tale at the ceremony.

What is the genesis of all this controversy about the D.V.C.? A few canards let fly by some high officials, with what cannot but be ulterior motives, and some thoughtless remarks by a Minister who had not bothered to study an auditor's report in detail, as he ought to have done. Out of this is born a whirlwind of wild accusations in the nation's highest forum, by men who should have considered such an important question from all aspects and should have weighed their words. The repercussions of this storm spread nation-wide and irresponsible papers exploit it for copy, adding colour and body to a matter that is unsubstantial in its very basis, and there rises a clamour in all quarters, high and low, "Stop the Damodar Valley project, the nation is financially ruined!" Even the *Harijan* adds its voice to this hulla-baloo, forgetting its traditions and forgetting its responsibilities. And we must remark in passing that this is not the first occasion in which such a lapse has occurred in the *Harijan* where the nationals of West Bengal are concerned.

We will not say anything about the other papers, knowing them to be, as we do, no better than they could be, but we must join issue with S. N. Agarwal's article in the *Harijan* of 3rd March last. First of all, if S. N. Agarwal means Principal Sriman Narayan Agarwal, we must express our profound surprise.

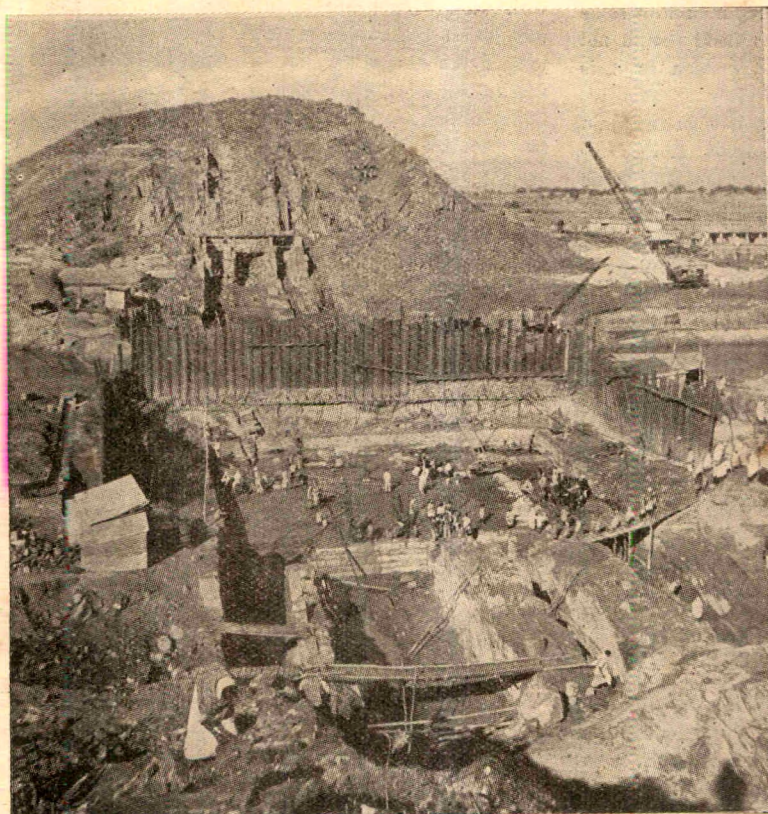
Shri Agarwal states:

"In reply to a question about the Damodar Valley Corporation, the Minister for Natural Resources and Scientific Research told the Parliament on February 21 that the present estimate of the Damodar Valley project was Rs. 110 crores and that the original estimate of Rs. 55 crores was based, 'more or less on guesswork.' Coming from the Minister of 'Scientific Research,' the reply sounds most ludicrous. We can understand a difference of 5 or 10 per cent between the original and revised estimates of a project. But to announce quietly a difference of 100 per cent involving an additional amount of 55 crores is, surely, a highly irresponsible administrative procedure. What guarantee is there that even these revised estimates have been prepared 'scientifically'? If the nation had known earlier that the Project would cost such a huge amount of 110 crores, perhaps, the scheme might not have been sanctioned at all." (Italics ours.—Ed.)

"Shri B. R. Bhagat, a member of Parliament from Bihar, revealed that in spite of repeated demand by the Advisory Committee of the Corporation, detailed estimates for the Project have not been submitted properly. The estimates submitted in May 1949 were found to be insufficient and after great pressure the Corporation had submitted estimates in November



1950. The Corporation had put the blame for the slow rate of progress on 'shortage of hard currencies'. But this excuse was found baseless. Moreover, the Corporation had not maintained any regular schedule of rates of contract. Shri Shiva Rao also drew the attention of the House to the remarks of the Auditor-General that 'some of the Damodar Valley projects might prove uneconomical and that work should be taken on a project only if, in spite of additional costs, the project was economical.' This is, undoubtedly, a very significant observation and must be taken into serious consideration before finalizing any schemes of the D.V.C. The Minister informed the House that it had been decided to construct the Bhakra Dam 'departmentally'."



Long view of concreting the far bank of Tilaiya

Shri Agarwal is an economist and as such must be conversant with world economics. The original estimates for the Damodar Valley Project were made about the middle of 1945. The revised estimates were made in the first part of 1950. He says he could understand "a difference of 5 or 10 per cent" between the two, and so should we take it that he is prepared to prove that the rise in the index numbers of costs and prices is just that much for that period and no more?

To the best of our knowledge the index number of wholesale prices in the U.K., U.S.A., and Canada have registered an increase of 50 per cent to 70 per cent since the war ended. Elsewhere, for example, in France and

Italy, the rise has been steeper, while in India the wholesale price index has gone up by 70 per cent, from 245 to 418. Moreover, the cost of heavy construction has risen much higher than general prices. The U.S. construction cost index, which was 302 in January 1945, stood at 520.6 in August 1950, and there has been further increase since. In India the rise during the same period has been of the order of 100 per cent.

Then he goes on to say, "If the nation had known earlier that the Project would cost such a huge amount of 110 crores, perhaps, the scheme might not have been sanctioned at all." Pray why? He has mentioned Bhakra Dam, so he cannot be unaware of the costs involved there. The estimates are 130 crores, *excluding vast departmental expenses which are included in the D.V.C. because it is not being constructed departmentally.* So why should the Damodar Valley Project have been abandoned rather than the Bhakra-Nagali Project? The former benefits 25 millions in West Bengal and the latter benefits a slightly larger population in East Punjab.

Then he quotes Shri B. R. Bhagat and Shri Shiva Rao to further substantiate his statements. Did he ascertain how much of these statements are based on facts and how much on wrong premises before he came to so drastic conclusions? Finally, we would ask Shri Agarwal whether he forgot that social security of 15 millions directly and 10 millions indirectly, 75 per cent of whom are poor villagers, depended on the Damodar Valley scheme.

But we must turn to facts ourselves before we proceed further in our analysis of all

this ballyhoo about the D.V.C. Regarding the Auditor's Report, which has been flourished so often and so vigorously by all and sundry, we would abide by the criticisms made by the *Capital*, in its issue of the 8th March.

The *Capital* comes clearly to the point thus:

"The first point to notice is that the uncertainty is one of book-keeping; there is disagreement about how the Corporation should enter certain forms of expenditure in its accounts, not about the wisdom of the expenditure itself. *There is no suggestion that large sums have been misspent, nor is there any recommendation from the Auditor that the Corporation reduce its expenses under*

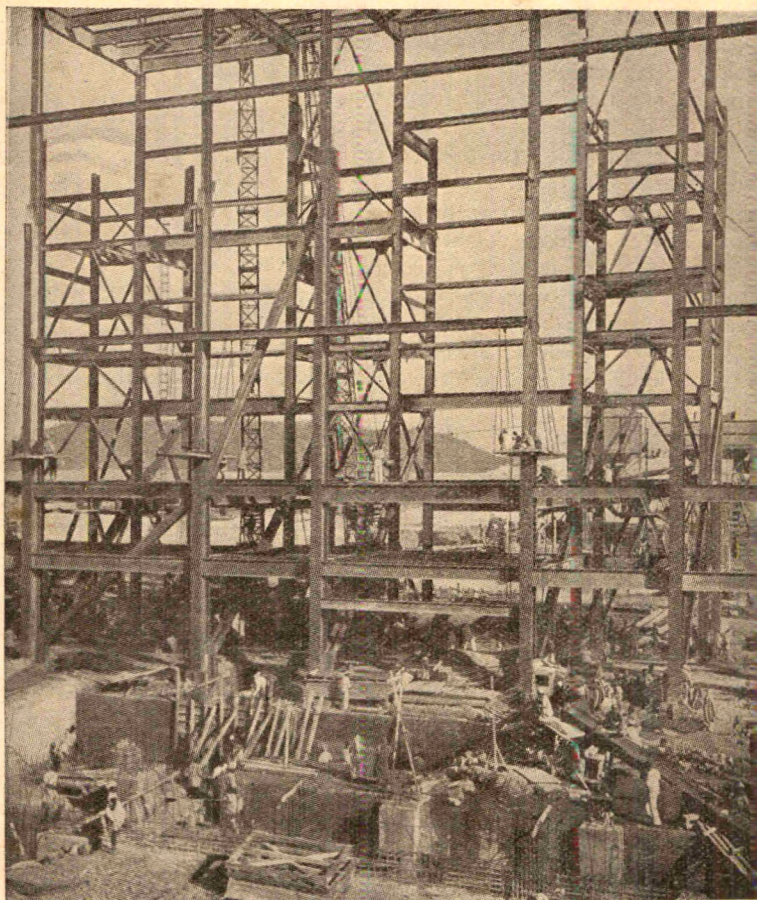


certain heads from 61 per cent to 11 per cent of budget. It is laid down in the D.V.C. Act that the Corporation must allocate its spending under four major heads: Power, Irrigation, Flood Control and Overhead and General Charges. What cannot be debited to any of the first three must be shown under Head Four. *The Corporation has found it necessary to undertake activities which are essentially in the nature of capital expenditure and bear no relation to overheads in the usually defined sense, i.e., administrative charges and the like. Such activities include the upkeep of stores depots, timber and repairs workshops, geological surveys, meteorological and soil studies, afforestation, resettlement and public health; and the advisability of these activities had nowhere been questioned. So great was the uncertainty of the Auditor as to what constituted 'overheads' in an undertaking of this kind that in his report he has shown clearly how the D.V.C.'s overhead charges can be calculated variously at 11 per cent, 17 per cent, 46 per cent and 61 per cent. This section of the report is altogether admirable for its clarity and ends with the appeal: 'It is now for the Government of India to issue orders whether in working out the overhead percentage, soil conservation and other expenses which are usually of a capital nature, should be excluded from 'Overhead and General Charges.' Accordingly, the air of mystification which Members brought to the discussion in Parliament is difficult to account for.'* (Italics ours.—Ed.)

We think that about disposes the controversy regarding the Auditor's report. The overhead charges, if they are calculated along accepted lines would certainly be not more than 11 per cent. And as to the possibility of this figure being lowered in the future, the Auditor's own remarks are quite conclusive. He says :

(j) It was also argued that the Corporation have been in existence up to 31.3.1950, only for a year and nine months, and that major portion of this time was spent in the preliminary work of organising, etc. Actual work was perhaps done for less than half the period. Overheads in the early

organising period are bound to be proportionately heavier but reduce themselves with increasing works programme. For instance, during the year, their capital expenses were only about Rs. 2.5 crores excluding the advance paid to the International General Electric Co. Ltd. During the current year (1950-51) the expenditure is estimated to be about Rs. 8 crores, and a little over Rs. 13 crores in 1951-52. Without much addition to the Overheads it is expected to carry out these works thereby reducing the Overhead percentage at least to half if not to a third.



Steel structure of the Bokaro Thermal Power Station

Let us now consider the enhancement of the revised estimates to about double the original figure.

The estimated cost of the "first phase" of the D. V. Project, that is the four Dams at Talaiya, Konar I, Maithon and Panchet Hill, the Bokaro Power Station and the transmission system and the Durgapur Barrage with its irrigation and irrigation-cum-navigation chambers, was calculated to be about 38.13 crores in the original Voorduin Memorandum. The data on which this was prepared was not quite reliable, even at that time as was shown later by Voorduin himself when he revised the estimates for certain items



in the light of fresh and more reliable data. For instance, in the case of Konar I dam, the original estimate of 2.01 crores was revised to 4.14 crores and that for Maithon dam was changed from 7.94 crores to 8.53 crores by Voorduin himself, shortly after.

The D.V.C., when it was created in the middle of 1948, was faced with the task of revising the entire estimates in view of the all-round rise of prices and costs that had taken place since 1945. It had to proceed piecemeal as there was no point in revision of estimates, for all practical purposes, until the designs of all items of work of the "first phase" of the D. V. Project had been completed. The three participating governments complained about the delay and the uncertainty about the final commitments, with some justification no doubt, and this is reflected in Shri B. R. Bhagat's remarks that were referred to in Shri S. N. Agarwal's article in the *Harijan*.

The D. V. Corporation saw the point of these complaints, and as soon as the new American Chief Engineer had been appointed it put him on to that job. The final estimates were submitted in detail by him and it was found to be Rs. 75.94 crores as against Rs. 38.13 crores of Voorduin's original estimate, which was based on insufficient and partially unreliable data as we have shown.

The public mind has been exercised considerably by this sudden jump in the estimates from 38.13 crores to 75.94 crores, an increase of almost exactly 100 per cent, and quite justifiably so, in the absence of cogent reasons and figures. Let us examine the causative factors.

About 50 per cent of the increase in estimates is clearly due to world-wide inflation, and devaluation has caused a rise of Rs. 4 crores. These are factors that have affected all schemes, of governmental planning or of private enterprise, and it is no use thinking wishfully that it should not have exceeded "5 or 10 per cent at the most." Of the balance of the revised estimates, Rs. 15.3 crores are accounted for by the extension of benefits in the re-designed plans.

The extra benefits mentioned include (a) 33½ per cent increase in the perennial irrigation area, (b) almost trebling the length of the Transmission main lines and (c) 33½ per cent increase in the ultimate installed capacity of the Bokaro Thermal Power Station.

Two extra hydro-electric plants and a 90-mile long navigation-cum-irrigation canal linking the Bengal coal fields with the greater Calcutta industrial area, that were contemplated in the Voorduin Plan but were excluded from the "first phase" estimates, are now included in the scope. The Konar area was to have been developed in the original multi-purpose scheme in two stages, of which Konar I dam formed the first phase and Konar II and III in the second phase. In the revised estimate Konar I has been vastly expanded to bring in within its scope the functions of Konar II

and III. Thus the increased estimates can be accounted for piecemeal. We append below a break-up of the main items to show the increase.

#### D. V. PROJECT

##### Break-up of estimated costs.

	As estimated by Voorduin	As now estimated by D.V.C.
	Rs. in crores.	Rs. in crores.
(a) Tilaiya Dam	2.20 (later 1.41)	1.96
(b) Konar No. 1	2.01 (later 4.14) (including power of 10,000 K.W.) (If cost of Konar 2 & 3 & of an- other 30,000 power be added, the estimate would be 7.12 crores).	7.09 (cost of redi- signed dam). (If combined po- wer plant of Konar 1, 2 & 3 be added for 40,000 K.W. po- wer, the total cost would be 10.99).
(c) Bokaro Thermal ..	7.71 (1,50,000 K.W.)	12.06 (2,00,000 K.W.)
(d) Transmission System ..	2.33 (175 miles)	6.30 (470 miles)
(e) Barrage and Irrigation	5.75 (Irrigation 7,60,000 acres)	18.75 (including 2.36 for Navi- gation). (Irrigation 10,00,000 acres).
(f) Maithon ..	7.94 (later 8.53)	12.50
(g) Panchet Hill	8.05	13.38
Total ..	35.99	72.04
excluding Navigation		
Add cost of Konar No. 1, No. 2 & No. 3 ..		3.90 (power for 40,000 K.W.)
(Combined Power Plant)		
Grand total of cost per revised estimate ..		75.94

We would welcome a criticism of the D.V.C. Report on the basis of the above, provided the discussion is factual and all figures and percentages advanced in criticism of the D.V.C. figures are up-to-date and authenticated. We can well understand the sincere anxiety of our Parliamentarians to see that the hard-earned money of the over-burdened taxpayer is spent efficiently and justifiably, but we would appreciate their anxiety all the more if they were less prone to be bamboozled by cooked-up figures, by quotations detached from context or by *ex cathedra* declarations, made on the basis of deductions derived from faulty premises.

In conclusion, we have to express ourselves strongly against the obstructionist moves. The debate up till now resembles a filibuster move to hold up the entire project. Officialdom seems to be bent upon revoking



the terms of the original Act and to deprive the D.V.C. of its autonomous powers and to bring the project in line with other schemes that are being proceeded with "departmentally." The consequences of such a move do not seem to have been weighed up fully by the debaters. To start with, we do not see that money wasted by a governmental department means any more consolation to the tax-payer than if it were wasted by an autonomous corporation. And we are willing to wager that the expenses in the works in the river-valley schemes now under "departmental" management would make the same showing, if not worse, as in the D.V.C., if they were high-lighted in the same fashion. Then again the main purpose behind the Act, nay, behind the main scheme itself is being forgotten in the heat of the controversy. We agree with the *Capital* when it remarks:

"When he sponsored the T.V.A. Bill, President Franklin Roosevelt described that authority as 'a corporation clothed with the powers of Government but possessed of the flexibility and initiative of private enterprise,' and the balance between these two functions is the essence of this type of undertaking. Mr. Sri Prakasa's forecast of 'effective statutory control and direction' by the Government clearly involves loss of much of the D.V.C.'s present flexibility, but it is seriously to be considered whether great multi-purpose projects can be executed without substantial delegation of powers, financial powers in particular."

Time is of the essence in the Damodar Valley Project for reasons more than one. Flood control was the main consideration of the British Government of India—which was more than oblivious of the vast amount of human suffering in the Damodar area—which led to the examination, survey and formulation of the original Damodar Valley Scheme.

The Damodar river in spate does not brook any trifling with. Its record of major flood disasters is ample evidence of that statement. British records show that devastating floods occurred in 1823, 1848, 1856, 1859, 1863, 1882, 1890, 1898, 1901, 1905, 1907, 1913, 1916, 1923, 1935, and 1943. And these despite extensive and costly, though futile, attempts at confining the river on its western side, where it approaches the E. I. Railway and the Grand Trunk Road, by means of bunds and levees for over a hundred miles. The last disaster was in 18th July 1943, during what was, according to the Damodar records, a minor flood. All traffic, by rail and by road, was suspended between the stations above and below Burdwan from the 18th of July to 8th of October, 1943, despite frantic efforts by the American military engineers in conjunction with the British and Indian civil and military services. Leaving aside the civilian losses, which were enormous, the costs of repair, rechanneling, rebuilding, etc., ran into many crores.

That danger is ever present today. A similar

disaster, if it occurred during a flood comparable to the 1913 peak, would destroy towns like Burdwan and damage industrial Calcutta severely and submerge hundreds of thousands of acres of rice fields. The Government of India will have to pay out at least Rs. 20 crores in repairs and replacements to Rail and Road, Post and Telegraph and other public utility departments. Over and above that there would be millions, literally, to provide with food and shelter and medical aid, for months. *This fact should be borne in mind when there is any talk regarding the postponement of the project.*

Then comes the question of irrigation. There are some brilliant gentlemen, with narrow single-track minds, who think it would be better to make good deficits in cereals by purchase from abroad rather than to ensure its production at home if it means low returns on large capital investments. Are they aware of the fact that the American continents have had ten years of good harvests, and if the cycle turns,—as it might at any moment now—then there would be little surplus available, even at fabulous costs. And if World War III comes on, there would be no transport available, even if mountains of grain were available. The British Government at home realized that and has therefore strained every nerve and spent untold millions in developing its agricultural resources.

The Damodar Valley project, in conjunction with the Mor-Valley scheme, which is rapidly progressing, will mean self-sufficiency in food for the chronically deficit area of West Bengal, at least for some considerable time. Further it would mean increased production of jute and cotton and some sugarcane as well. This is another fact to be considered. The navigation canal would substantially free the worst bottle-neck in the most congested railway traffic area in India.

Lastly comes the question of Power. We are told we could buy all the power we needed from Eirakud. Quite apart from the intrinsic defects of such a proposition, which would deprive the project of what should be the major source of its revenues, the proponents of this scheme seem to have forgotten that the overhead transmission lines, in order to be economic, would have to be laid across the thinly populated eastern tracts of Orissa which is the worst cyclone-ridden belt in India.

Finally comes the question of the millions, whose hopes in the future are linked up with the Damodar Valley Scheme. They have been deliberately neglected in the past. The motive for this neglect was the dragooning of a people who had dared to protest against the dictates of British Imperialism. This is not the place to go into details of the manifold devices for their punishment and degradation that British malice wrought. It is common knowledge to the educated man all over India, excepting to those who would deliberately prevaricate.

# CHARLOTTE BRONTE

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"Power above powers, O heavenly Eloquence,  
That with the strong rein of commanding words  
Dost manage, guide, and master the eminence  
Of men's affections, more than all their swords;  
Shall we not offer to thy excellence  
The richest treasure that our wit affords?"

—SAMUEL DANIEL

CHARLOTTE BRONTE! What can ever be said about Charlotte Bronte that shall do the completest justice to her? Mere words are not adequate to describe her dazzling genius: no, not even words that carry a comparable emotional voltage to those that she habitually used. Charlotte Bronte is as much beyond our highest praise as any mortal can well be who has his (or her) day and then ceases to be. To me the hours I spent in her company are "a consecration and a cream." I had read many masters of English prose before I came to her; with the result that I should never have expected her to be capable, not only of challenging comparison with them, but also of beating them on their own ground, as it were, with but the solitary exception of the hermit of Winterslow. As R. L. Stevenson long ago clinched the matter, "We are mighty fine fellows, but none of us can write like William Hazlitt." Hazlitt, indeed, is on an eminence apart. It is always best to leave him alone when we are discussing what Dryden has; with commendable felicity, called "that other harmony." Moreover, Hazlitt was not a story-teller; and since I am, just now, proposing to dissertate on a novelist, it is doubly desirable to have no truck with him.

This proviso accepted, it becomes easier to deal with Charlotte Bronte. Among the gentry whose profession, at one time or another, has been the spinning of yarns, this eldest of the Bronte sisters is supreme—and, especially, amongst the female section of that gentry. I may say, with Keats (in a different context), that before tackling her,

"Much had I travelled in the realms of gold

And many a goodly state and kingdom seen;

Round many a Western island had I been

Which bards in fealty to Apollo hold:"

but that, as again with Keats,

"Yet did I never breathe its pure serene

Till I heard (Charlotte) speak out loud and bold."

And, to finish as I began:

"Then felt I like some watcher of the skies

When a new planet swims into his ken;

Or like stout Cortez, when with eagle eyes

He stared at the Pacific—and all his men

Look'd at each other with a wild surmise—

Silent, upon a peak in Darien."

JANE AUSTEN AND CHARLOTTE BRONTE

I really wonder whether, among English novelists (not omitting Thackeray) grander prose has ever been written than Charlotte Bronte. Like Kipling, I am also a "Jane-ite," and am ready to take up the cudgels in her behalf as against anyone else—always excepting

Charlotte. We are told that Charlotte Bronte did not admire greatly the genius of Jane Austen. Knowing, as I do, something of Charlotte, I am hardly surprised that she did not: the distance of the poles separated them. Jane Austen's whole stock-in-trade—apart from an extremely elegant style—was an almost unlimited capacity to specialize in what I may designate as storms in tea-cups. There never, perhaps, was a writer that revelled more in the delineation of the *minutiae* of life: give her, in social matters, an inch and she would take an ell. It may be said of her that a yellow primrose by a river's brim was, to her, but a yellow primrose by a river's brim—and naught else.

Not so with "Currer Bell." Her genius was less circumscribed. It required, for its satisfactory operation, *real* storms, storms the size of life itself. Her own spirit was a terrific hurricane, and as such could be at home only in a similarly bizarre emotional atmosphere. She might have justified herself in the celebrated phrase of Charles Lamb's: "I am made up of queer points and I want so many answering needles." Where Jane Austen was supremely content with the mere surface, Charlotte knew no peace until she could delve beneath that surface to whatever lay below. It was a case of "depths" with her. As Miss May Sinclair puts it in her introduction to *Jane Eyre* (in the Everyman's Series):

"For Charlotte Bronte the best part of life is the passion that exalts and transfigures it. Passion is poetry: poetry is passion. It is the truth of men and women. Some people have none of this truth in them, such are Jane Austen's ladies and gentlemen. To Charlotte they were not real people."

Exactly where, in all of Jane Austen's novels, is there a Rochester or a Jane Eyre, a Paul Emanuel or a Lucy Snowe, a Louis Moore or a Shirley Keeldar, or even a William Crimsworth (the "professor") and Frances Henri? Reading Jane Austen after Charlotte Bronte is like entering a flat landscape after sojourning through a lush and eye-enchanted scenery,—like Shakespeare's:

"A bank whereon the wild thyme blows,

Where oxlips and the nodding violet grows;

Quite over-canopied with lush woodbine,

With sweet musk roses and with eglantine."

NO COMPARISON BETWEEN EMILY AND  
CHARLOTTE BRONTE

I note with deep regret that it has become quite the fashion in English literary criticism to bring in Emily Bronte whenever there is a discussion of



Charlotte, and to bring her in with the set purpose of disparaging Charlotte. Now, if the truth is to be told for once, I must say that, for pure assinnity, this is hard to beat. It is being told in Gatte and bruited about in the streets of Askalon that *Wuthering Heights*, by itself, is immeasurably superior to *Jane Eyre*, *Shirley*, *Villette*, and *The Professor*, combined as well as separately. This is such a shocking absurdity that, if I were a Victorian lady, I should faint outright at the mere suggestion of it. How there can, in any rational scheme of things, be a comparison between the first and the other four passes my comprehension. In the first place, *Wuthering Heights* is not all Emily's: her brother, the thrice-unfortunate Branwell Bronte, had also a hand in it, and it may well be that the better portions of that hideous book were written by him and not by her. In the second place, a paragraph of *Jane Eyre* or *Villette*, and some portions of *Shirley*, can be shown to be far superior to the whole of *Wuthering Heights*.

*Wuthering Heights* is of diseased imagination all compact. As a story it is a dismal failure; and as for character-drawing and the rest, it is nowhere in comparison with Charlotte's quartette of novels. I shall not go into the morals of *Wuthering Heights* just now—because it may be argued that morals have nothing to do with the question and that literature is one thing and morality another. But it is high time that the morals of *Wuthering Heights* were discussed threadbare: because such an eminent critic as Miss May Sinclair, after admitting that

"Unlike Charlotte, Emily has no use for symbols and abstractions; with her all signs of passion are concrete and have impact," has the audacity to remark:

"Yet how clean that passion is. Even Catherine Earnshaw's hysteria of frustration is less of the flesh than of the spirit, a fiery, unearthly hysteria!" (Introduction to *Wuthering Heights*: "Everyman's Series").

The point of *Wuthering Heights* is just the opposite: the exaltation, naked and unashamed, of whatever is the *antithesis* of "clean" passion—as, for instance, that between the said Catherine and Heathcliff. And as for Emily's style,—well, it is decidedly not in the same street as Charlotte's—no, not by a long chalk.

To what sad pass has English literary criticism come to, indeed!

#### AN INNOVATION IN NOVEL WRITING

I posited the question, a little earlier, whether, among English novelists, grander prose has ever been written than Charlotte Bronte's. Even Thackeray's, I am bound to confess, is inferior to it. Her prose has a distinction that is absent from the others. There is not an insipid passage anywhere in her works, and the

number of positively brilliant passages is legion. *Villette* and *Jane Eyre* and *Shirley* abound in them; and even *The Professor*, the least of these four. The last-named was her first novel, though not the first to have been published: the first to have been published was *Jane Eyre*. All the same, there is that in it that would have brought fame, enough and to spare, to a lesser novelist. *The Professor* is the shortest as well as the neatest of Charlotte's novels. It is notable also for its rare economy of expression. As she herself admitted in her preface to it:

"I had not indeed published anything before I commenced *The Professor*, but in many a cruce effort, destroyed almost as soon as composed, I had got over any such taste as I might once have had for ornamented and redundant composition, and came to prefer what was plain and homely."

In it we see the beginnings of the principal innovation in novel-writing that we associate with Charlotte Bronte. Perhaps for the first time in English literature we get, for the heroine, not a dazzling beauty, not a Helen's face;

"... that launched a thousand ships  
And burnt the topless towers of Ilium;"

not a lady of Cleopatra's attractions, to "cool" whose "gipsy's lust" Antony "is become the bellows and the fan,"

"The triple-pillar of the world, transform'd  
Into a strumpet's fool."

No, none of those peries, but a plain unsophisticated lass, whose adornment is not of the body but of the spirit, but who can yet prove that her life's story can be as much charged with human interest and pathos as that of any of her more enchanting sisters, with "Juno's eyes or Cytherea's breath." Frances Henry leads the procession of Charlotte's heroines. She is the prototype of those to come later on—*Jane Eyre* and *Lucy Snowe* and *Caroline Helstone*. In Charlotte's words:

"I can pronounce no encomiums on her beauty for she was not beautiful; nor offer condolence on her plainness, for neither was she plain; a careworn character of forehead, and a corresponding moulding of the mouth, struck me with a sentiment resembling surprise, but these traits would probably have passed unnoticed by any less crotchey observer." (Of Frances Henry in *The Professor* p. 107, Everyman's Series).

#### "JANE EYRE" AND "VILLETTE"

This is carried to its highest pitch in *Lucy Snowe* in *Villette*. *Villette* is Charlotte Bronte's masterpiece: she never excelled in portraiture her *Lucy Snowe* and her *M. Paul Emanuel*. As Miss May Sinclair says: "He (M. Paul Emanuel) is the unique glory of *Villette*, from his first invasion of the scene, in *paletot*, and *bonnet grec*, to his final disappearance in the storm." (Introduction to *Villette*: Everyman's Series).

I am aware that many hold that *Jane Eyre*, and not *Villette*, is Charlotte's most memorable book. I beg to differ from this view. Without the least intention of minimizing the stupendous beauty of that novel I should yet like to suggest that, in the matter of the first place as regards technique, characterization, and style, *Villette* is as far above *Jane Eyre* as *Jane Eyre* is above *Shirley* and *The Professor*. If Charlotte had written nothing else but *Villette* her niche in the temple of fame would have been secure. I can devote an entire article to Lucy Snowe and M. Paul Emanuel. Lucy Snowe is *Jane Eyre* "writ large," and M. Paul Emanuel is a Leviathan of imaginative creation compared with Rochester—big as Rochester undoubtedly is; and he (Rochester) is hundred times a more forceful personality than the hero of *Shirley*—Louis Moore: as Louis Moore is himself head and shoulders above William Crimsworth of *The Professor*. Dr. John Graham Bretton, in *Villette*, is an ineffective rival in our affections to M. Paul Emanuel, even as Mr. St. John (a perfect prig) pales into complete insignificance before Rochester in *Jane Eyre*, and Robert Moore, of "Hallow's Mill", before his brother, Louis, in *Shirley*. As for Lucy Snowe, I agree wholeheartedly with Miss May Sinclair when she avers: "As for Lucy, it, too, is a masterpiece, the most perfect, the most finished, the most psychologically unerring, that Charlotte Brontë ever achieved." Who can read without tears the passage where Lucy confesses (partly against the grain, because she *had* once loved that alleged Adonis, Dr. John):

"The love born of beauty was not mine: I had nothing in common with it: I could not dare to meddle with it, but another love, venturing diffidently into life after long acquaintance, furnace-tried by pain, stamped by constancy, consolidated by affection's pure and durable alloy, submitted by intellect to intellect's own tests, and finally wrought up, by his own process, to his own unflawed completeness, this Love that laughed at Passion, his fast frenzies and his hot and humid extinction, in this Love I had a vested interest; and for whatever tended either to its culture or its destruction I could not view impassably."—*Villette*, p. 427, Everyman's Series

And to think that even this love was but partially attained by her and at such an "expense of spirit" is truly bewildering! Her love for Dr. John was completely unrequited: her (later) love for M. Paul Emanuel *was* requited, it is true, but only at the fag end of the book, and *then* it led to nothing, as, shortly after, just when it was to have been consummated, the incomparable Paul was drowned in a storm while returning to Villette (Brussels) from "Basseterre in Guadaloupe," whither he had gone to manage a large estate. Poor Lucy! Perhaps the most pathetic figure in the whole of English literature!

#### THE BRUSSELS BACKGROUND

There is no doubt that Charlotte Brontë was at

her best when dealing with the Brussels (Villette) background. Whenever she has to describe a *Pensionnat de Demoiselles* she is in her element: and Madam Beck in *Villette* and Madame Reuter in *The Professor* are unforgettable creations—and so, too, to a lesser degree, is M. Pelet. We have her own testimony to her affection for Belgium. In *The Professor* she apostrophises as follows:

"Belgium! Name unromantic and unpoetic, yet name that whenever uttered has in my ear a sound in my heart an echo, such as no other assemblage of syllables, however sweet or classic, can produce. Belgium! I repeat the word, now as I sit alone near midnight. It stirs my world of the past like a summons to resurrection; the graves unclose, the dead are raised . . ."—*The Professor*, p. 45, Everyman's Series.

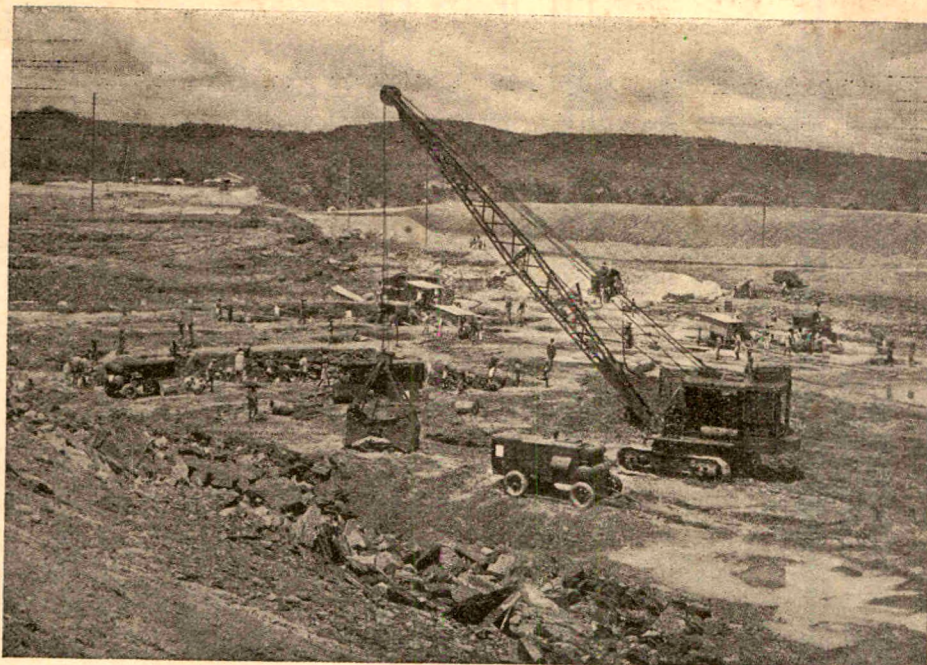
Among the minor characters in *Villette*, Ginerv Fanshawe is to be for ever remembered. It is a splendid sketch of a born flirt, though there is no question but that a good deal of malice has gone to the painting of her. I like also Pere Silas, the old priest in the church of the Beguinage.

#### HER SECOND BEST NOVEL

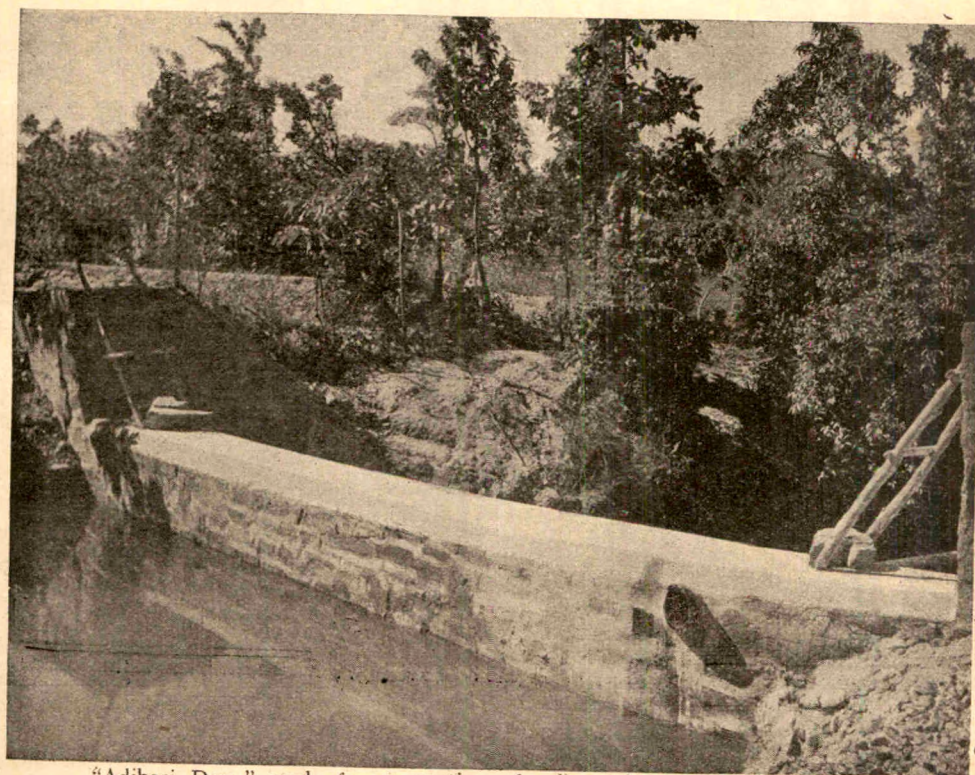
*Jane Eyre* is Charlotte Brontë's second best novel. There are scenes in it that have only to be read to be believed. The love-making of Jane and Rochester is quite unique in English fiction. The chapter where Rochester asks Jane to be his mistress—they were on the point of being married, but the existence of Rochester's mad first wife was discovered in the nick of time, and the fat was immediately tipped into the fire—is exquisite: exquisite in that Jane comes out through the ordeal with her reputation not only untarnished but actually enhanced. It is, therefore, all the more surprising how, as Charlotte wrote in the preface to the second edition of *Jane Eyre*, there was a class of critics who doubted its tendency. Had Jane acquiesced in Rochester's proposal the ten commandments *would* have been broken and those critics *would* have been justified in doubting the book's tendency. As a matter of fact, Jane suffers terribly for conquering the temptation that was placed in her path. Her flight from Thornfield and the heart-rending miseries that she encounters on the way till she finally finds a safe haven in Moor House are unforgettable in their poignancy. Then the concatenation of circumstances whereby she ultimately gets back to Rochester at Ferndean and (the mad wife obliging by dying meanwhile) becomes Mrs. Rochester, are equally memorable. By that time Rochester is blind and crippled; but their second love-making, far from losing all interest, turns out to be even more engrossing than their first. The 37th Chapter merits reading over and over again: it beats to a frazzle the famous scene in George Meredith's *Ordeal of Richard Feverel*, where Richard and Lucy cleanse their bosoms of the perilous stuff that had been accumulating there for some time previously.



DAMODAR VALLEY PROJECT



Construction of the floor of the Bokaro Power House

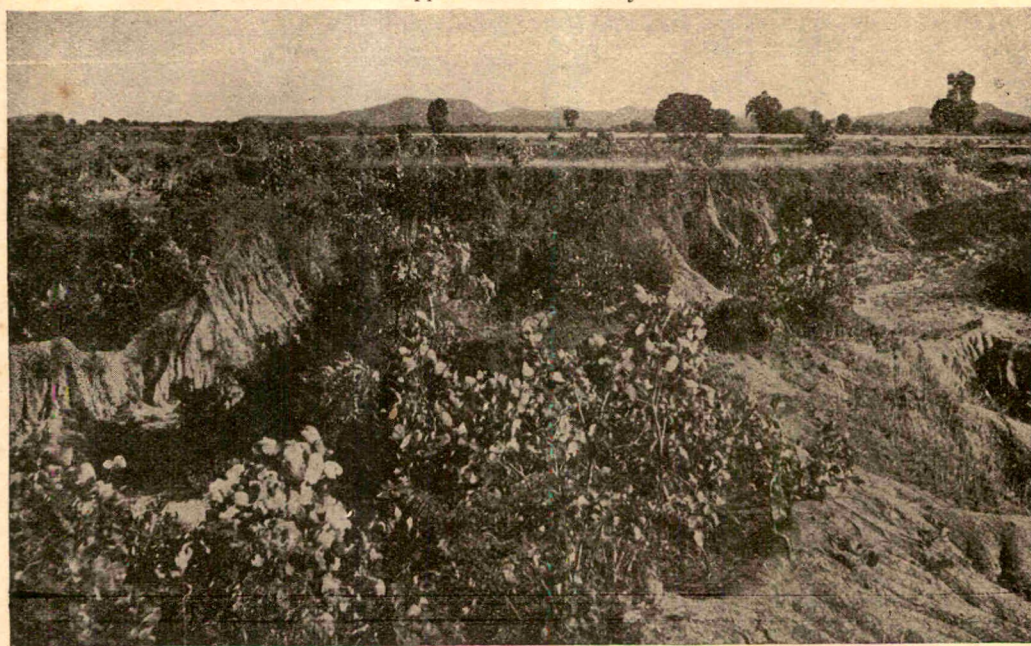


"Adibasi Dam," made for prevention of soil erosion and minor irrigation





Soil erosion in Upper Damodar Valley



Gully formation. A common scene in Damodar Valley



But the whole point about *Jane Eyre* is the innovation that Charlotte Bronte made in respect of her heroine. As Miss May Sinclair puts it beautifully, in her introduction to it in the Everyman's Series:

"It is not the ten commandments that are broken: it is the unwritten laws of literature. It was one of these laws that a governess should know her place and that a plain woman should know hers and be kept in it. Then Jane Eyre came and made waste-paper of that convention. She puts ideas into the heads of governesses and plain women. In the novel of the past no woman with a face and a figure like Jane's could hope for more than a mere walking-on-part, at best for the role of a very minor character. Jane appears as leading lady, and sustains the part with triumphant success. Blanche Ingram, the tall, stately, early Victorian heroine, is a mere temporary foil to little Jane."

That, indeed, is *Jane Eyre* in a nut-shell.

#### HER PROSE

*Shirley* need not detain us long, because it is not a patch on *Jane Eyre* or *Villette*. It has a topical interest, in that it depicts some scenes of industrial strife in England at the time of the Napoleonic wars. The book is unequal in interest, the latter half being decidedly more interesting than the earlier half. The heroine is introduced quite late in the story. The only two memorable characters are Shirley Keeldar and Louis Moore. It is to be regretted that our authoress wastes too much precious space on Robert Moore, whom I hated at first sight, as it were. His cousin, Caroline Helstone is also not a great success. Altogether, *Shirley* is disappointing after *Jane Eyre* and *Villette*; though, of course, it is more than equal to a thousand *Wuthering Heights* put together.

I am so very much bewitched by Charlotte Bronte's prose that, if space permitted, I should quote a score of passages to give my readers an indication of its unsurpassed beauty. As it is, however, I shall satisfy myself with only two or three:

"... all these little incidents, taken as they fell out, seemed each independent of its successor; a handful of loose beads; but, threaded through by that quick-shot and crafty glance of a Jesuit-eye, they dropped pendant in a long string, like that rosary on the *prie-dieu*. Where lay the link of junction, where the little clasp of this monastic necklace? I saw or felt union, but could not yet find the spot, or detect the means of connection."—*Villette*, p. 358, Everyman's Series.

"Conventionality is not morality. Self-righteousness is not religion. To attack the first is not to assail the last. To pluck the mask from the face of the Pharisee is not to lift an impious hand to the Crown of Thorns... There is a man in our own day whose words are not framed to tickle delicate ears; who, to my thinking, comes before the great ones of society, much as the son of Imhah came before the throned Kings of Judah and Israel; and who speaks truth as deep, with a power as propnet like and as vital—a mien as dauntless and as daring. Is the satirist of *Vanity Fair* admired in high places? I cannot tell: but I think if some of those among whom he hurls the Greek fire of his sarcasm, and over whom he flashes the levin-brand of his denunciation, were to take his warnings in time—hey or their seed might yet escape a fatal Ramoth-Gilead."—Charlotte Bronte's Preface to the second edition of *Jane Eyre*.

"There she is, a lily of the valley, untinted, needing no tint. What change could improve her? What pencil dare to paint? My sweetheart, if I ever have one, must bear nearest affinity to the rose: a sweet, lively delight guarded with prickly peril. My wife, if I ever marry, must stir my great frame with a sting now and then: she must furnish use to her husband's fast mass of patience. I was not made so enduring to be mated with a lamb: I should find more congenial responsibility in the charge of a young lioness or leopardess. I like few things sweet but what are likewise pungent: few things bright but what are likewise hot. I like the summer day whose sun makes fruit blush and corn blanch. Beauty is never so beautiful as when, if I tease it, it wreathes back on me with spirit. Fascination is never so imperial as when, roused and half ireful, she threatens transformation to fierceness. I fear I should tire of the mute, monotonous innocence of the lamb; I should ere long feel as burdensome the nestling dove which never stirred in my bosom: but my patience would exult in stilling the flutterings and training the energies of the restless merlin. In managing the wild instincts of the scarce-manageable 'bete fauve' my powers would revel. Oh, my pupil! Oh, Peril! too mutinous for heaven—too innocent for hell! Never shalt I do more than see, and worship, and wish for thee. Alas! knowing I could make thee happy, will it be my doom to see thee possessed by those who have not that power?"—Louis Moore about Shirley Keeldar in *Shirley*, pp. 412-13, Everyman's Series.

What is the secret of Charlotte Bronte's style? It is her uncommon knowledge of the *Old Testament*. She filled her pitcher at the well-spring of its translators. She might have done worse! O, Charlotte! Here is my meed of praise to thee! Take it, however poor its quality; for thou wert a lass unparalleled.

—:O:—

## ANGLO-EGYPTIAN RELATIONS

### A Historical Survey

By K. S. RAMAMURTHI

ANCIENT EGYPT, the mother of civilizations, is again in the news. She is still troubled by a treaty which may be said to have been negotiated not on terms of equality but on the basis of one party being strong and the other weak

and helpless. For, the 1936 Treaty of Alliance between Britain and Egypt is frankly "unequal".

What is the background to this struggle between a powerful imperialist nation and a weak and backward coun-

try? To understand this treaty we must understand to a certain extent the history of Anglo-Egyptian relations during the past several decades. What prompted Britain to lay hands on Egypt and bring her completely under her thumb?

Early in the 19th century, Mehemet Ali, a man of outstanding drive, had intrigued his way to power and as "Khedive" or governor he introduced many reforms. Before his death in 1849 he had obtained with the consent of the powerless Turkish Government, the hereditary governorship of Egypt for his family. His successors were, however, weak and incompetent. Their extravagance led them to borrow money from the English and the French financiers at exorbitant rates of interest. The extravagance of successive Khedives brought the country to financial ruin and directly led to foreign domination. To crown this confusion Britain obtained a financial stake in the country when Disraeli bought off the Suez Canal shares in 1869 from the insolvent Khedive at a fancy price.

In 1882 Britain took complete control of Egypt after continuously interfering in Egyptian internal affairs and embittering many Egyptians. Throughout, one of the factors that worried Britain most was her communications with India. She had reasons to be anxious at this time about her beloved India, as the French were still casting greedy eyes on British possessions and the other European powers were not quite happy.

In 1904, however, there was a rapprochement between France and England whereby England quenched France's thirst for domination a little bit by giving her a free hand in Morocco. In return France generously recognized British occupation of Egypt while Turkey which still technically had sovereignty over Egypt was not consulted at all. The British occupation of Egypt was accompanied by some of the worst features of foreign domination, e.g., extra-territorial rights for foreigners.

During the First World War the suzerainty of the Turkish Government in Egypt, already nominal, was abolished when Turkey entered the war against the Allies and Egypt was declared a British Protectorate. Opposition became serious in 1919 and sporadic rioting flared up. In the meantime a brilliant leader had risen up among the nationalists—Saad Zaghlul—the founder of the famous Wafd party which has a long record of service to the country to its credit.

The year 1919 is memorable in that the country was under the grip of a bloody revolution when the British Government exerted its utmost to repress the increasing activities of the nationalists. Zaghlul and others were arrested. But even Britain could not stem the tide of revolt in the country. So she made a declaration in 1922 which was purported to give the Egyptians formal independence. But this "declaration" was circumscribed and conditioned so heavily that real freedom became almost an illusion. The reservations were the Sudan, defence, Empire communications and the status of foreigners and minorities.

Of all these reservations, the question of the Sudan has created the greatest bitterness among the Egyptians, Sudan

is a country bounded on the North by Egypt and on the East by the Red Sea and Ethiopia. Through this area flows the Nile in its upper regions. Sudan has a population of about six and a half millions and from 1899 is governed jointly by Great Britain and Egypt. By controlling the Sudan Britain can maintain a death grip on Egypt, because the whole economy of Egypt is dependent on the Nile.

No country can even pretend to be independent after conceding the reservations in the 1922 declaration. These reservations, therefore, became the focus of nationalist attack and gave rise to periodic disturbances including the murder in November 1924 of Sir Lee Stack, the Governor-General of the Sudan. The British Government quickly came down heavily on the nationalists and took the opportunity to settle forcibly all the outstanding issues. A series of demands were therefore made on the Egyptian Government (the Prime Minister then was Zaghlul Pasha) including an indemnity of five hundred thousand pounds sterling, withdrawal of Egyptian troops from the Sudan within twenty-four hours, and prohibition of political demonstrations. All the demands were met except the one pertaining to the Sudan. Thereupon the British Government forcibly took possession of the Sudan. There were revolts of Egyptian troops in the Sudan but they were suppressed.

All this was followed by resignations, fresh elections, proclamation of new constitutions by the King, periodic relapses to autocracy in the person of the King and there were even some fresh attempts at settlement with the British but all to no purpose.

In 1935 Fascist Italy invaded Abyssinia. England could not now have a rebellious Egypt. A fresh election left the Wafd party in a majority in the Parliament and Nahas Pasha became Prime Minister. In the new atmosphere created by the Italian invasion of Abyssinia, an Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance was signed in 1936 in a spirit of compromise. Under the terms of this Treaty Egypt accepted the status quo in the Sudan and conceded Britain's right to defend the Suez Canal zone. The Treaty seemed effectively to guard Egyptian independence and to offer the possibility of amicable Anglo-Egyptian relations. But it left Great Britain in a privileged position both in Egypt and the Sudan which Egypt was forced to accept owing to the exigencies of the times. Now all sections of Egyptian opinion are clamouring for a revision of the Treaty. So far a revision, satisfactory to both parties has not been achieved and anti-British agitation continues.

In August 1947 Egypt referred the matter to the United Nations. But nothing came of it. Egypt demands immediate evacuation of British troops and the permanent unity of the Nile Valley under the Egyptian Crown. Britain has rejected these demands summarily and Sudan in her turn has demanded consultation with her in any agreement concerning her future. The situation is explosive. Can Britain reconcile her defence requirements with Egyptian national aspirations?)



## GANDHIJI'S APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF WORLD PEACE

By AMBA PRASAD,  
*Ramjas College, Delhi*

THE supreme thought of every peace-loving man or woman to-day is how to save the world from another and greater world catastrophe and how to preserve world peace. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in his recent speech at Wardha and Pt. Nehru, in his recent address at Bangalore, have shown the way their minds are working on the problem of world peace. The line of thought of these holders of the highest offices in the State on the problem is essentially Gandhian. It may, therefore, be worthwhile to study what Gandhiji thought about the problem of world war and peace and how the latter could be preserved.

Gandhiji's thought on world peace lies scattered about in his speeches, writings and his very life since he entered the struggle for the emancipation of the black from the tyranny of the white in South Africa; and one notices that there is a striking thread of consistency throughout. This is because his whole being and thinking revolved round the immovable pivot of truth—*satya* as he would like to call it. The greatness of Gandhiji lies in his efforts to live up to his philosophy. In him precept and example coalesced unlike so many whose profession and action require some searching. He lived for peace and died for peace. A revolutionary all his life, a soldier who fought many a battle of freedom, Gandhiji was yet essentially and in the highest sense of the word, a man of peace.

Gandhiji's approach to the problem of world peace combines the elements of the ideal and the practical. He would start with the reform of the individual because he agreed that wars originate in the minds of men and so it is in the minds of men that the foundations of peace are to be laid. To Gandhiji, man is essentially a moral creature, fundamentally trustworthy and possessed of good nature. He believed that man is at heart as he is. His constant appeals for communal peace made through his daily prayer speeches were based on this moral belief that the good done by one must beget good sooner or later from the other party. Gandhiji's individual does not believe in tit for tat, for this is the law of the land of brutes and of the state of nature of Hobbes. His individual gives love for hate, truth for untruth and tolerance for intolerance. Nations formed by such individuals would trust each other, for one nation would expect the other nation to believe as they do. Gandhiji is optimist regarding the possibility of permanent peace in the world because he believes in the godliness of human nature.

The individual of Gandhiji looks upon humanity as one, "Khadi spirit," which Gandhiji wants every individual to imbibe, "means fellow-feeling with every human

being on earth." "My patriotism," says Gandhiji, "is both exclusive and inclusive. It is exclusive in the sense that in all humility, I confine my attention to the land of my birth. But it is inclusive in the sense that my service is not of a competitive or antagonistic nature. I want to identify myself with everything that lives." Thus Gandhiji is not against nations and national patriotism, in fact he wants national states to exist because he believes that a community can develop itself and its full personality only if left free to do so. But this loyalty is to be so ordered that claims of humanity may come first and those of nation, community, family and self in a descending order.

If humanity is one, there is no room in the world for race and colour superiority, of economic domination and political imperialism. Such evils, if they exist, will not let the world have peace because evils can last only for some of the time not for all time and so a civilisation based on such evils is doomed to create forces for its own destruction. The two world wars of the present century have been caused by the land and wealth hunger and false notions of racial and national superiority of the powerful nations. These are enemies to be recognised and fought. Gandhiji himself fought all his life—in South Africa and India—against evil forces.

According to Gandhiji, the ideal of a free and equal society will be achieved only when the material values are subordinated to spiritual values. A politician of Gandhiji's persuasion will care more for the means than for the ends, for, to him, not the end justifies the means but the means justify the ends. The means are in the hands of man, not the end which is always uncertain. The means determine the nature of ends. Immoral means will vitiate the ends themselves. Peace is impossible if it is sought to be brought about by wars and through force. Even for attaining such a precious thing as freedom, the weapons used are to be only *satya* and *ahimsa*, not diplomacy or force. Many of the wars would have been avoided if diplomats and politicians had learnt to care as much for the means as for the ends.

Gandhiji's dream of one world is based on the reform of the individual followed by the reform of the state. It is well known that causes of wars arise in the states themselves, in the internal structure and conditions of the state. Peace between states depends upon peace within states. So naturally Gandhiji has given attention to the need of establishing a *Ramrajya* in every country. The idea of a *Ramrajya* can be explained best in Gandhiji's own words: "It can be religiously translated as Kingdom of God on earth. Politically translated, it is perfect

democracy in which, inequalities based on possession and non-possession, colour, race or creed or sex vanish. In it, land and state belong to the people. Justice is prompt, perfect and cheap and, therefore, there is freedom of worship, and speech and the press—all this because of the reign of the self-imposed law of moral restraint. Such a state must be based on truth and non-violence and must consist of prosperous, happy and self-contained villages and village communities." Gandhiji's mind, it is clear, was thinking of a new civilisation where there is no room for exploitation, expansion, imperialism, selfishness and inequality and which is built on the willing and equal co-operation of all.

Ahimsa or non-violence is essence of the teachings of Gandhiji and also the master-key to the deadlocks which beset inter-state relations in the modern world. Non-violence, according to Gandhiji, is the greatest force in the world, the supreme law of life which "holds together all society as the earth is held in position by gravitation." Gandhiji wants, in the interest of peace throughout the world, not simply the reduction of armaments but total disarmament. Gandhiji wrote in 1938 :

"Democracy and violence ill go together. The states that are to-day nominally democratic have either to become frankly totalitarian or, if they are truly to become democratic, they must become courageously non-violent. It is blasphemy to say that non-violence can only be practised by individuals and never by nations which are composed of individuals".

The question may be asked : "What if one country disarms, but the others make military preparations and launch an aggression against the disarmed state?" For that Gandhiji's advice is echoed in the classic appeal which he issued to every Briton in 1940, when Hitler had let loose his swarm of aeroplanes over England and when the very survival of the English nation was in doubt. He said :

"I would like you to lay down the arms you have as being useless for saving you or humanity. You will invite Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini to take what they want of the countries you call your possessions. Let them take possession of your beautiful island, with your many beautiful buildings. You will give all these, but neither your souls nor your minds."

No Briton was prepared to listen to him then, also partly because he regarded him as a rebel. But Gandhiji would have given a similar advice if his own country were placed in a similar situation.

Gandhiji would not like free India to maintain armed forces for purposes of aggression, or for even defence against aggression. He believed in total disarmament. But being a practical idealist, Gandhiji put a condition precedent to total disarmament. People must have developed discipline, non-violent power to face invasions bravely. For such time as this non-violent force is not developed among the citizens, he would rather have the country resort to arms in order to defend her honour than that she should, in a cowardly manner, become or remain a helpless witness to her own dishonour.

Thus armaments for defensive purposes are not ruled out provided the people are not fully trained and disciplined for a non-violent resistance against aggression. Indian army was sent to Kashmir with full blessings of Gandhiji because their objective was to defend the honour and lives of helpless women, old men and children against the brutal attack of the frontier tribes; and because the Kashmiris had not yet been trained to offer non-violent resistance. So free India can keep armed forces so long as she has not trained her masses as educated, disciplined and intelligent "Guardians of Peace," in Gandhiji's own phrase, to fight bravely as soldiers of non-violence. India has, after she becomes strong for a non-violent resistance, a duty to disarm and set an example to the rest of the world.

Many so-called realists willingly accepted the creed of non-violence as a technique for dependent peoples to fight for independence on grounds of expediency and practicability. They argue, however, that such a technique has no place in a world of armed states and politics of power. They forget two important facts—one, a lesson of past history, and the other, a grim reality of current history. The method of meeting force with force has been tried all through history but the result has been more and more human destruction and a legacy of bitterness, moral debasement and possibly self-annihilation. Besides, in the age of atom bombs and hydrogen bombs, vast armies equipped with machine guns, aeroplanes and battleships seem to have become something of an anachronism. Thus armed resistance without an atom bomb is futile. On the other hand, non-violent and disciplined resistance will have a moral force which, if properly mobilised, will become irresistible. Moreover, an unarmed country is far less likely to be the victim of atomic aggression than a well-armed state, for atom-bomb attack on the former will become useless. So even to the realist, the safest policy will be to have no armaments at all. The people will be benefited, as large sums of money wasted on the maintenance of armed forces, will be saved to be spent on development projects.

Gandhiji's idea of one world took the form of a world federation. He is not against the existence of free nations but he would like them to contribute in their own way for the fruitful development of all humanity. He wants them to treat each other with mutual trust and respect. The A.-I.-C.C.'s Resolution of August 8, 1942 which was according to Gandhiji's heart demanded the establishment of a World Federation of Free Nations. It said :

"On the establishment of such a World Federation disarmament would be practicable in all countries, National armies, navies and air force would no longer be necessary and a World Defence Force would keep the world peace and prevent aggression."

If free nations quarrel, they must first settle their quarrel by rational methods, viz. negotiation. If negotiations fail, recourse would be had to an impartial arbitrator or a world court. If all such means fail and a



country is invaded, resistance should be offered not by arms, but by non-violent non-co-operation.

The world history is interspersed with wars and attempts to check future wars. But so far no attempts have ever been successful because the heart of the problem was never touched. So, it now seems that the world peace has become an impossible dream. One is helplessly witnessing, in the not too distant horizon, clouds of another war gathering thick and fast and so soon after the dreadful storm of the last war. What a tragedy that though people everywhere want peace, they are being led, consciously or unconsciously, into the

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throes of another bloody war! A time has come when people ceased to think in terms of old and tried-out remedies, concert of powers, League of Nations, collective security and U.N.O.—and turn to the feeble but strong voice of one who gave his very life for the cause of peace—the voice of Mahatma Gandhi, which remains now the only hope for mankind. Let those who possess superior arms think that the victory is in itself an opportunity and not fulfilment. Let the victory of the last war be used as a chance to bring the world near the ideal of the Indian saint—Gandhiji.

## GALSWORTHY AS A DRAMATIC ARTIST

By PROF. AMAL ROY, M.A.

THE age we live in is an age of upheaval in thought and questioning, of movements and tendencies, both in the outer world of action as well as in the inner world of thought. In so far as drama is a product of the age, the life of the age with its pressing problems, the whirlpool of tangible deeds and cross-currents of thought must be reflected in it. The dramatist is stirred by all these great problems and questions that sometime or other knock for an answer at every heart, and yet the true dramatic artist does not aim at direct teaching and proving anything but only presents a true picture of the state of things. The true dramatist's art is the naturalistic art which 'is like a steady lamp, held up from time to time, in whose light things will be seen for a space clearly and in due proportion freed from the mists of prejudice and partisanship.'

John Galsworthy is above all a true dramatic artist who has depicted truthfully portions of 20th Century life with its pressing problems. While Bernard Shaw is primarily a propagandist in whom the requisites of true dramatic art are subordinated to the spirit of didacticism, John Galsworthy is essentially an artist whose aim has always been to strike balance and equipoise by presenting the natural spectacle of life with absolute detachment.

Galsworthy began his literary career at a time when the trumpet call for a great social revolution in the European society was distinctly audible. The foundation of the society which the Victorians set up with dogmatism, emotional bias, a love for the status quo, and a corresponding fear for the change, was threatened to crumble down. A new generation was born, a generation of young men and women full of life and vigour who looked back upon the Victorian age with a 'sceptical lifting of the eyebrows and an ironical grin.' They regarded the Victorian ideals as mean and hypocritical, superficial and stupid.

Against this mid-Victorian attitude of mind there came a spirit of revolt which spread like wild fire threaten-

ing to break down the existing society and build it anew on a better model. The weaknesses of the Victorians could be noticed more markedly in the drama of that period than in any other form of literature. Those qualities which made the novel and poetry of the Victorian period remarkable admit least of being expressed in terms of the theatre. The change that came over the English drama is attributed almost entirely to Ibsen, with William Archer as his high priest and Bernard Shaw as his prophet.

If Shakespeare's dramas have enshrined the spirit of the Renaissance, Galsworthy too, a disciple of Ibsen and Shaw, has, through his dramas, expressed to this age the spirit of the 20th Century. The problems of the age, its conflicts and inequalities, the iniquities of man-made laws and systems, the tyranny of social customs which seem to disturb the harmony and equipoise of life, are the main themes of Galsworthy's plays. There is a great and complex machinery set up all around to carry on life's business with an almost apparent perfect order—but it is this self-same machinery of civilization that is daily crushing human beings. The same law which is meant to keep order in the society, daily destroys, for want of that human insight, thousands of men who break it with good motive or in a state of mental and moral vacuity.

Galsworthy feels all these; he has his own point of view, but a perfect dramatic artist as he is, when presenting the picture of these problems, he keeps himself in the background. He does not allow his own personality to intrude in his drama. In his plays he has always tried to present both sides of a problem with strict impartiality. In order to keep the balance and equipoise in his dramatic technique, he cannot be swept off his feet by emotion. He might be emotionally sympathetic to this character or that, to this class or the other, but a

dramatist he successfully checked the temptation of treating any particular character with undue partiality.

In *Silver Box*, Jones, an unemployed and a victim of class-division has stolen, in a fit of drunkenness, a silver purse from Jack Barthwick, the idle son of an wealthy Liberal M.P. who also in a drunken state stole it from an unknown lady. At a time when the poor were being continually oppressed by the rich, when unemployment was prevalent everywhere, we can hardly blame Jones for this trifling crime even if he had done it in a spirit of revenge or in a state of drunkenness. But a strictly impartial judge as he is, Galsworthy cannot let this crime go unpunished even though he allows Jones to have his full say and hints at the fact that there were two laws prevalent at that time, one for the rich and the other for the poor; and Jones because he is poor, cannot hope for that justice which he could easily buy off if he were rich.

In *Strife* also the balance is kept intact with perfect impartiality. It is a strife between Capital and Labour where both sides are adamant. A strike has been going on for four months and all attempts for a compromise proved futile due to strong determination of both the sides not to budge an inch. At last by a sudden catastrophe in the family of Roberts, the labour leader, the same compromise was effected but at the cost of a tremendous loss on both the sides. In the play the scales are held dispassionately and the readers only feel the futility of the tragic pride and prejudice on both sides.

Instances can be multiplied to show Galsworthy's impartial approach to the problems of life but this should not lead us to believe that Galsworthy was callous and utterly insensible to the painful agonies of the down-trodden humanity.

Galsworthy was all through a fighter against social wrongs and iniquities of system; he had his own feelings for the have-nots and the oppressed, but in the domain of art he had to keep his sympathies secret and remain impartial in the presentation of both sides of a question. Once the veil of this intellectual impartiality is lifted, the humanist Galsworthy will be clearly revealed, voicing his strongest protest against the cruelty and injustice of the society. That warmth of feeling, that fire which was burning in his soul, could hardly be chilled by the cold touch of the necessities of dramatic art. This humanistic approach to life and its problems is evident in almost all the plays of Galsworthy and the best example of it can be given from *Justice*. Falder, a young unstable-minded solicitor's clerk, in a moment of utter desperation, alters a cheque of his company in order to help a young lady escape from the clutches of her cruel husband. Soon his trick is seen through and he is sent for trial in the court. Two lawyers are engaged, Mr. Cleaver for the prosecution and Mr. Frome for the defence. Mr. Cleaver advances his arguments in a strictly logical manner; Falder did commit the crime, no matter what his intentions were, the laws of the land cannot ignore such crime. Mr. Frome's appeal is to the sentiment; he emphasizes upon the

circumstances which compelled the offender to stoop so low and the noble cause which motivated the crime. Here also Galsworthy holds the scales evenly, but it is not at all difficult to have a peep into the heart of the dramatist and see which way it is inclined. Galsworthy the jurist, speaks through Mr. Cleaver, but when Mr. Frome speaks we feel that the dramatist has put off his lawyer's gown and is passionately appealing to consider the accused's case with pity and compassion. The judge may turn a deaf ear to the sentimental appeal of Mr. Frome, but it will never fail to find a sympathetic echo in the hearts of the readers and the audience.

Galsworthy scored over Shaw in characterization. The characters of the Shavian plays are all mouthpieces through which the dramatist propagates his theory. They act and talk as the dramatist likes them to, and in their movements you will always feel that there is some wire-pulling from behind. As a result of this the Shavian characters have been mere lifeless machines. But Galsworthy never allows his personality to intrude in his plays, his characters move and act as and when necessitated by dramatic occasions. They have been brought down from an intellectual to a human level and as such they never cease to impress or interest us. Galsworthy's heroes are not Shakespearean heroes. You will not find a king or a prince or a general among them. They are ordinary human beings as we see around us representing different strata of society. We do not however claim for Galsworthy that high pitch of excellence which Shakespeare attained in delineation of human character, because Shakespeare still stands unique among the dramatists in his understanding of the subtle workings of the human mind. But this must at least be said in favour of Galsworthy that at a time when propaganda was the main purpose of the contemporary dramatists, Galsworthy, by a few strokes of the pen, creates some fine characters which continue to impress us even long after we forget the themes of his plays. John Anthony in *Strife* with his determination not to yield but at last bursting forth in the agony of frustration, 'Fifty years! you have disgraced me, gentlemen'; Mrs. Jones in *The Silver Box* with her Cordelia-like simplicity and sincerity; Falder in *Justice* with his tragic fate in no way less intense than that which overtakes Hamlet; Joy in the play *Joy* who really embodies the spirit of joy; and Captain Dancy in *Loyalties* a sample of the war-retained youth, with his intense restlessness and at last tragic suicide to save his honour and that of his wife, are some of the immortal characters which Galsworthy has painted in his plays.

Galsworthy has also a keen sense of dramatic effectiveness. In the Shavian plays there are hardly any conflicts, and moments of suspense and anxiety are necessarily few. We do not, however, claim for Galsworthy the Shakespearean genius of portraying that 'double conflict' which his tragic heroes were confronted with, conflict with the elemental forces and a simultaneous conflict with conscience, but, nevertheless, this much credit must be given to Galsworthy that he has succeeded



in creating some very fine dramatic moments by a few subtle hints and suggestions. This can be best illustrated from *The Silver Box*, Act. II, Sc. II. Jones and his wife have already been arrested on the charge of stealing the Silver Box from Mr. Barthwick's house. The Barthwicks are consulting with their legal adviser Mr. Roper how to punish Jones without their son being involved in the case; because the same crime, if not a more heinous one, was committed by their son Jack and the mere mention of it in the court will bring a scandal to their family. Towards the latter part of the scene, when Mr. and Mrs. Barthwick were talking together after the departure of Mr. Roper, they suddenly hear the sobbing of a child. I am giving below the relevant extracts from the play to show clearly how Galsworthy has created a fine dramatic moment here. Barthwick (walking to the window) :

"I've never been frightened in my life. You heard what Roper said. It's enough to upset any one when a thing like this happens. Everything one says and does seems to turn in one's mouth—it's — it's uncanny. It's not the sort of thing I've been accustomed to. (As though stifling, he throws the window open. The faint sobbing of a child comes in). What's that?" (They listen).

Mrs. Barthwick (sharply). "I can't stand that crying. I must send Marlow to stop it. My nerves are all on edge." (She rings the bell).

Barthwick. "I'll shut the window; you'll hear nothing." (He shuts the window. There is silence).

We have another fine dramatic moment in *Strife*. When Anthony and Roberts, the two unbending leaders of Capital and Labour respectively, are deserted by their followers to force a compromise, they feel a sort of inner sympathy between them arising out of a common sense of frustration like two massy trunks shattered to the ground by a common gush of wind. The two stare at each other, the four eyes meet, the looks express in silent language their sense of utter despair and frustration.

Roberts.—"Then you are no longer Chairman of this Company? (Breaking into half-mad laughter) Ah ha-ah, ha, ha! They've thrown you over—thrown over their Chairman. A—ha—ha! (With a sudden dreadful calm) So—they've done us both down, Mr. Anthony?"

(Enid, hurrying through the double doors, comes quickly to her father and bends over him).

Harness.—(Coming down and laying his hands on Roberts' sleeve) "For shame, Roberts. Go home quietly, man; go home."

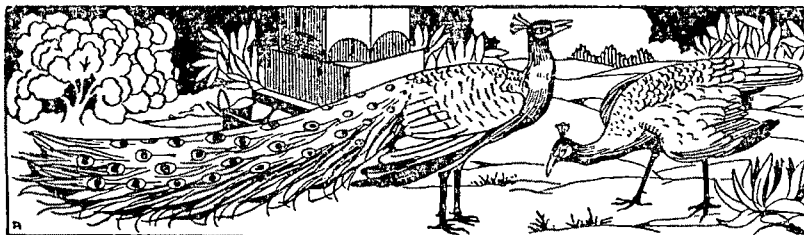
Roberts.—(Tearing his arm away) Home? (Shrinking together—in a whisper) Home?

Enid.—(Quietly to her father) "Come away, dear! Come to your room!"

(Anthony rises with an effort. He turns to Roberts, who looks at him. They stand several seconds, gazing at each other, fixedly; Anthony lifts his hand, as though to salute, but lets it fall. The expression of Roberts' face changes from hostility to wonder. They bend their heads in token of respect. Anthony turns, and slowly walks towards the curtained door. Suddenly he sways as though about to fall. recovers himself and is assisted out by Enid and Harness, who has hurried across the room. Roberts remains motionless for several seconds, staring intently after Anthony, then goes out into the hall).

In making an estimate of Galsworthy's dramatic craftsmanship his defects should not be lost sight of. Galsworthy has a fine sense of economy in dramatic construction which has been amply demonstrated in his plays, particularly in the first scene of *The Silver Box* where in course of fifty-nine broken words, almost all the characters are introduced and the major incidents of the drama are hinted at. But this same economy in construction, when carried too far, has hampered the development of the characters and made them static. The characters in a drama should be allowed to develop through sufficient numbers of plots and sub-plots. But whereas the Shavian characters are simply talking puppets, the characters of Galsworthy's plays talk too little and act even less and we see them the same from beginning to end. The defects in Shaw's dramatic art have been amply compensated for by the sparkling wit and humour with which he has enlivened his plays. But humour is conspicuous by its absence in the plays of Galsworthy.

The defects referred to above in the plays of Galsworthy are insignificant compared to his great merits as a dramatic artist. With the march of time the problems of the society he deals with in his drama will possibly be solved and the society of his dream based on equality and justice may be established. Whether the sociological value of his plays will continue to give interest to his readers of the generations following is more than we can say. But those universal qualities of his dramas, e.g., his strictly impartial treatment of problems, fine characterization and above all creation of moments of supreme interest, will stand the test of time and give him a unique place among the dramatists of the present century.





# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

## ENGLISH

**TOLSTOY AND GANDHI:** By Dr. Kalidas Nag, *Pusak Bhandar, Patna—4. 1950. Price Rupees Seven annas eight. Pp. XX. + 136, three plates.*

Dr. Nag has presented in this sumptuously produced volume almost all the material relating to the connection between Gandhi and Tolstoy. He has first given a sketch of the lives of the two in so far as they come close to one another in actuality or in spirit, and then brought together a mass of little-known correspondence which passed between these two of the greatest men of our age.

We only hope that the present study will be followed up by others dealing with Gandhi's debt to masters like Ruskin or Thoreau or to books like the Holy Bible or the Bhagavadgita. In a critical understanding of the technique of Satyagraha, it is vital that we should be able to discriminate clearly how Gandhi was indebted to the past or where the originality of his personal contribution lay. Such critical studies will help to clear much of the sentimental rubbish which seems to be fast accumulating round the name of Gandhi today.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

**VIKRAMA VOLUME:** Preface by Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior. Editorial Introduction by Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji. *Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain. 1948. Pp. 731.*

In the long and distinguished roll of India's men of action in olden times, few names are more famous than that of the enigmatical king Vikramaditya, the so-called conqueror of the Sakas and paragon of kingly virtues, founder of the Indian era in widest and largest use and patron of nine literary gems, whose reign-period coincided with the country's Golden Age. For what other king's name and fame have been handed down to posterity supposedly through an unbroken succession of 2000 years? How marked is the contrast with such a titanic figure as Asoka who, with all his historical achievements, was consigned to the limbo of oblivion in the country of his birth within a few centuries of his existence?

The present volume which has been published appropriately enough under the auspices of the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior brings together a list of 28 papers contributed by as many scholars in commemoration of the 2nd millennium of the Vikrama era. The authors deal for the most part (as they must), with different aspects of the problem still clustering around the name of the legendary hero. As for the historical aspects of the problem, Dr. Hem Chandra Raychaudhuri, in a closely reasoned article, demolishes the case for a historical Vikramaditya (including his alleged identification with Gautamiputra Satakarni and Yasodharman) in the early centuries of the Christian era, and he traces in an original

fashion the evolution of the Vikramaditya saga from the Gupta period down to mediaeval times. Less convincing is the view of Dr. R. C. Majumdar who argues in favour of the authenticity of the traditional king Vikramaditya of Malwa who is said to have founded the era in commemoration of his victory over the Sakas. More speculative are the suggestions of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Dr. A. S. Altekar and Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar taking the founder of the era to have been respectively Pushyamitra Sunga (whose new date does violence to the generally accepted chronology), a Malwa King or General called Krita (whose ghost has been laid by the trenchant criticism of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in the present work, p. 65), and the unidentified founder of the Scytho-Parthian era which preceded the well-known Saka era. As regards literary aspects of the Vikramaditya problem, Mr. K. A. Subramania Iyer, in a useful paper, brings together all the references to Vikramaditya and the aspects of his character in the ancient literary works from Hala's *Saptasati* downwards. In another useful article, Dr. S. M. Katre shows from a few samples culled from Amara's lexicon the need for a historical dictionary of Sanskrit on modern lines. Still another important contribution is that of Dr. B. Bhattacharya who identifies Vikramaditya with the Gupta Emperor Chandragupta II on sufficiently cogent grounds, while he less convincingly supports the tradition of the nine gems contemporaneously adorning Vikrama's court. In a remarkably learned paper, Dr. Charlotte Krause shows that Vikramaditya figures as a historical Jaina King even in the dry lists of pontiffs, that other texts establish the historical character of Siddhasena Divakara (the reputed guru of Vikramaditya), that Siddhasena's *terminus ad quem* is C. 450 A.D., while his *terminus a quo* is still uncertain, that the description of his patron by Siddhasena in his own work, the *Gunavachanadvatimsika* (of which a critical edition with an English translation is appended hereto) suits the Gupta Emperor Samudragupta and that Siddhasena probably lived down to the time of Chandragupta II to be included by posterity in the list of nine gems. As to matters of general interest, Mm. V. V. Mirashi and Mr. N. R. Navlekar bring out from the internal evidence of Kalidasa's works interesting information about his birth, education, learning and human qualities, while C. G. Vetalankar paints a picture (far from complete) of contemporary social conditions as reflected in Kalidasa's writings. So also Dr. B. C. Law collects together in a convenient form most of the literary and historical references to Avantī, and H. D. Velankar similarly puts together a mass of references to Vikramaditya in the Jaina tradition.

We have noticed a few slips. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar is slightly inaccurate when he mentions (p. 57) a Dhoolpur inscription of 898 as the oldest known instance of association of the era with the name of Vikramaditya. The



transliteration of Taranath (p. 307) by Mm. V. V. Mirashi is not quite correct. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri (p. 488), overlooks the evidence of the recently discovered coin of Samudragupta from Bannala with the hitherto unknown legend Sri Vikramah applied to him. We cannot conclude without expressing our profound disappointment that the excavation of the very ancient site of Ujjayini which is expected to throw light upon many an unsolved problem (including that of Vikramaditya) belonging to India's remote past has not yet been taken in hand by the authorities. Will the Government of India take a leaf out of the record of the previous alien regime to which belongs the credit of finding men and money for excavating a number of the most famous sites of antiquity including those of Taxila and Mohenjo-daro and thus helping in the recovery of India's forgotten heritage.

U. N. GHOSHAL

**BETRAYAL IN INDIA:** By D. F. Karaka. Victor Gollancz Ltd., London, 1950.

The vigorous pen of D. F. Karaka has placed the case of India as it is to-day before the reading public, in all its grimness. The utter lack of adjustment to the present needs as seen in the vast majority of Congressmen and admitted by leaders and also by rank and file comes in for suitable comment forcibly expressed. That much of the criticism is justified, there is no doubt. Some of the passages are delightfully effective thrusts, specially *Cauliflower au gratin*. Karaka's heart is sound, though the indignation he feels leads him sometimes to overstate his case, and overcolour the picture. He is angry with prohibition, and even with the ban on racing! Warmly he expresses his admiration of Pandit Nehru, but one feels that the situation has so upset the writer that even in the character-sketch of the leaders he is not always just. It is no doubt a 'betrayal,' but it is a self-betrayal—we have betrayed ourselves, been tried and found wanting. What is the remedy? Socialism has not blood enough in it, and as regards communism, his soliloquy is worth reproducing:

"I do not want Communism to come to my country, because I believe that it will enslave my people once again and make them the serfs of yet another foreign power, Soviet Russia. But I am equally convinced that the present policy of the Congress of harbouring *Khaddar*-clad, Gandhi-capped crooks and black-marketcers, of ruling this country regardless of all principles of democracy, and of attempting to perpetuate a one-party rule smothering all legitimate, constitutional and democratic opposition will make this country ripe for a Communist uprising." (p. 253).

He has still faith in the "plenty of reserve in the Congress." May that faith be justified in the times to come!

P. R. SEN

**PARAMARTHA PRASANGA—Towards the Goal Supreme:** By Swami Virajananda, President, The Ramkrishna Math and the Ramkrishna Mission, India; with Introduction by Gerald Heard and Foreword by Christopher Isherwood. Published by Advaita Ashrama. Pp. 29 + 296. Price Rs. 4.

As its name indicates, the book will lead an earnest reader towards the supreme goal of mankind—Divine Realisation. The original Bengali is very good indeed, but the English version by the author himself is beautiful and to the point, so much so that the foreign reader will hardly find any difficulty in grasping the intricacies of the Vedanta Philosophy which is its main theme. We recommend the book to all, especially to those who want solace in life. In the words of Christopher Isherwood,

"Every individual will find here something especially relevant to his own problems and conditions."

**VEDANTA THROUGH STORIES:** By Swami Samsuddhananda. Sri Ramkrishna Ashram, Khar, Bombay—21. Pp. 178, Rs. 2-4.

Here is another book from the Bombay branch of the same Ramkrishna Mission. The stories are simple and interesting. Some of them relate to actual happenings in the lives of great men like Sri Ramkrishna, Swami Vivekananda, Pavhari Baba and others, but they are mostly from the Upanishads and the Puranas; some are current popular stories. All of them illustrate Vedantic principles and their teaching is, that self-realization and renunciation are necessary to make this our earthly lives peaceful and happy. The foreword by the Hon'ble Sri Syama Prasad Mookherjee is illuminating.

B. N. E.

**UPANISHADS in Story and Dialogue:** By Sri L. R. Diwakar. Published by Hind Kitabs Limited, 261-253, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 128. Price Rs. 2/8/-.

This book contains a foreword by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, four illustrations by Sri Madhukar Seth and a glossary of Sanskrit terms. It is divided into twenty short chapters containing selected stories and dialogues of the Isha, Kena, Katha, Prasna, Taittiriya, Chhandygya and Brihadaranyaka Upanishads. In a long introduction of 27 pages the author traces the origin and locale of the Upanishads and stresses the need of their study in our times. The book is meant for the lay reader who has not the leisure, nor facility to study the original texts; and the learned commentaries thereon.

The story of Uma Haimavati in the Kena, that of Satyakama in the Chhandyogya, etc., and the dialogue of Nachiketa and Yama in the Katha and that of Maitreyi and Yajnavalkya in the Brihadaranyaka and others that bring out the central teachings of these sacred classics, are written in an elegant style. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, the Indian ambassador at Moscow, in his foreword, rightly observes, "Our political freedom is not an end in itself. It is a means, among other things, to our cultural liberation . . . The Upanishads contain the essential ideas, the governing principles of our cultural life." Hence the importance of the Upanishadic study in our collective life. But the translations, however excellent, can never convey the force and fervour of the original. Selected Upanishadic texts with renderings either in English or better in the provincial vernaculars would have been more useful and effective. An acquaintance with the original is essential for a profound understanding of the scriptures. My English edition of the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad published from Madras with Sanskrit text: textual meanings, running translations and annotations serves the above purpose much better than the one under review. Even then this book will acquaint to some extent the English readers with a general idea of the Upanishads.

SWAMI JACADISWARANANDA

**MALAYAN ADVENTURE (Illustrated):** By S. K. Chettur. Published at the Basel Mission Press, Mangalore. Price Rs. 8.

Shri S. K. Chettur was India Government's Representative in Malaya for two years (1945-1947). In those days hundreds of Indians were rotting behind prison bars in Malaya. Many more were fighting a grim economic battle for better wages and against discrimination. Many were eager to come back to India. Lawlessness was rampant in Malaya. Food-shortage was acute all over South-East Asia. Java was

in political turmoil. The Indian units of the British army policing Indonesia "did not quite see why they should help to perpetuate the colonial domination of the Dutch over the Indonesians."

*Malayan Adventure* describes the author's extensive tours over S.-E. Asia and his interviews with prominent personalities like Shri Nehru, Lord Mountbatten, Dr. Sjahrir and others. The author points out that, the I.N.A. and the dynamic personality of Netaji Bose had "infused dignity and self-respect and a concept of the value of freedom into all the Indians overseas." He speaks of the Japanese reign of terror in Malaya which gave place to one of a different brand in the earlier days of Allied re-occupation, of the steps taken by the Government of India for the defence of Indian nationals detained on charges of "collaboration" with Japan, for the repatriation of those willing to come back to India as well as of the medical relief organised by the Ramakrishna Mission and the Indian National Congress. Generally speaking, Malayan Government officials were helpful and courteous. A few however were not and treated Indians—officials and otherwise—with scant courtesy (*vide* pp. 20-21, 191). Some home truths told by Shri Chettur should act as eye-openers. He refers to the giving and taking of bribes freely practised by Indians in Malaya, to the abuse of powers by at least one Indian in a position of authority and to the tampering of repatriation papers by many Indians desiring repatriation at the expense of the Government. The colour-bar prevailing at Singapore is also attacked.

The author should have been more careful of some of his spellings and facts. The "Sudderbunds" (p. 4) is obviously the Sunderbans. Again, Mingaladon, the air-port of Rangoon, is not 16 miles (p. 4) or 18 miles (p. 40) away from the city. The distance is well under 10 miles. Shri Chettur has made almost a heroine of his Chinese lady private secretary. Frequent reference to dinners, dances and drinking parties given by or participated in by the author is at times disgusting. *Malayan Adventure*, nonetheless, is full of information, quite a readable book in a pleasant style and deserves a warm reception at the hands of the reading public.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

**THE INDIAN HANDLOOM WEAVING INDUSTRY ANNUAL, 1949 :** Editor, M. P. Gandhi. Published by Gandhi and Co., Jan Mansion, Sir Pherozshah Mehta Road, Fort, Bombay, 1. Price Re 1-8.

The handloom industry of India has manifested its inherent strength by competing with the cotton textile mills for the last one hundred years. It is still one of the major cottage industries employing about 25 lakhs of people against only 7 lakhs in the cloth mills. The indigenous weavers, "for all the marvellous tissues and embroidery they have wrought, have polluted no rivers, deformed no pleasing prospects, nor poisoned any air, whose skill and individuality the training of countless generations has developed to the highest perfection." There was the lone voice of Sir George Birdwood who protested against "these hereditary handicraftsmen being everywhere gathered from their democratic village communities in hundreds and thousands into the colossal mills of Bombay to drudge in gangs for tempting wages at manufacturing piecegoods, . . . in the production of which they are no more intellectually and morally concerned than the grinder of a barrel organ in the tunes turned out of it." Almost every sort of village industry has suffered,

some going out of existence, from the ravages of factory products, both foreign and indigenous, and it is necessary that steps should be taken, ways and means devised, for the protection of an industry that is worked most democratically with an even distribution of wealth while producing nearly a quarter of our total cotton textile output. The problems with which the handloom weaving industry in India is faced today are numerous and it is creditable that Sri M. P. Gandhi, who is eminently qualified for the task due to his vast experience in the industrial world, has dealt with the various handicaps of the industry and has advanced concrete suggestions for their removal. It is expected that the Standing Handloom Committee, brought into being by the Government of India in April, 1949, would give serious thought to the proposals of Sri Gandhi and accept them only to work upon them. Like all other monographs of Sri Gandhi, the present *Annual*, replete with valuable statistical and reading materials, bids fair to be the standard work on the handloom industry of India.

KALI CHARAN GHOSH

**IN THE CLASSROOM** (With children under thirteen years of age): Published by United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, 19, Avenue Kleber, Paris 16E, France. Pages 63. Price 1s.

Scientific inventions of Modern Man have annihilated time and space and closed up the far-flung continents. Relations among peoples have deepened and interdependence of nations is being keenly felt day by day. Far-sighted men of ideas have begun to realise the possibility of building up a *One World* of nations united by a bond of human brotherhood and cultural fellowship. UNESCO stands for this ideal of international brotherhood, peace and co-operation of peoples in the World Society.

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## SANSKRIT

**HARIHARACATURANGAM**—Critically edited with introduction by S. K. Ramanatha Sastri (Retd., Lecturer in Sanskrit, University of Madras). Madras Government Oriental Series, No. XVII. Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. Price Rs. 6-8.

This is an edition of an interesting work on the art of warfare in ancient India. It is a welcome addition to the meagre literature on the subject so far known. In four separate chapters it deals with the four traditional parts of an Indian army, e.g., elephant, horse, chariot and infantry. One chapter relates to archery while another to work in the field. Of the two remaining chapters one deals with polity and the other describes a 'game of war,' apparently a variety of chess. The last chapter may be helpful in studying the history of the game. The chapters on elephants and horses containing details about different types of these animals may be of interest to students of Zoology. Special interest of the work lies in its references to previous authors and works on the subject little-known from other sources (Vide I. 75, 165, 168, 169, 173, 174, V. 2, 3, VI 407). The author incidentally refers to several other works of his own (VI. 500—2). It is gathered from the chapter colophons that the author was held in high esteem by King Prataparudra Gajapati whose court he seems to have adorned as the *rajaguru* and minister. It is curious, however, that there is no reference to the royal patron in the body of the work. The edition is based on a single manuscript belonging to the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library of Madras. One more manuscript in which the name of the work appears as *Harihayacaturanga* is reported to exist in the Maharaja's Library at Mayurbhanj; but it has not been consulted for the present edition. The text appears to be occasionally defective and in spite of emendations and corrections of the learned editor, apparent inaccuracies, some of which may be due to printer's devil, have been noticed.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

## BENGALI

**JANA-GANER RABINDRANATH**—(The People's Rabindranath) : By Sudhir Kar. Signet Press, Calcutta—20. Pp. 152. Price Rs. 2-8.

The author has made a place for himself as an interpreter of Rabindranath, the Poet. A member of the Abhay Ashram, he joined the Santiniketan as an humble worker after the 1930 Civil Disobedience Movement. An essentially non-political being, he found this kinship suitable to his own nature and fell under the Poet's influence. In his various writings we find its traces. In the present book the writer has been able to discredit the thesis beloved of communists and fellow-travellers that Rabindranath was one of those who in their life and conduct had always kept a distance with the "masses." He has cited lines from *Sonar Tari* and *Chitra* to trace the earnest stirrings of how the Poet's heart moved responsive to the sorrows, sufferings and insults implicit in our socio-economic set-up. And through these 152 pages runs the thread of an awareness that those who "work" to them belonged the earth passing over the rise and fall of "empires." The disinherited and the dispossessed, their awakening to self-respect had been the thought that occupied the Poet's waking hours and coloured the dreams of his sleep. The book is superbly turned out, the publishers deserve congratulations for it. We commend the book to lovers of Rabindranath, to all lovers of humanity.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

**YUGA-SAMKHA** : By Vishnu Saraswati. Bimala-ranjan Publishing House, Khagra. Price Re. 1.

A small collection of several "prose-poems," mostly eulogising the valiant youth of the country. The language is forceful, diction commendable, but the reader often feels that the orator in the author has far superseded the poet in him.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

## HINDI

**RASHTRABHASHAKA SAVAL** : By Jawaharlal Nehru. Published by Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp. 40. Price six annas.

This is a translation by Shri Ramnarayan Chaudhuri of the original author's views on our national language, first published in English in 1937. It is a very thoughtful plea in favour of Hindustani.

**SAMANANTAR REKHAYEN** : By Radhakrishna Prasad. Published by Ajanta Press Ltd., Naya Tola, Patna. Pp. 210. Price Rs. 2-8.

A collection of twenty-two short stories with a Tolstoyan touch, so realistic in their description of action and delineation of character and yet so idealistic in their overall atmosphere and impression. Not a few of them illustrate and emphasise, of course, with the "indirectness" of intriguing art, the truth, "there is something worst in the best of us, and something best in the worst of us." Shri Radhakrishna has amply fulfilled the promise of high achievement, held out by his earlier writings.

G. M.

## GUJARATI

**SAHITYA PARICHAYA (Parts I, II, III)** : By Dhirubhai M. Desai, B.A., B.T., Ditt. Ed. (Edinburgh), Principal, H. M. Public School, Andheri, Bombay Suburb and R. D. Desai, M.A., B.T., Principal, H. D. Sarvajnik High School, Amalsad. 1947, 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 176, 192, 216. Price Re. 1-4, Re. 1-5, Re. 1-6.

Both compilers are well-fitted for their self-imposed task. They are in constant contact with juveniles, whom they desire to put wise with their own literature, Gujarati, old and new. Their expected readers are students of primary and middle schools, and they have selected writings from known writers of old and modern Gujarati, keeping in mind the capacity of understanding of these boys and girls. They themselves have contributed certain articles and procured others from living writers, male and female. At the end of each article, is a short test questionnaire which tests the student to see if he has understood what he has read. The commencement gives shortly particulars of the subject to which the article relates. Almost all articles are illustrated. There are three colour paintings of Gantama Buddha, Jesus Christ and Shankaracharya and Matang. It is a praiseworthy attempt at making our literature popular and widely read.

**MAHAN VAIGNANIKO (Parts I and II)** : By Dr. Suresh M. Shethna, M.Sc., Ph.D., and Dr. N. M. Shah, M.Sc., Ph.D. Published by the Bharat Sahitya Sangha, Ltd., Ahmedabad. 1948. Thick card-board. Illustrated. Pp. 100 and 80. Price Re. 1 each.

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K. M. J.



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# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## The Internationality of Literature

Great literature, like all great art, is rooted in the particular but ramifies in the universal. Because the artist is more sensitive than the average individual, he is better able to catch intimations of enduring significance in life's eternal play of light and shade, insights which can be shared with the more dull of vision through the interpretative medium of art. Dr. Wallace Stegner analyzes in the *Aryan Path* the universal appeal of great literature :

It is a truism that science is a truly international activity, not limited by national boundaries and differences, and applicable up and down the whole range of humanity. It is only when science is perverted, as once by Hitler's ethnologists and more recently by Russian biologists, that it becomes the instrument of special national propaganda. And it is only in time of war, hot or cold, that science becomes a secret race for secret knowledge, jealously guarded and exchanged only by reciprocal theft.

Truth is a higher end than political advantage, but politics, and especially the failure of politics which we call war, can poison the sources of all science and of all art. All the sciences and all the arts are arts of peace, they thrive, are freely offered and freely taken, only in peace time and in a free environment.

But there is a marked difference between a science, any science, and an art such as literature. Science knows no language problem. Recently I attended, in an Indian university, a mathematics class conducted in Hindi. The formulas and explanations and equations put up on the blackboard would have been intelligible to any mathematics student in any country in the world. Hindi mathematics is identical with English mathematics, or German mathematics, or Arabic mathematics, but Hindi literature and English literature are two different things. Their surfaces at least are utterly different, they are mutually unintelligible. Their immediate appeal is local or national, not international, and in this fact is to be found not only the greatest limitation of literatures as a medium of cultural exchange, but their ultimate strength.

Consider facts such as this: Here is a writer, the Russian playwright and story-teller Anton Chekhov. The son of a peasant store-keeper, reared and educated in Russia, steeped in Russian life and knowing no other except through books, he ought to be all but unintelligible to me. His stories and plays are written in Russian, of which I know not a word, and they deal with St. Petersburg cab drivers, Crimean peasants, Siberian exiles, Moscow sophisticates, artillery captains, girls in provincial places yearning for Moscow, noblemen on shooting parties, wide-eyed boys making journeys across the steppes, in weathers and among people I have never known.

Yet once the barrier of language has been crossed by the help of a translator, Chekhov speaks to me more plainly than mathematics will ever speak to me about

anything. Across an abyss of cultural difference he reaches out to touch the very spot where I most live. Why?

Or Charles Dickens, with his street boys hanging around Wapping Stairs or the Inner Temple, or his derelicts jailed for debt under a law more bitter than any I have experienced. What do I know of the sort of school Nicholas Nickleby fled from, or the troubles that afflicted *Oliver Twist*? Nevertheless I feel those troubles as I feel my own.

Or Knut Hamsun, the early Knut Hamsun, who was a poet before he was a Quisling; a poet who wrote strange, filmy, Northern-lights stories about a Norwegian town, and followed them with an epic novel about the settlement of a remote farmstead in Finnmarken. My mother's people were Norwegian, but I know no Norwegian myself and have never visited Norway. Yet Knut Hamsun used to shake me like a leaf when I was an undergraduate in college in Salt Lake City, in the middle of a Mormon community, 8,000 miles from Hamsun's Norwegian village.

Or Rabindranath Tagore, one of the few Indians whom an American can read because he is one of the few whose books have been published in the United States. I read Tagore in English, partly his own English but everything else in him was strange. Hardly able to tell Hindu from Moslem; not knowing Krishna from Vishnu or from Shiva; my whole knowledge of India a vague notion that the dead were burned and the cow worshipped, and that Gandhi wore a loin-cloth and disbelieved in the machine—as ignorant as that, I could still move carefully and half-enchanted through Tagore's metaphysical world, and light such a lamp as I had at the flame he provided. Time after time he uses the symbol of the lamp humbly lighted and held aloft in darkness. His poems are like that, even to an outsider.

All of these, and dozens more, have to speak across barriers that science does not know, but they speak in ways impossible to science. They speak not only to the mind but also to the emotions and the spirit and the memory, out of a common humanity that is all the more exciting for appearing in strange forms and unfamiliar clothes.

The point that cannot be overlooked or over-emphasized is that when it is most truly capable of reaching an international audience, literature is likely to be triumphantly local, even colloquial, in its settings, characters, morality, beliefs, in the whole back drop of its human and environmental scenery.

To be a figure worth the attention of mankind at large, a writer must first be a good Indian, or a good American, or a good Russian, or a good Englishman—and I don't mean anything even remotely resembling politics.

Let us turn for a more explicit example to the work of the American poet Robert Frost, certainly the most distinguished American poet and one of the three or four finest living poets in English. It is possible that as yet

he is not as well-known abroad as he deserves to be, because he is incorrigibly American in idiom and tone. In future years he may be especially admired for precisely these things. These are the trappings through which the man shines. The Americanisms are almost like a playful disguise, meant to be penetrated; so that in the poems of Frost, the two great literary effects of recognition and surprise can both be had—the recognition of the universal human spirit penetrating the initial disguise of the local manner.

One or two poems will illustrate. This is one called "Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening":

Whose woods these are, I think I know,  
His house is in the village, though,  
He will not see me stopping here  
To watch his woods fill up with snow.

My little horse must think it queer  
To stop without a farmhouse near.  
Between the woods and frozen lake  
The darkest evening of the year.

He gives his harness bells a shake  
To ask if there is some mistake.  
The only other sound's the sweep  
Of easy wind and downy flake.

The woods are lovely, dark, and deep—  
But I have promises to keep,  
And miles to go before I sleep,  
And miles to go before I sleep.

Even for an Indian ear, through the unfamiliar machinery of a snowy evening in northern New England and behind the unfamiliar muted cadence of the words, there may be in those lines the sound of a great poet confronting the ancient conflict between desire and responsibility, and the choice that is emphasized by the austerity of the repeated last line. The full flavour is there, undoubtedly, only for one who is bred up to the tartness of the idiom; but it is there to some extent, I think, for everyone, and a stranger may get an extra pleasure from the unfamiliarity.

Something of the same laconic, conversational approach to a problem as old as humanity is in "The Roar Not Taken":

Two roads diverged in a yellow wood,  
And sorry I could not travel both  
And be one traveler, long I stood  
And looked down one as far as I could  
To where it bent in the undergrowth:

Then took the other, as just as fair,  
And having perhaps the greater claim,  
Because it was grassy and wanted wear:  
Though, as for that the passing there  
Had worn them really about the same,

And both that morning equally lay  
In leaves no step had trodden black.  
Oh, I kept the first for another day!  
Yet knowing how way leads on to way,  
I doubted if I should ever come back.

I shall be telling this with a sigh  
Somewhere ages and ages hence;  
Two roads diverged in a wood, and I—  
I took the one less traveled by,  
And that has made all the difference.

The universal tongue of poetry is there, deceptively discursing in speech that might have come from the mouth of a Vermont farmer. And the universal anguish of choice, the hesitation and the doubt and the half-regret, are there too, ready to speak to any one who has ever doubted or hesitated before a hard choice.

Recognition in poetry is instant and complete and beyond language.

Once, in Mexico, in a little village called Pericutin, where a new volcano had burst suddenly from a cornfield and poured out cinders and ash over the countryside for miles, coating trees and fields with 12 inches of powdery ash, filling air and nostrils, we stood in the street and watched the people of the doomed town. They had not yet moved out, though Pericutin was a village of death and silence. A pig rooted hopelessly through the cinders, people passed with their faces covered, like shadows. We saw roofs caving in under the weight of ash, and heard the whisper of falling dust and the rumble of the volcano, and our whole minds were filled with that strangeness and that slow death. And at that moment two little girls came out of a gateway in a wall, girls with their *rebozos* held across their faces and only their eyes showing.

Those eyes were bright and quick and alive in the darkness of their faces, so bright and alive that they denied all the death that sifted over the village. Through all the strangeness of race and scene and circumstance we had an instant strong recognition of the community of human endurance and persistence and the capacity to stay alive. Something like that, some shared understanding, is what a truly captured human situation in poem or story can give.

Difficulties of language or custom, national boundaries, iron or silken curtains, cannot halt that kind of communion. But the literature that inspires it must first have its origin in real soil, among real people, before it can have the immediacy and striking colour to catch and hold a reader. The Mexican children would not have made so deep an impression without their unfamiliar costume and the strangeness of the setting; Robert Frost, squaring his moral shoulders before his human responsibility in "Stopping by Woods" would be less immediate and arresting if the situation were not given a half-dramatized local setting, the sensuous imagery of a real place, and a language hewn out to be appropriate to place and time.

No one can read Frost or Dickens, or Chekhov, or Mark Twain, or Knut Hamsun or Tagore without feeling

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that each wrote out of what he knew and loved. Among them, for all the differences, there is a great shared sensitiveness to the vivid currents of life, *an inalienable common humanity. Put it in a paper lantern, or a chrome-plated flashlight, it is still light, it still shines.*

That sharing which is so freely enjoyed, except when the arts are perverted to party ends and doctrinaire "correctness," is endangered or partially extinguished in our time by the rise of totalitarianism, but I believe it cannot be utterly extinguished for any length of time.

There is some unanimity toward which people grope, as well as some originality or difference toward which they aspire.

And the world swings uneasily from one to the other, tearing itself apart only to heal itself again, but always moving toward oneness, the oneness that is expressed in great art.

There is a body of principles common to all the great literatures, as to all the great religions. Archimedes, who remarked that if he had a pole long enough and a place to stand he could move the earth, might have stood on those principles. The only pole long enough, probably, is Time. There is a place to stand; for centuries men have been trying to trample it out wider, but there is even now a place. There is nothing to prevent its growing larger with every generation except the narrow denominationalisms of religion and politics and national cultures that divide us. These are the survivals of the ages of ignorance, and until we outgrow them it would be foolish to expect any real betterment of man's state on earth.

For a literary man, either writer or reader, there is one limited course of action which does, though only by painful inches, enlarge the area of common understanding. This is to circulate freely and widely and curiously among each others' books, making voyages of discovery among the strange and foreign in search of that invaluable flash of the familiar. There is nothing but death in a church, a country, a political party, that wants to burn any book. There is the hope of life in any church or country or political party which is willing to read and learn.

In any half-way developed literature there will be something to arrest and startle and impress, some glimpse of the essence that men share but that in different places is institutionalized differently. That essence is always much the same; it is always peace, always kindness, always generosity, always personal responsibility, always both active and passive, both Yang and Yin. No man who has seen it or heard it in the literature of another people can ever again live quite fully behind parochial and prejudiced walls.

That is the true internationalism of literature; it is born out of the homely and immediate, but it comes to belong to mankind.

### The Role of the Unconscious in Everyday Life

Dr. J. G. Varma writes in *Careers and Courses* :

It is to be noticed that Freud laid very great emphasis upon sex impulse and held it to be responsible for all the cases of maladjustments, mental troubles and neuroses. For a number of years Freud, Adler, and Jung worked together and there was a perfect unanimity in the views of the three. Subsequently, Adler and Jung separated from the common

fold and put forward their own theories. It is, therefore, important and also interesting to understand the views of these two psychologists on the unconscious.

#### ADLER ON UNCONSCIOUS

Adler's interpretation differed from Freud's and instead of laying too exclusive an emphasis upon sex he pointed out that the feeling of inferiority and the desire for superiority constituted the mainsprings of human activities. He told us that a child is a helpless creature from its very earliest stages and depends upon the mother and the father for the satisfaction of its basic requirements of nourishment, dress, and protection. Such an attitude of dependence creates a feeling of inferiority in the mind of the child and stays there in the shape of a mental inferiority complex. Some of the children are able to overcome this feeling in later stages of their growth, but quite a percentage does not succeed in doing so. The consequence is that there is constantly an unconscious stirring to gain supremacy and to overcome deficiency. Hence the unconscious for Adler is mainly motivated by the desire to become 'masters' and to give up the 'slave mentality'.

Though there is ever a tendency to move from inferiority to superiority, yet the conditions of the environment are not so favourable that all the children may succeed in attaining the objects of their desire. Very often we come across cases of maladjustments which need a careful psychological handling and treatment. In some of the patients the trouble gets so deeply rooted that the patient refuses to be cured and views the psychologists with great suspicion and awe. The reason is this, that if the person is cured once again he or she will have to face the hard facts of life which are by no means very favourable. Cure may once again create the sense of inferiority and there may be again a relapse. Some patients develop an escapist mentality to such an extent that the contact with actual life is completely lost and the subject revels in the world of imagination which he or she has himself or herself created. There are others who point out that the object of their desire was not really worth their endeavour and soon resort to the "grape-sour mechanism." Some argument, howsoever untenable, is advanced to show that their failure was due to circumstances for which they were not responsible. 'Only fools live in Paradise' may help to bring about the mental attitude. The patient thinks that he is much better without the desired object than with it. There are also cases of girls particularly, who suffer some emotional disturbances and complexes just because they could not meet with success in their emotional

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venture. Adler examined these and in certain cases it was seen that the girl whose emotions were unbalanced fell in love with the psycho-therapist. He suggested that 'falling in love' was another form of striving, howsoever unconscious, to get the better of the psychologist. Love has very great power of motivation and the subject thinks that in diverting it to the mental doctor she is on a sure road of attaining mastery over him.

Freud would have interpreted this as an expression of sex, but Adler's views seem to be more reasonable. Freud took a very wide sense of the concept of sex and many of the dynamic psychologists of our time do not agree with his view. Prof. R. S. Woodworth, for instance, does not appreciate the idea of giving such a wide and general meaning to sex motive. The sense of inferiority and a corresponding urge towards superiority seems to offer a better interpretation of the facts. Of course, we do not for a moment undervalue the importance and force of the sex-motive. But we do feel that it is not the only motive that explains human conduct and activities. Certain psychologists who have studied the life of Napoleon and have analysed it have suggested that he suffered from the feeling of inferiority and his great success was just due to the fact that he had a strong sense of 'inferiority complex.' Another glaring instance is that of the famous Greek orator, Demosthenes. In his youth he suffered from psychological defects which prevented him from speaking clearly. He stammered too much. But he did succeed eminently in overcoming his inferiority and substituting in its place superiority.

#### JUNGS'S RACIAL UNCONSCIOUS

Jung placed before us his pregnant theory of the *racial unconscious*. He made an anthropological review of the psychology of the unconscious. He arrived at the conclusion that the activities, ideas, feelings and emotions of our ancestors play a very dominant part in determining our unconscious. Man was not always civilized and there was a time when he lived a very anti-social life, a life crude in character and devoid of polish. The activities and behaviour-patterns of such people have passed down to us in the shape of the *racial unconscious*. The actual mode of transmission is through the mechanism of biological, physiological and psychological heredity.

The *racial unconscious* is so deep rooted that it seldom makes its appearance on the stage of daily life. Moreover, the process of education and effects of civilization have, to a very large extent, succeeded in burying the primordial savage. So much so that we shun the idea of thinking that we are 'cave men.'

In spite of our dislike of the idea of the savage and the cave man, we should never forget that the cave man is within us and the savage is a part and parcel of our mental structure. A careful scrutiny of human behaviour will convince us that in cases more than one man behave in accordance with their native character in spite of the thin veneer of modern civilization. Professor Woodworth has very rightly remarked. "... rarely this deepest (racial unconscious) show itself in dreams, or in the neuroses, but the phantasies of really insane persons sometimes bring to the surface weird ideas, and ways of thought seem like vestiges of primitive thinking." (Italics ours).

The individual unconscious is gradually built up out of the stuff provided by the racial unconscious through the interaction of the environment in which a person lives and moves. That is why the unconscious of one man differs from the unconscious of another, due to



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differences in the family situations, school conditions, and other conditions reacting from without.

Jung has thrown a very wise suggestion on the analysis of mental diseases of children. He suggests that there are cases that can be successfully studied just by analysing the unconscious of the patient himself. But sometimes we do have to face more difficult cases when it becomes very essential to go back and study the unconscious of the father and the mother of the ailing child or person. As analysis of parents' unconscious reveals the root cause of the trouble, and helps the psycho-analyst a good deal.

Thus we find that Jung also deviates from Freud's views on the *unconscious*. His chief contribution to the modern researches in psychology in the form of the concept of the racial unconscious can hardly be underestimated. His emphasis upon a psychological study of parents to get at a clear understanding of children's troubles makes a real advance upon the existing technique of psycho-analysis. We are not yet in a position to pronounce any final judgment upon his theory.

#### SUGGESTION TO THE UNCONSCIOUS

Is the *unconscious* still a mystery? Are we still in dark in spite of what Freud, Alder, and Jung have told us? In reply to such questions we have to say that we are grateful to such eminent thinkers for their persistent researches. They have succeeded immensely in clearing much rubbish about the unconscious which was more or less in the form of mere guesses. Thanks to their efforts we can, to a very large extent, help ourselves in adjusting successfully to our day-to-day business. We have before us the technique of "suggestions" which can do us much good in efficiently performing our daily business.

Suggestions may come to us from a person who is older than we are and has more learning and experience

to his credit than our own selves. Such suggestions are known as prestige suggestions and are very helpful in life. How often we adopt the ideas of such persons, think and do as they may like us to do. For example, in a dance performance, we are much influenced by the ideas of those who know more about the art. If they appreciate it, we do it just because of the reason that the suggestion comes from them. Similarly, suggestions may come from a book or a picture, a building, a sunrise or a sunset, etc. Cases are not wanting when the best tasks have been accomplished because of the right suggestions. It is always psychologically desirable to be on the look-out for the right source of suggestions, and to take them when they are to our advantage. In this way the unconscious will gradually be strengthened and the person will feel himself to be getting along with ease and comfort.

Suggestions from other persons or books, etc., will only prove effective when there is a full co-operation on the part of the subject. The subject must repose full confidence in the source and should feel free to receive believing that it is going to do good to him. Much cannot be expected from a vacillating attitude.

Auto-suggestions are equally fruitful in driving away the tendencies of fear, diffidence, suspicion, indecision, etc. Here we say something to our own self. For instance, the oft-repeated suggestion is 'Day by day in every way, I am getting better and better.' The efficacy of the suggestion, it is said, depends upon 'repetition.' But mere repetition will not accomplish much. It is essential that repetitions be coupled with a strong determination to succeed. We must not think one thing, say another, and do the third. There must be a keen desire to improve; and suggestions must be taken in their true significance. Effort has to be made to live those very suggestions in actual life.



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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Korea after World War II

We reproduce below the concluding portion of the lecture delivered by Dr. Chen Yao-Sheng at the China Institute, London, as published in *The Asiatic Review*, January 1951:

### III

Immediately after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour, exiled Koreans voiced their wish for independence. Their efforts, however, elicited no more than expressions of sympathy and encouragement from various officials. The first genuine commitment concerning Korea was made at the Cairo Conference in December 1943, when Great Britain, China and the United States determined that in due course Korea should become free and independent. Russia, at that time, had not entered the war with Japan but her attitude towards Korea was similar to that of the other Allies. Later, at the Yalta Conference, the United States presented the view that Korea should be a multi-power trusteeship under the United Nations, and this view was later confirmed after the San Francisco meeting of the United Nations.

The Potsdam Declaration of July, 1945, setting out the terms of Japan's surrender, reaffirmed the Cairo Declaration, and consequent on Russia's declaration of war on Japan, she expressed her adherence to the Potsdam Declaration. Before the plan for Korean independence could be implemented, however, military operations in separate zones of the country had already become accomplished facts with the entry of Russian troops into North Korea on August 8 and American troops on September 8, 1945. In order to overcome the damaging consequences of this division of the country and to formulate plans for its future, the Foreign Ministers of the United States, Great Britain and Russia met at Moscow in December, 1945, and reached an agreement to which China subsequently adhered. This agreement came to be accepted as the basic document governing the future development of independent Korea. Its main points were to convene a joint commission to be formed by the United States and Russian Commands in Korea, to consult with Korean democratic parties and social organizations, to assist in the formation of a provisional democratic government and to establish the national independence of Korea. The joint commission were to submit their proposals, following consultations with the provisional government, for the consideration of the Four Powers to enable them to work out an agreement for a Four Power Trusteeship of Korea for a period of five years.

In accordance with the Moscow Agreement, a conference was held in January 1946, between the American and Russian commands for the purpose of arranging for co-ordination on administrative and economic matters between their respective zones but the conference was unsuccessful.

On March 20, 1946, a meeting of the Russian and American Joint Commission was convened but after considerable discussion as to the procedure to be followed in consulting with Korean democratic parties, a deadlock was reached and the Commission adjourned *sine die*. The Americans refused to agree to the Russian view that

all parties who opposed the terms of the Moscow agreement should be excluded and Russia was unable to accept the American view that all political parties be consulted. After a year of fruitless negotiation, the second meeting of the Joint Commission met on May 21, 1947. The Commission again failed to reach agreement in particular regarding consultation of democratic parties; restriction of freedom of speech and opinion; and formation of provisional government.

An attempt was made by Mr. Marshall to resume the Commission in the middle of August 1947, but his proposals were not acceptable to Mr. Molotov. On August 29 Mr. Marshall further suggested that the question be referred to a special conference of the Four Powers and proposed that a conference be convened on September 6 in Washington. Russia again refused this proposal. The United States, convinced that attempt to reach agreement on the basis of the Moscow agreement was impossible, therefore presented the problem of Korean independence to the United Nations General Assembly on September 17, 1947. The Assembly, despite the opposition of Russia and her satellite countries, adopted two resolutions on November 14. These recognized "the urgent and rightful claims to independence of the people of Korea" and laid down the principle of the participation of Korean representatives in the discussion of the problem. For that purpose, a Temporary Commission on Korea was established with the right to travel, observe and consult throughout the country.

Meanwhile, in Korea, both the Russian and American Commands had set up permanent administrations in their respective zones of occupation. Prior to the entry of American military forces into South Korea, a People's Republic had been established claiming government authority, but the American Military Command refused to recognize it and established their own Military Government. American occupation policy followed directly along three lines: progressive relinquishment of administrative responsibility to the Koreans; establishment of a semi-legislative assembly which could reflect Korean wishes and share the burden of policy-making; and suppression

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of Communist agitations which threatened to weaken the development of democratic institutions. To this end, the American Command had achieved before the arrival of the United Nations Temporary Commission in January, 1946, the entire replacement of American elements in the executive branches of the military government; the establishment of the Interim Legislative Assembly; the establishment of a Korean Judicial system; and the establishment of a South Korean Interim Government.

The activities of the political parties in the American Zone made political conditions unstable. The parties of the right were strongly organized and held predominant political powers. Furthermore, they were in a more powerful position than the left because of their wealth and demagogic appeal for immediate independence. The left-wing parties, on the other hand, had a strong popular following because of their revolutionary agrarian and industrial platform but were weakened by their close association with Soviet policy.

In North Korea, the Russians from the very beginning of their occupation, encouraged the overthrow of the previous regime, both of its organization and its personnel. An Executive Committee of Korean People was formed which took over all the administrative power of the Chao-hsin Government and this was later replaced by a Provisional People's Committee for North Korea in February 1946, when various political parties were amalgamated into a single party, called the "New People's Front." During the summer of 1946, the groundwork was laid for an electoral form of government based upon local and national People's Committees. The New People's Front was then transformed into the United National Democratic Front and elections for membership in the municipal county and provincial people's committees were held in November 1946. There was only one list of candidates. A Convention of the People's Committee, at which it constituted itself as the National Assembly of Northern Korea, assembled in February 1947.

The United Nations temporary commission arrived in Seoul in January 1948, and facilities and assistance were readily extended to them by the United States military authorities, but the Soviet authorities refused to have anything to do with them. As a result, the Commission was only able to function in the South. Its first duty was to supervise the election of a National Assembly of South Korea as implemented by the General Assembly's resolution. By extensive field observation, the Commission witnessed the election programme in the most important areas during the period of pre-election preparations and, on the date of the election itself. Later, on June 30, it officially announced its unanimous approval of the way in which the election had been held. The National Assembly met on May 31 and elected Dr. Rhee as its permanent chairman. A new Constitution establishing the Democratic Republic of Korea applying to the whole of Korea, was adopted on July 12, and promulgated on the 17. On July 20th, the Assembly elected Dr. Rhee as the first president

of the Republic. On August 15, the Republic was formally proclaimed. The United States Military Government then transferred its authority to the new Government.

With the blessing and assistance of the United Nations and the United States, the South Korean Government, in the past three years, made some progress. The structure of Government showed signs of democracy but was weak and lacked drive. Its programme of economic development and social reform was well under way but its chief difficulty was its economy. The effect of the division of the country and of the loss to the Republic of its natural source of power, coal and fertilizer, were evident on every side. Had the United States not given her financial and economic aid it would have been difficult for the Republic to make ends meet. After the withdrawal of American forces, the Republic built up its own security forces with American help but their numbers were small. The Army had no heavy weapons, the Navy consisted only of a few obsolete vessels and there were no combat aircraft. This explains, of course, why the Southern forces could offer little resistance when the Northern forces invaded the South.

As regards the regime in the North, its Government rejected all appeals by the United Nations Commission for peaceful unification. From the very beginning, Russia prevented any attempt to hold free elections throughout Korea for she knew the Communists would be outvoted. Concomitantly with the establishment of the Republic in the South, the National Assembly of the North adopted a Constitution on Soviet lines and formed a People's Democratic Republic of its own. It is true that the Northern Government gave land to the peasants and with Russian help brought back the industries, but its claim to be a "people's democracy" was falsified by the simple fact that the regime was created by militant means and ruled by a police force. When Russia withdrew her forces, she helped the North to build a strong military force and in comparison with the 500 American advisers in the South there were 3,500 Russian advisers. At the time of the attack on the South they had armed forces of 95,000 men equipped with Russian and Japanese heavy artillery, 100 Russian tanks, and 150 combat aircraft.

At the Third Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris in 1948, the problem of Korean independence was discussed. The Assembly gave full recognition to the Republic of the South and appointed a Permanent Commission on Korea to bring about the unification of the country and to remove barriers to economic, social, and other friendly intercourse. This Commission which functioned in Seoul until the outbreak of war did its utmost to implement the General Assembly resolutions but its work was hampered by three obstacles, namely: impossibility to establish contact with the north; the systematic refusal of Russia to co-operate in the Commission's work; and the artificial frontier which made friendly relations impossible.

Up to the outbreak of the war, the situation in Korea



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The complete failure of a settlement of the Korean problem is one of the tragic consequences of the war. The wish of every Korean to make his country independent has so far come to naught. They had a long record of proud independence and isolation but the strategic importance of their country has betrayed them. She has been a pawn in the clashes between China and Japan, Japan and Russia, and now Russia and the United States. Even if the war stopped to-morrow and the "38th Parallel" once more observed, the Korean problem would still remain unsolved, until the difficulties which I have outlined above are surmounted. Let us hope that the present war will bring about a better understanding among those parties concerned in solving the problem and the fulfillment of the national aspirations of the Korean people.

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### Carlo Formichi

Following are the brief notes on Carlo Formichi, the famous Orientalist and Indologist :

Born at Naples on February 14, 1871, Formichi studied Indology under the guidance of the famous Italian Sanskritist and man of letters, Michele Kerbaker. He later completed his studies in Austria and Germany, at the school of the great German philologists of the last century.

Upon his return to Italy, he became, when still very young, professor of Sanskrit at Bologna. Later he was called to the University of Pisa and finally, in 1913, to the University of Rome, where he held the chair uninterruptedly till a few years before his death (December 13th, 1943). At the Universities of Pisa and Rome, he taught, besides Sanskrit, English literature of which he was a great scholar.

In 1929, as a token of recognition for his exceptional merits as a man of letters and Orientalist, he was appointed member of the Italian Academy and, later, Vice-President of this outstanding Italian cultural body.

His scientific activities were remarkable; particularly his studies on ancient Indian politicians are worthy to be remembered; also his masterly translations of two poetical Sanskrit masterpieces, the *Buddha-charita* by Asvaghosa and the *Raghuvamsa* by Kalidasa. Finally his wonderful work on the religious and philosophical thought of India before Buddha, whereby he gives proof not only of his culture in Indian matters, but also of his deep penetration in Indian soul and thought.

He went to India for the first time in 1925, when he gave lectures on Sanskrit at the University of Santiniketan. On that occasion he was so lucky as to entertain a friendship with the great poet, Rabindranath Tagore. He went back to India a second time in 1933, when he visited Nepal.—*Bulletin of Italian Cultural Information.*



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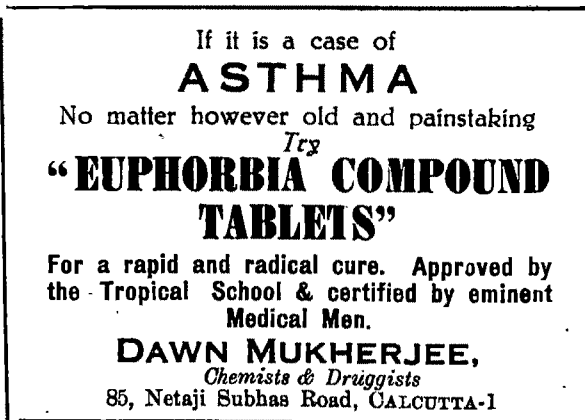
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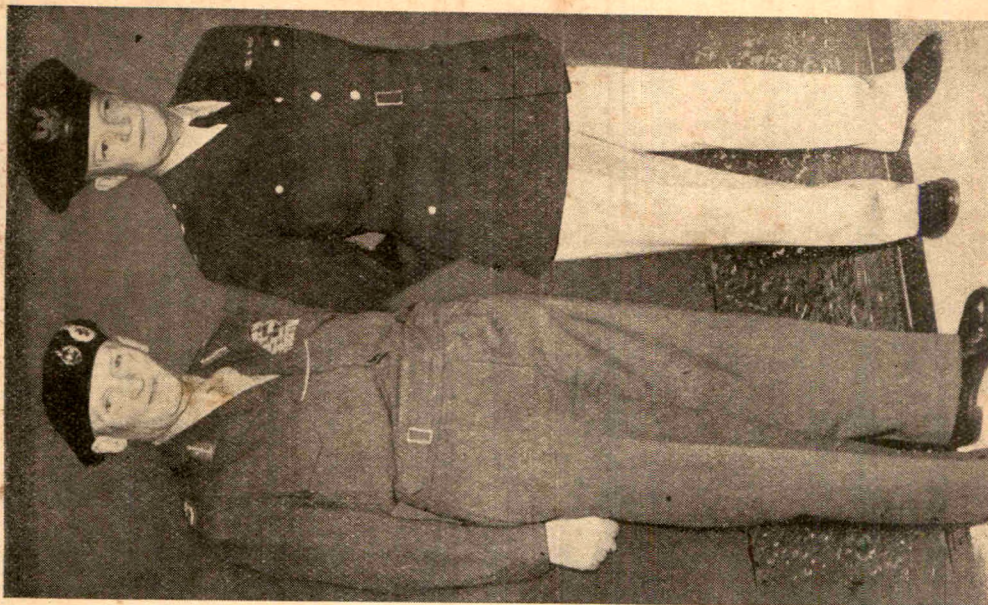
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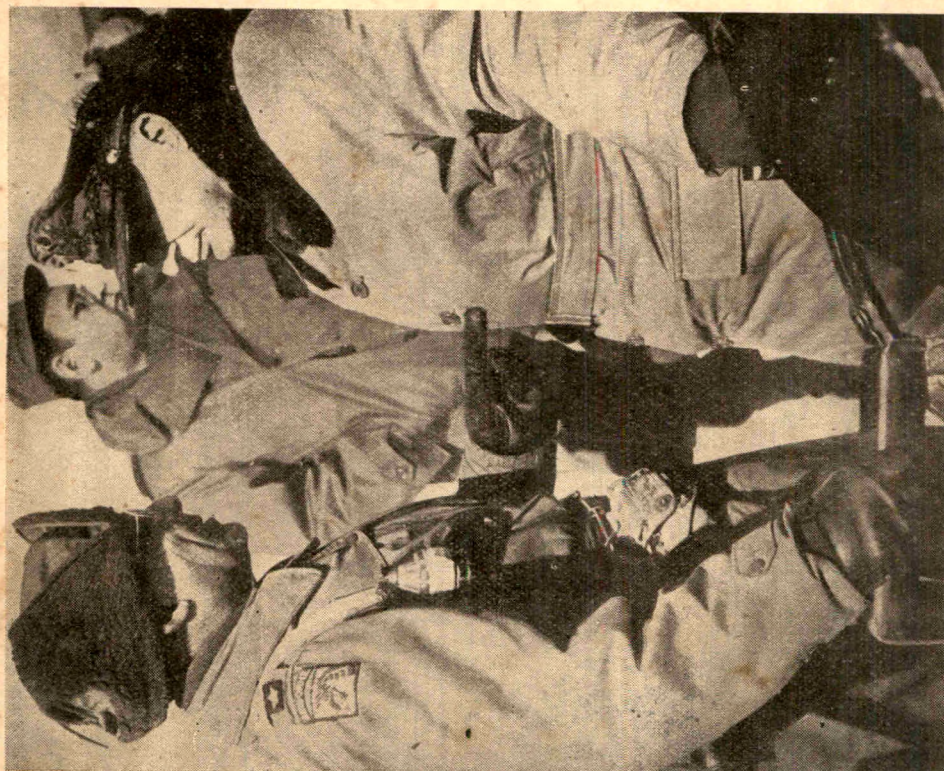


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Viscount Montgomery (*left*)



Lt.-General Ridgway (*left*) and General MacArthur

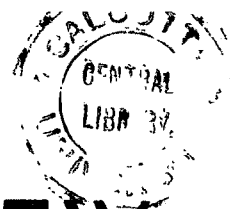




HARVEST CELEBRATION  
By Satyendranath Banerji

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## NOTES

### *Visva-Bharati University*

The "Parishat" (General Assembly) of Visva-Bharati has after due consideration authorized its "Karmi Samiti" to take all necessary steps to effect the changes necessary to raise the Visva-Bharati to a Central University. There have been apprehensions that under the temptation of State patronage, the Visva-Bharati may lose the distinctive features imparted to it by its founder, the Poet. The Prime Minister of India who also happens to be the Acharya (Chancellor) of Visva-Bharati has, however, tried to remove these apprehensions, by a message to the "Parishat" assembled in session on April 22 last, by saying that

"I have to inform you that the Government have introduced a Bill in Parliament with the object of endowing the status of a Central University to the Visva-Bharati. It is our special wish that Santiniketan will not be a mere replica of other Universities, but will carry on its work on the lines laid down by Gurudeva.

"I am happy at this new development in the life of Santiniketan, and in trust that this will give it more opportunities of service, I send all my good wishes on this occasion."

This tardy and somewhat meagre recognition by the Centre of what Rabindranath's vision of the Visva-Bharati meant, is a happy augury. It means that we have not as yet totally forgotten our ideals and our ethical background. But all the same, this Bill, even if it be passed soon and implemented to the fullest extent, will not fulfil all that for which Gurudeva gave his uttermost, in endeavour and in worldly treasure.

In a few days' time we shall be celebrating his ninety-first birthday. But do we as yet realize what we had gained by him and what we have lost in his passing? The nation was fortunate in that it had at its forefront one of the greatest of thinkers of all time, during its most crucial days of trial while in bondage. And to-day at the darkest hour of our destiny, when from all sides we are beset with grave perils, we sadly feel the absence of that superman with his clarity of judgment.

The curse of mediocrity is on us. And nowhere is that so manifest as in the field of education. This Visva-Bharati Bill as it is sponsored seems to us to be the attempt of pygmies to build a memorial to a Titan whose stature they were unable to measure. Where are the provisions to see that proper men and fit measures be arranged so as to stop the drift into oblivion with which the Visva-Bharati is threatened? For this Bill might stave off economic bankruptcy for the time being but who is there and what machinery has he got to clear the channels that are clogged and restore the flow of the fountain of inspiration? As the Bill stands it looks to us as if it were an attempt to restore an edifice of archaeological importance.

For an University to function to the utmost of its scope, the most essential factor is inspiration, and not merely cold cash. And for that inspiration the Teacher, the Acharya, must be there, with full power to choose his associates for the administration of the institution and the instruction of its alumni. Pandit Nehru, if he really desires that the most cherished dreams of Gurudeva come to flower, must find the

proper men to be put in charge and having done so must assure them that he and his colleagues are there, at the time, to help and advise.

Rabindranath's dream of the Visva-Bharati was that of a fountain-head of Inspiration, where all that were thirsty might drink and be refreshed, regardless of colour, creed or nationality. The dream was that of a Valley of Peace where laughing and dancing children may attain the vigour of youth, with fertile brains, noble ideas and tireless energy, so that when they leave they might face all trials, tranquil in mind, stout and assured of heart, and with an intellect polished and sharpened like a shining weapon at the cultural armoury of the Visva-Bharati. Untold wealth alone would not transform this vision into reality unless the men are there who have not only the appreciation but also the capacity to give it shape.

### *Lady Abala Bose*

In her 87th year the wife of Acharya Jagadis Chandra Bose has departed from this world. She had been waiting for this release for more than thirteen years since November 23, 1937, the day on which her Acharya, in more senses than one, had preceded her to the realm of the spirit.

The country will mourn her loss. For, it snaps asunder the links that bound in natural piety more than three generations of men and women. Her father was Durga Mohan Das, one of the founders of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, and a stalwart supporter of female emancipation. Durga Mohan and his generations represented the constructive phase of India's Renaissance that was the product of the impact of the West on the East. Abala Das and her generation were thrown into the full tide of this emancipation, and she was initiated into the national service under the spacious eyes of men like Shibnath Shastri, Ananda Mohan Bose.

The imprint of that time had persisted in her life for well over seventy years. She went to Madras for medical education. Her happy marriage to a dreamer and a scientist introduced her into life's many-sided activities of which she chose education of women as her special field. And the history of this education is coincident with her growing life, ever gathering new experiences and new skills as she travelled for decades all over the world in the company of her husband.

She was keenly sensitive to the influences of the times, and represented the dynamic phase of India's womanhood which recalled to many the times of the Upanishadic seekers of Truth—men and women. We read it from her own lips how she came to know Margaret Noble, better known as Sister Nivedita of Ramakrishna-Vivekananda. This Irish woman re-educated herself into a leader of Indian womanhood, holding fast to the ancient moorings and stretching forth their hands to hold in their grasp and utilize for

life's enrichment all that the modern age with its sciences and arts could give.

Her first work in the uplift of women was the Brahma Girls' School, of which her father was one of the founders. During her regime as Secretary, it forged ahead, and its present high status is mostly due to her guidance and drive. The success of this institution has been an inspiration to the present leaders of the women's movement in Bengal. Today we daily witness women boldly coming forward to take up the burden and responsibility of their own education.

Abala Bose lived to see the fulfilment of the prefatory steps that from her youth upwards she had seen initiated and herself initiated through the various institutions that she had helped to found. The last of these was the Nari Siksha Samiti founded in 1919. Under its parental care has grown up the Vidyasagar Bani Bhawan, a widows' home, where board and lodging is rendered free to the inmates. Then comes the Mahila Shilpa Bhawan, an industrial school, founded in 1926 to impart education in the crafts and arts which women could carry on during the intervals of their domestic life. Education of village girls has been a special pre-occupation with the Samiti since 1924. The Nari Siksha Samiti diverted her energies to rural education which in 1937 gained an extended purpose—the education of rural women in mother-craft and home industries. This scheme is being financed by the interest of a Fund left by Acharya Jagadis Chandra, worth one lakh of rupees. It bears the name of Sister Nivedita. The Bani Bhawan Training School rounds off the activities of the Samiti which has pioneered in Bengal many an activity intended to make women's life richer and more purposeful.

This record would be an inadequate representation of a historic life if an attempt be not made to indicate the individual instincts and accomplishments which Abala Bose developed to re-mould herself as a Hindu wife. And herein was shaped her life's fulfilment in that it got fused in the dreams and aspirations of her scientist and seer husband. But for her constant ministration Acharya Jagadis could not have reached the success that he did. It was inspiring to watch the mutual action and reaction of two natures almost making a single personality—one in thought, one in aspiration, one in activity, one in counsel, one in hopes fulfilled and one in disappointments shared in common. It became difficult to separate these two. After her husband's death, life lost all meaning for her, excepting for the fulfilment of her mission for the betterment of the status of the helpless amongst her own sex, as also for watching with a loving care over the research institute founded by Acharya Jagadish Bose. With these she passed her long wait. On 24th April, 1951, that waiting ended. May her soul attain peace in the company of her dear and near ones who had crossed the barrier of the apparent and taken to the realm of the real! *Shanti! Shanti! Shanti!*



## Food from U.S.A.

It is sickening to have to watch the spirit in which the whole business of food supply to India is being discussed in the U. S. A. Congress. The Nehru Government must share a part of this charge. India's Prime Minister knows his America or ought to. His proposal made during his 1949 September-October tour through the States was a frank "barter" offer to exchange U.S.A. foodgrains for certain essential raw materials for her industries which India can supply—manganese, mica, jute and tea, for instance. Instead of frankly accepting or rejecting it, the U.S.A. Administration sat over it.

Then certain good people in the States, moved by reports of food scarcity in India, took the initiative in influencing their President to move the Congress for making available to India two million tons of food-grains for immediate despatch in order to halt famine in our country. It started a tragi-comedy for the edification of the world. The following news cabled by *Press Trust of India* and *Reuter News Agency* reveals a part of it:

"Washington, March 20.—The Bill to make India a gift of 2,000,000 tons of food-grains is meeting increased opposition in the U. S. Legislature.

"Congressmen favouring the 'gift' said today the Opposition had stiffened to the extent that there was now only an 'even' chance of legislation being approved.

"Sponsors of the Bill met in conference this afternoon. It was reported that

1. An attempt would be made to bring the Bill, at present held up by the House Rules Committee, to the House floor immediately after the Easter holidays. The Rules Committee has not formally voted, but sentiment is against making a gift.

2. The sponsors would make no compromise but would retain the 'gift' provision of the bill.

3. The Democratic leadership would attempt to overcome the inaction of the Rules Committee, although there was no indication how they would do it.

4. It could be expected that the House might not approve the Bill, and that, at best, it would offer to 'loan' to India the food-grains.

Representative Thomas Morgan (Democrat-Pennsylvania), a sponsor of the Bill, said: "The opinion is that the Bill has only a fifty-fifty chance at best."

But this impasse had been preceded by a propaganda against India, an idea about which can be had from the following, widely circulated through the American continent:

"The Nehru Government intensified India's food shortage by its isolationist efforts to become independent of Pakistan (or anywhere else) for cotton and jute," says Mr. Henry Hazlitt in an article under the caption, "How to Cause A Famine," published in the *Newsweek* of March 5, 1951.

"This programme," said President Truman, in asking Congress to give the Indian Government 75,000,000 bushels of grain, 'does not constitute a

precedent for continuing to provide food to India on a grant basis or for providing similar aid for other countries.' But it does, of course, constitute precisely such a precedent. We cannot do less in future for India or any other country without being accused of less generosity or plain discrimination.

"Famine and starvation should, of course, always be prevented or relieved when humanly possible. But we must also ask, what caused it, whose duty it is to relieve it, and what steps are essential to prevent its recurrence.

"It has gradually, precedent by precedent, become the assumption of most foreigners and most American Fair Dealers that when any real or imagined deficiency of anything whatever exists anywhere on earth, it must be made good primarily, if not solely, at the expense of the American taxpayer. Yet even the Indian Government did not ask us for more than a long-term loan to enable it to buy this grain. Given reasonable prudence, it could easily have repaid such a loan. Why did Mr. Truman recommend a gift?

"The process will be this. America will give the grain. But the average Indian (nearly 85 per cent of the Indian people are illiterate) will probably never know this. For, the gift will be to the Nehru Government, and the Nehru Government will sell the grain to India's hungry. Moreover, the Nehru Government will be allowed to keep for statist schemes even the 'counterpart funds' it gets for selling what we give.

"Just as Mr. Truman ascribed the Yugoslavian food shortage solely to 'the drought,' so he now ascribes the Indian famine solely to 'natural disasters—earthquakes, floods, droughts and plagues of locusts.' Yet the famine has at least been intensified, if not principally caused, by the economic policies of the Nehru Government:

1. "The Nehru Government is a 'planning' government, a Socialist government. Like all such governments it has embarked on a grandiose 'industrialisation' programme. This means that it has diverted land, labour, and capital from agricultural to industrial production. This has directly reduced India's production of food. Mr. Truman apparently approves of this compulsory diversion. For he wants to compel American tax-payers to subsidize it. It is explicitly because he wishes the Nehru Government to have the funds to continue this long-range economic development programme, that he thinks American and not Indian tax-payers should be asked to pay for the present Indian food deficiency.

2. "Specially, the Nehru Government intensified India's food shortage by its isolationist efforts to become independent of Pakistan (or anywhere else) for cotton and jute. It ordered a reduction in grain-growing acreage to increase cotton and jute acreage.

3. "The Nehru Government has not permitted free markets in agriculture. It has put price ceilings on grain. These have, as always, discouraged and reduced the production and sale of grain. The Government has restored to force Government procurement of grain from peasant growers. The Government is asking American taxpayers to suffer from these policies and is not suggesting any change in them. Therefore the food shortage is likely to recur.

4. "The argument that India can not pay 190,000,000 dollars for grain because it has only

limited foreign exchange reserves' and an 'unfavourable balance of payments' is economic nonsense. These conditions are the result of the Nehru Government's own exchange control measures. It has made dollars scarce in the same way as it has made foodstuffs scarce—by putting artificial price ceilings on them.

"In this grain discussion the whole emphasis has been on distribution. But in the long run nothing can save India or the world from poverty and famine but greater production. And there is wilful blindness to the fact that government 'planning' price-fixing and Socialism inevitably discourage, reduce and disrupt production."

Our readers will understand the full import of such lying and malicious propaganda against a friendly country. A detailed reply should be given by our Government in a dignified manner and we on our side should learn to recognize the American with his mask off. It is a sorry business.

### *China's Rice Offer to India*

The *Observer* discusses what it calls "Peking's bid for popularity with the people of India." This—although it ignores the Indian Government's pleas for peace in Korea—cannot be overlooked as a new and disturbing factor in Asian politics. Of the 1,000,000 tons of rice offered by China to relieve famine in Bihar, Peking Radio announces that 22,300 tons have already reached Calcutta and a further 11,500 should be there in a few days.

The same agency gave prominence yesterday to the formation in Calcutta of an India-China Friendship Association said to be enthusiastically supported by 'prominent scientists, writers, artists, professors and important political leaders from different parties.'

"This familiar move," says the *Observer*, "is presumably intended to strengthen the Communists in the coming Indian elections."

India is now in desperate need for foreign food and she has expressed her willingness to accept food from any source if no political strings were attached to it. Nobody prevented the U.S.A. to act quickly and firmly to despatch food to India. If China seized the opportunity, certainly she cannot be blamed.

### *Food Supply to Bihar*

Almost all the States of the Indian Union have been crying themselves hoarse over their food deficits, Bihar not the least. Allegations have been made by Bihar ministers and the Press that their people are being discriminated against by the Centre, that death due to starvation has been active to which the Centre has been indifferent. The Centre's Food Minister and his chief advisers have denied these charges, after touring the affected areas. They have been forced to issue a Press statement in course of which they say:

"According to the figures available in the Union Food Ministry, following the failure of rains in Bihar last September, the State's quota of foodgrains for 1950 was progressively raised from 40,000

tons to 1,40,000 tons. For the current year, Bihar's quota has been fixed at six lakh tons, highest for any State except Bombay. The allocation for January 1951 is 36,000 tons of foodgrains, and it is likely that an equal quantity will be allotted for February as well.

Official sources here, however, recognise that allotments of foodgrains are not sufficient unless there is a prompt movement of the quantity allotted. Special steps have, therefore, been taken to ensure the quick movement of foodgrains.

In view of the necessity for transshipment from broad-gauge to meter-gauge, movements to North Bihar are usually subject to quotas.

It is, however, stated that by curtailing non-essential traffic food movements into North Bihar from the Punjab *via*, certain routes have been made free both on trade as well as Government account. Traffic from Calcutta is being moved at the rate of 900 tons a day."

We hope that this assurance will satisfy the Rashtrapati's own State. A lakh tons of foodgrains, 3000 tons from Calcutta alone, are being moved into Bihar to meet the emergency which threatens Bihar.

### *Cooch Behar*

Police firing on hunger-marchers in Cooch Behar resulting in six deaths, including a boy of seven and two girls of 16 and 18, and serious injury to many is another sad instance of how the food position is being bungled.

The following press note was issued by the West Bengal Government after the incident of April 21:

"For some time past, there has been a sharp rise in the prices of rice and paddy in Cooch Behar. Steps had been taken by the local authorities to introduce modified rationing and arrange marketing operations to keep down the prices and rush supplies from outside to relieve the situation.

"On April 19, however, hunger-marches were organised in Cooch Behar town by members of the Hindu Mahasabha, Forward Bloc, R.S.P.I. and others. One such procession demanding the introduction of full-scale rationing went to the Deputy Commissioner's office. The Deputy Commissioner met the representatives of the processionists and explained to them the measures taken by him to bring down the price of rice and meet the general food situation obtaining in Cooch Behar. Five of the processionists, however, declared their intention to resort to hunger-strike and squatted in front of the Deputy Commissioner's office. The organisers of the procession at the same time declared their intention to observe a *hartal* and organised further hunger-marches on April 20 in sympathy with the hunger-strikers.

"On April 20, a procession of about 1,500 including some women and children was again taken out to the Deputy Commissioner's office during the office hours. The processionists surrounded the Deputy Commissioner, who tried to explain to them the steps taken by Government to meet the food situation, and remonstrated with the Deputy Commissioner for a long time. The hunger-strikers continued their fast in front of the Deputy Commissioner's office and were joined by two others on April 20.



"To prevent breaches of the peace, the Deputy Commissioner issued orders under Sec. 144 Cr.P.C. in the office area to be in force for a fortnight and banned the use of loudspeakers in the municipal area. On April 21 in the morning another hunger-march was organised and after passing through different areas this procession broke into the prohibited area in defiance of the order under Sec. 144. The assembly was declared unlawful and warned to disperse. But the processionists started severely brickbattling the police. Some acid bulbs were also thrown at them. This resulted in injury to four police officers and twenty men, some seriously. Two police constables were overpowered by the mob, severely injured and thrown into nearby tank.

"The Deputy Commissioner, the Additional Deputy Commissioner and the Sub-Divisional Officer were also manhandled by the riotous crowd. The car of the Deputy Commissioner was set on fire and another police vehicle badly damaged. As the mob which had been reinforced in the meanwhile and was quite over two thousand further pushed in and the situation became out of control, the police after due and repeated warnings had to open fire to disperse the mob.

"Government regret to announce that as a result of firing five persons are reported to have died. Thirty-three persons are also reported to have been injured in the incident. The situation is being closely watched and further reports are awaited. The Divisional Commissioner is proceeding to Cooch Behar."

On April 23, the Central Food Ministry are understood to have expressed their surprise at the abnormal rise in the price of rice in Cooch Behar in view of the present stock position in West Bengal. The stock position is stated to be not too unsatisfactory. On the same day, West Bengal Food Minister told pressmen that "considering the population of Cooch Behar and the production of rice he found no reasons for the abnormal rise in price of rice, the district being almost a self-sufficient one. He felt that Cooch Behar being a district predominantly of large producers there had been hoarding leading to the present abnormal rise in prices there." From the account of rise in prices given by the Food Minister, it appears that cause or no cause prices continued to move steadily up while the food department stood by as silent and disinterested spectators. The Food Minister continued:

"The present population of Cooch Behar is 6,69,000 out of which 99,000 are refugees. The production of rice last year was 1,33,000 tons and this year 1,28,000 tons. The requirement of the people at the rate of 4 maunds and 26 seers per capita per annum comes to 1,16,000 tons. The net quantity available this year for consumption after deduction allowed for seeds and wastage comes to 1,15,000 tons. The net deficit is thus only one thousand tons.

"The district of Cooch Behar is almost self-sufficient. But owing to the fact that it is a district predominantly of large producers there has been hoarding in consequence of which supply in the market has been meagre. Government have lifted 48,000 maunds of rice out of 1,50,000 maunds of rice by issue of directives. Rice was given under modified rationing to about 20,000 people of Cooch Behar

and Dinhata at 1 seer 8 chattaks per adult head per week at Rs. 16-14 per maund.

"Besides these, marketing operations were resorted to some markets where rice was sold at Rs. 13-14 to keep down the soaring prices of rice. Instructions have now been issued to bring a larger number of people under modified rationing. Government have ordered the release of 41,000 maunds of rice, now in Government stock in Cooch Behar, for release through modified rationing and for open sale in some of the markets. In addition, fresh stocks of rice amounting to 2,000 maunds and in another lot 5,000 maunds have been sent to Cooch Behar in March and in the middle of the current month respectively. The rise in prices showed an upward tendency by the end of February.

"The following are the prices of rice, according to Government reports, now ruling in different Sub-Divisions of Cooch Behar:

Place	Date	Price
Cooch Behar	April 11	Rs. 37 0 0
"	" 18	" 47 8 0
Dinhata	" 11	" 50 0 0
"	" 18	" 55 0 0
Mathabhanga	" 11	" 35 0 0
"	" 18	" 65 0 0
Tufangunge	" 11	" 40 0 0
"	" 18	" 50 0 0
Meckligunge	" 11	" 40 0 0
"	" 18	" 45 0 0

In his next press statement on April 27, the Food Minister gave the number of people brought under modified rationing as follows Cooch Behar 36,332, Dinhata 13,333, Mathabhanga 2,441, Tufangunge 796 and Meckligunge 437. He informed that stock in hand in Cooch Behar was 45,000 maunds of paddy and 12,000 maunds of rice. The weekly offtake from the stock was 2,000 maunds, i.e., they had 28 weeks' food in hand to start modified rationing as soon as signs of unrest began to be seen. From the Food Minister's statement it appears how small the problem was which could have been solved with a little bit of tact, courage and foresight without resulting in a loss of six costly lives.

But the whole matter has been reported differently by Sri Surendra Nath Lahiri, Secretary of the Cooch Behar District Congress Committee. He is a Congressman and his statement published by the *Anaraz Bazar Patrika*, on April 28, deserves close and very serious attention by the Government. Mr. Lahiri states:

"In view of the very bad food situation in the district of Cooch Behar, I went to Calcutta on March 31. There the member to the West Bengal Legislature from Cooch Behar, the President of our District Congress Committee and myself met the Ministers and arranged to bring the Parliamentary Secretary of the Food Department here. On April 10, the Parliamentary Secretary promised to an all party gathering that modified rationing would be introduced in Sadar, Tufangunge and Dinhata Sub divisions from April 16. He also assured of outside supply of rice. On April 17, we sent a telegram to the Chief Minister with copy to the Food Minister stating in it that "rice was selling at Rs. 70 at Si a

in Dinahata and Rs. 55 at Cooch Behar town; people were getting furious, hunger march might begin, introduction of modified rationing requested.

"On April 19, five young men started hunger-strike on the verandah of the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow. On April 20 two more youths joined the hunger-strike and there was complete *hartal* in the town. Hunger-marchers again came out. Finding the situation serious, the President of the Sadar Subdivision Congress Committee requested the Deputy Commissioner to convene an all-party conference. Accordingly, the conference was held on that day at 3 p.m. in the D.C.'s office. Rationing was demanded but with no effect.

"In the morning of April 21, telegrams were again sent to the Chief Minister, Food Minister and the President of the Provincial Congress Committee. In it we stated, 'Food situation extremely serious. The promise of the Parliamentary Secretary for the introduction of rationing has not been fulfilled. As a result, hunger strike has begun. Hunger-marching continues. Yesterday there has been complete *hartal*, which may continue further. Position of Congress precarious. Outside food needed. Rationing must be introduced immediately. Wire decision.' On the same morning at 9 o'clock, the President of the Sadar Subdivision Congress Committee and myself went to the D.C. and requested him to realise the gravity of the situation and not to do anything which might infuriate the people. We also requested him to declare that rationing had been introduced from that day. We assured him to go to Calcutta on April 23 and we wanted 15 days' time for solving the food problem. We also told him that till we met him in the evening nothing should be done from the Government side which might be felt by the people to be undesirable or provocative. If that were done, the situation would go out of control. I wanted temporary rationing for pacifying the people and ascertaining their views. Local authorities turned a deaf ear to my proposals. The result was the sad incident. I shall explain them in detail at the time of enquiry.

"Immediately after the incident, telegrams were sent to the Prime Minister of India, Chief Minister of West Bengal and President of the West Bengal Congress Committee. After the firing I followed the dead and the injured to the hospital and stayed there till 2-45 p.m. At 3 p.m. I convened an emergency meeting of the District Congress Committee. A resolution was adopted condemning unwarranted firing on peaceful hunger-marchers and the unreasonable and inhuman steps the local authorities had taken. In the resolution, their act was described as barbarous. It also demanded the presence of the Chief Minister on the spot. Copies of the resolution were sent to Prime Minister of India, Chief Minister of West Bengal, Police Minister, West Bengal Congress President, Chief Whip of the Congress Party, General Secretary of the A.I.C.C., Food Minister, etc.

"In the afternoon I joined the public meeting but I with my workers was not allowed to speak. When we were there, the D.C. sent an urgent message to the President of the Subdivisional Congress to meet him at his office. In reply it was stated that as he had, in spite of serious and earnest requests, taken no steps to stop this dastardly firing it was not possible to meet him without consulting the members of the Committee. On April 22, the D.C.'s permission was sought so that two non-

official doctors might be present at the post-mortem examinations of the victims of firing. In another letter, it was brought to his notice that the A.I.R. had broadcast a news that 24 policemen had been injured by brickbats and acid bulbs and the D.C.'s permission sought for examining these policemen by non-official doctors. Both the letters remained un-replied.

"On April 22, we met the Divisional Commissioner and asked for a non-official enquiry and requested him to place the local administration in new hands because the people did not feel safe under the present local authorities. He regretted his inability to accede to the demand for non-official enquiry and said that he would himself conduct the enquiry."

The state of administration revealed in the statement quoted above, if it be correct, has been shown to be staggeringly inefficient. The Central Home Minister has promised a statement on the Cooch Behar incident. Needless to say the matter deserves urgent and serious attention and very firm action.

### *Indian Communists*

On the 10th of March last Indian Union's Home Minister, Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, re-iterated the Government's policy with regard to the Communists of Indian parentage who have been dancing to the tune of Moscow passed through Bucharest, the capital of Rumania, the Cominform's new propaganda centre. The Home Minister is a man of peace who has passed the major portion of his life as a lawyer, and the last 30 years as a votary of non-violence. But when he has had to share the responsibility of State he has risen equal to the occasion and always dealt with anti-social elements as they deserved.

In 1947, the Communists had observed some sort of a benevolent neutrality towards the Indian Government headed by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru. But in the beginning of 1948, a change came over the spirit of their activities. At a secret meeting of their Polit Bureau they resolved to switch back to their instinctive policy of sabotage of national effort in the new set-up of a Free India as they had done during the war years since 1941 when they co-operated with Lord Linlithgow in putting down our Liberation Movement. Communists from East Asia, specially from Burma and Malaya, were said to have taken part in this Conference. The result became apparent when the Communists opened their offensive operations in Telengana, on the Indo-Hyderabad border, exploiting peasant grievances for their own purposes.

They turned their attention next to Assam where conditions of infiltration from over Burma were easier and the "tribals" are an easier group to dupe. On both these fields of their own choice, they stand discredited today. But they have ever been on the lookout for social sores whereon they can settle and drive their poison in. From their hide-outs, their leadership has been issuing directives to their followers. Some



of these Sri Chakravarty Rajagopalachari has summarized. We publish these below as published in the daily press :

"Three leading Indian Communists have issued to their comrades a statement on September 23, 1950, explaining the Communist Party's policy. It is categorically stated therein that the party should put the peasant movement progressively on the rails of armed struggle, and that in agrarian relations, they should, by mass mobilisation and direct action as in Telengana, create armed forces in the rural areas and strong bases for their operation. It was further categorically stated therein that there is no question of liquidating Telengana, but that on the contrary it was a question of raising the movement in the rest of the country to the level of Telengana.

"The Politburo of the Communist Party of India issued a policy statement on November 15, 1950 in the following terms:

"Finally, it is necessary to clearly grasp the truth that the armed struggle has become the principal form of struggle in the present agrarian revolutionary stage that our national liberation movement has grown to'.

"It was added that simultaneously they should adopt and co-ordinate all other conceivable forms of struggle, such as economic and political strikes, demonstrations, agricultural labour and tenant struggles, signature collections for peace-pledge, election contests and so on."

Sri Rajagopalachari then quoted a special circular issued by the Central Committee of the party in regard to Telengana. The circular read:

"The Central Committee notes that certain statements are being made demanding the withdrawal of the heroic struggle of Telengana people led by the Communist Party against their age-long oppressors, with arms in hand for land and liberty. The Central Committee wishes the party ranks to note that such statements will be disruptive of Telengana struggle, the harbinger of the people's democratic revolution in India, which the enemy is trying to drown in blood. The Central Committee stresses upon all party members and people to defend Telengana with all the means at their debated."

Sri Rajagopalachari said:

"An important foreign Communist who was invited to advise the Indian Communist Party, gave the following opinion on December, 1950: 'It is the task of the Communist Party to skilfully utilise the stand of the Nehru Government on questions like Korea, atom bomb, etc. Regarding armed struggle, as we have stated in our letter, we do not deny that ultimately the revolution in India will and must take the form of armed struggle. It is hardly to be debated.

"It is thus clear that we cannot accept declarations and challenges but must await facts and whether crime reported from Telengana, Madras and Assam and elsewhere shows substantial decrease."

These directives prove, if any proof were necessary in view of the birth and growth of World Communism, that Indian Communists are out on an armed fight with which there can be no compromise. India's Home Minister has indicated the policy that he would be

following. His words were soft but forth-right. And coming as these do from him, we feel that the Indian *intelligentsia* who have developed a sneaking fondness for this malign influence on peace and goodwill among men will revise their attitude. Secretly helping the Communists and keeping themselves studiously within the law is a thin pretence that can no longer help either themselves or their people. There are times when neutrality becomes a crime. One such has come over to us. And we must mobilize all our resources, moral and material, to fight and defeat and annihilate this evil force.

The leaders of Indian Communists, the majority of them, belonged to the class of "educated discontent." Without their help this pest could not have spread in such profusion. That help cut away, the malignant growth will be sterilized and die. Only then can conditions return which will enable our people to build up the life of their dreams and aspirations.

### *Students' Brutality and Indiscipline*

Dr. Kanhaiya Lal Garg, Principal, Barasat Degree College, Aligarh University, was fatally assaulted on the evening of the 6th April last while going back to his house after the examinations. He was the Superintendent of examinations of the U.P. Board and Agra University, and it is alleged that he was a victim of the students' fury because of his conscientious discharge of duties at the centre.

This tragedy should serve as an eye-opener to the Government and a pointer to the climax of indiscipline among students. This educationist died at the post of duty, and so it is the bounden duty of the Government to make ample provision for the support of his young widow and small children.

Such a promising career was cut short for he was only 35; and his abrupt end in ghastly circumstances has sent a thrill of horror and indignation among principals, teachers and educationists.

Some years ago, Narayan Chanda, an "invigilator" of examinations under the Calcutta University, was murdered at the instance of a Muslim candidate who was caught while using unfair means and asked to go out. He threatened Narayan Chanda, and helped carry out his threat by having him murdered. He escaped because there was Muslim League Ministry then in power, the young man having influential relatives.

In the Aligarh case there appears to be no communal bias to inspire the cowardly deed. But the evil has gone beyond mere communal. During the recent Matriculation examination held at Calcutta, the Rector of the Bhowanipur Mitra Institution was threatened; and it was carried out, though fortunately not effectively as at Aligarh. The evil has become one to be tackled by the State. Only the sternest of measures can lift the downward tendency amongst our students. And the State can do its duty if Society is as stern in its determination to stamp out youthful brutality.

### *A Constitution for Pakistan*

The proposal for a proper constitution for Pakistan has been hanging fire for about three years. True to its Objective Resolution, the rulers of Pakistan could not but give it an Islamic character. But from these opinions between the modern-educated Pakistanis and the upholders of traditional Islam have differed and differed rather violently. The late Moulana Sabbir Ahmed was the leader of the latter, and after his death his fellow-workers and followers have taken up the task.

From Karachi came the news on February 1 last that "35 prominent Ulemas of Pakistan, who gathered in Karachi recently, have formulated a draft enumerating what, according to them, should constitute the "fundamental principles of an Islamic constitution."

The draft, which has been submitted to the Constituent Assembly Secretariat, categorically states that "the recommendations made by the Basic Principles Committee and the Committee on Fundamental rights are not in accord with the principles of Islam."

The conference, originally called to outline a detailed Islamic Constitution, could not proceed further to achieve this objective because the President of the Constituent Assembly refused to hand over to them a copy of the recommendations of the Board of Taimat-e-Islamic of the Constituent Assembly.

The conference decided to invite proposals from all persons interested in Islamic thought and to meet again shortly to consider those proposals and draw up a detailed constitution. Some of the fundamental principles recommended by the conference are:

(1) The law of the land shall be based on the Quran and Sunnah.

(2) The State shall be based not on geographical, racial, linguistic or any other materialistic concepts, but on the principles and objectives of the Islamic scheme of life.

(3) It shall be incumbent upon the State to uphold the right and suppress the wrong as postulated in the Quran and Sunnah.

(4) It shall be the responsibility of Government to guarantee the provision of basic human necessities to all citizens, irrespective of religion or race, who are temporarily or permanently incapable of earning their livelihood due to un-employment, sickness or other reasons.

(5) Citizens shall be entitled to all the rights conferred on them by the Islamic law.

(6) The non-Muslim citizens of the State shall, within the limits of the law, have complete freedom of religion and worship, mode of life, culture and religious education.

(7) All obligations assumed by the State within the limits of the Shariat towards the non-Muslim citizens shall be fully honoured.

(8) No citizen shall be awarded any punishment

on any charge without being given full opportunity of defence and without the decision of a court.

(9) Head of the State must be a male Muslim in whose piety, ability and soundness of judgment the people or their elected representatives have confidence.

(10) The body empowered to elect the head of the State shall also be empowered to remove him by a majority of votes.

(11) No interpretation of the Constitution, which is in conflict with the provisions of the Quran or Sunnah shall be valid."

There are enough controversial issues in this scheme to cause headache to the present rulers of our neighbouring State, specially Clauses (5), (6), (7) and (9) as these will not enable them to pose before the world as progressives. We have yet to know how the womanhood of Pakistan react to Clause (9). About non-Muslims the duties assumed are hard to fulfil in the prevailing atmosphere of Pakistan.

### *Indo-Pakistan Permit Regulations*

A stern warning that if Pakistan persisted in continuing its stringent regulations regarding grant of permits to Indian nationals to visit Pakistan, the Government of India shall have to revise their permit system, was administered by the Minister of State for Rehabilitation in the Indian Parliament. Sri Jain stated that "international relations are based on reciprocal basis and we must do something to make Pakistan realise that they must behave in a civilised manner." Demand for reciprocal treatment with Pakistan has been long and continuously insistent, but the Government of India has so far preferred to follow a one-way traffic with them in an impossible effort to win the love of Pakistan. A realistic policy with desired firmness pursued from the beginning would have gone a great way to avoid a number of losses, complications and humiliations.

The occasion for Sri Jain administering this warning was provided by Mr. Hussain Imam, who made most astounding statements in Parliament today speaking on the Evacuee Property Bill that Pakistan treated her minorities better than the Government of India treated their minorities in regard to evacuee property law, grant of permits, etc.

The remarks of Mr. Imam drew righteous indignation from several members including Pandit Thakur-das Bhargava, Sri R. K. Sidhwa, Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru, Sardar Bhopinder Singh Mann, Sri A. C. Guha and others who emphasised how Government of India had shown greatest forbearance in the matter of evacuee property despite Pakistan Government's wanton and appropriatory actions in this regard. They pointedly referred to the Rehabilitation Bill of Pakistan corresponding to which there was no law contemplated yet in India.

Sri Jain chastised Mr. Imam for the incorrect and distorted statements made by him and quoted chapter



and verse to show how minorities in India had been in every respect treated most fairly and generously as compared to the treatment that minorities received in Pakistan.

Referring to the issue of permits, Sri Jain stated that six weeks' notice was required for obtaining permits to visit Pakistan whereas permits for visiting India were issued within half an hour to 36 hours of application. Income-tax clearance certificates were demanded by Pakistan from temporary visitors, whereas Government of India did not require any such certificates. Medical certificates were insisted on by Pakistan from Indian nationals intending to visit ailing relations in Pakistan and there was no laxing of these provisions even on humanitarian considerations. "Could the application of the stringent permit system of Pakistan be compared by any means with the liberal permit system of India?"—he asked.

Replying to the debate, the Minister of State for Rehabilitation said that while listening to the speech of Mr. Imam he had begun to wonder whether he (Mr. Imam) was speaking as a responsible member of the Parliament and an Indian national or whether somebody had briefed him on behalf of Pakistan.

A Member: "He is himself a Pakistani."

Sri Jain said Mr. Imam had apparently attempted to advocate the cause of Indian Muslims but it would be better if Indian Muslims did not have such advocates. All the statements of Mr. Imam were incorrect and made "purposefully or based on wrong information."

The Rehabilitation Minister said that, was it Mr. Imam's contention that a company's shares were held either by Muslims or Hindus and not by both? If the latter was the case, apart from the legal interpretation, would it be the intention of the Government to declare Hindus' property as evacuee property?

Sri Jain said that Government had two courses open. By virtue of being the holders of the majority of the shares they could apply and get the articles of association amended to vest the management in their hands.

This they had attempted to do in the case of the Umbernath Mills. But the High Court had come in the way and they found the Law was defective. Therefore Government had come before the House for amending the Law. It did not mean that the rights of the minority shareholders would be affected. Government would either manage the company themselves or allot it to some refugees. In either case a profit would be obtained and the minority shareholders would get their dividend.

Pakistan had been doing this, not through Law but illegally, whereas the Government of India wanted to legally. Mr. Hussain Imam wanted the Government to look at the Pakistan Law and not into the practice there. That might be good logic for him and men of

his thinking but the amendment brought forward by Government was a perfectly good amendment both a law and in morality.

Referring to the working of the Evacuee Property Law, Sri Ajit Prasad Jain reiterated that the Custodian had clearly laid down that where a property was owned by more than one person and where all the persons were not evacuees only the share of the evacuee should be taken over. He challenged Mr. Imam to point out a single case where the contrary happened.

Sri Jain said that Mr. Imam had mentioned the case of one person who had exchanged his property in Pakistan with that in India. The instance had taken place but the property exchanged in India was not an evacuee property. If Mr. Hussain Imam wanted to exchange his property—and he was not an evacuee—with the property left behind by someone in Pakistan and declared as evacuee property, nobody stood in the way. Did Mr. Hussain Imam want the Government of India to enact that no Muslim in India should be able to sell his property? Every Muslim in the country was free to sell or mortgage or otherwise dispose of his property and "I am not ashamed of it and I am proud of it," Sri Jain said.

Sri Jain said that he had mentioned the Umbernath Mills case only as an example. The amendment was not being brought forward only to deal with that case. The amendment had been brought forward in pursuance of the agreement with Pakistan last June. The agreement did not contemplate the present amendment but Pakistan went back on her word.

Sri Jain said: "If Pakistan is willing to declare all shares in joint stock companies as non-evacuee property, I will accept it and declare every share in India as non-evacuee shares. Let my friend Mr. Hussain Imam, who has so ably advocated the cause of Pakistan to the detriment of India, persuade his clients, and I am prepared to abide by the undertaking I have given here. Mr. Imam may have given an opportunity to the Pakistan papers to splash his speech, but he has not rendered any service to India or to the Indian nation."

Referring to Mr. Imam's contention that the Evacuee property law in Pakistan applied only to 20 per cent of the minorities, whereas in India it applied to 70 per cent, Sri Jain said the law was a territorial law. The very fact that in the areas to which the Indian law applied, a large number of Muslims lived was evidence of the fact that Muslims in India had confidence in the country and were not leaving the country. In Pakistan, the law applied only to 20 per cent of the minorities because the rest had left. If Pakistan followed its present policy, in fact, the law there would apply only to zero per cent of the minorities.

Sri Jain said as regards evacuee property in India, he was not prepared to allow any private exchange. He had allowed it only in one case. In that case the

actual exchanges had taken place already and possession had been obtained. Only the formalities had remained and so he had given permission.

The Rehabilitation Minister then dealt with Mr. Imam's allegations that the permit system in India was very stringent and that the permit system did not apply to 60 per cent of the population of Pakistan whereas it did in India. Sri Jain said that Mr. Imam's statement was "completely incorrect." Any Muslim in India could go to East Bengal and any Muslim living in East Bengal could come to West Bengal. A Muslim living in Pakistan could not come to India through the eastern border without a permit and the *vice versa* was true. As far as East Bengal was concerned, the permit system did not apply to 100 per cent of the population. Even Mr. Imam was at liberty to go there and come back.

In regard to the permit system for West Pakistan whereas temporary permits for visit to India could be obtained and had actually been issued in many cases at half an hour to 36 hours' notice, in the case of visits to West Pakistan, the permit would have to be applied for six weeks in advance. "Does this show there is greater harshness on our side?"—Sri Jain asked. Again, while a simple "no sanction" certificate was enough for a Muslim to go to Pakistan and return to India, in the case of Pakistan an identity certificate and a return permit was required. The Pakistan High Commissioner in India had no power even to extend a return permit.

Sri Jain said that recently a Muslim from Sitapur had come to him for help. His son had been suffering from T.B. and he had received pathetic letters to go to Pakistan. But when he applied for a permit he was told to come back after some weeks. The gentleman had come to him for help but he had been helpless. He had, however, interceded with the Pakistan High Commissioner to take pity on the man and issue a permit even if he was not authorised. The High Commissioner had done so.

Sri Jain also referred to the introduction of the system of Income Tax clearance certificate introduced by Pakistan as a result of which no Hindu or Muslim could leave Pakistan without producing that certificate, even if he had gone to Pakistan only for a day. The previous arrangement between the two Governments was that a person going there for about 20 days or two months in a year should not be asked to produce such a certificate. But Pakistan had gone back on this. This was causing harassment to everybody. Sri Jain said that the way in which the certificates could be obtained in Pakistan had "better not be said." Again, Pakistan did not permit Indian traders to go beyond Lahore.

Sri Jain said: "Let me assure the House that if Pakistan persists in its present practice, we shall have to stiffen our permit law (hear, hear). In international matter, let it be understood, things have to be done on

a reciprocal basis. If Pakistan does not behave properly, we shall have to do something to make them realise and behave in a civilised fashion.

The Rehabilitation Minister said that during the debate Mr. Imam had tried to challenge the fact that a permanent permit had been issued to his wife. Sri Jain said he could produce the permit issued to Mr. Imam's wife. Mr. Imam wanted that not only should his wife be given a permanent permit to return to India, but also wanted an assurance that her property would be restored to her. "It is not for love that he wants to bring his wife but because of her property. I am not going to give any assurance and the question will be considered on merits and when his wife comes back to India."

### *Sign and Symbol of Frustration*

*Jugantar*, daily of Calcutta, has featured the news that Janab Abul Hashim resigned his "special" seat in the West Bengal Assembly on the 20th April last and has decided to settle down in East Bengal where his wife and children have been in residence since February, 1950, when Muslim League policy started to make Hindu life, honour and property insecure. The Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact threw oil over the troubled waters. But men like Janab Hashim after giving it a trial for 12 months have felt that it was not sufficient for their own "Pakistani" purposes. So, as one of the League stalwarts who had been directly concerned with the "Direct Action" animalism of August 16, 1946, he has gone.

At the same time it seems strange that this should happen. Abul Hashim is the son of the late Abdul Kashim, a disciple of Surendranath Banerjee with his robust nationalism before the "two-nations" theory was raised. Burdwan Muslims specially were free from this poison. Janab Hashim somehow fell off this parental political faith, and did his worst to spread the poison that has made millions of men, women and children outcasts in their own homelands, "refugees" from and to West and East India. The staff report in the *Jugantar* carried some pathos into this scene of a politician departing from his native land for good. It reports that the Muslim League leader compared his own case with that of Sakuntala who felt a pang for every creeper that she had watered, for every tree that she had helped grow. Such is the native land's attraction.

Janab Abul Hashim was asked for a parting message. All that he could say was that the "many forces" that have hitherto enabled Bengalis to stand up amid the conflicts and competitions of modern life will stand them in good stead. He repeated a few words of Gandhiji which conveyed the idea—"The 15th of August was not the last word in India's history." He appeared to build his own future and that of his people on these words.

We devote this much space to Janab Abul Hashim's



experiences because he has a representative character, which he described in words of particular significance. Others, specially foreigners, have been more explicit in their views. The latest has been Mr. Norman Thomas, Socialist leader in the U.S.A. whose views will be found in the Bombay news, dated March 21 last:

"The modern tendency of attempting to solve political issues through partition was very much to be regretted," said Mr. Norman Thomas, the American Socialist leader, at a Press Conference here today.

"Maybe there is no alternative, but I find all partitions hard to take. However, I hope partition will be ended by a federalisation of India and Pakistan or by some sort of autonomous relation. This will prove to be in the interests of both the nations and all concerned. The question must be settled without war."

In reply to a direct question whether or not Pakistan has brought happiness to the people concerned, he is repeated as saying after "a little pause":

"This artificial division has not brought any Bengali nearer to peace and a brighter future; this the public of Bengal has realized at long last."

### *Oil Nationalisation Move in Iran*

The *Economist* (April 21) discusses at length the implications of the oil "nationalisation" move in Iran and the confusion created by the disturbances in Abadan. It also analyses the sobering effect of Mr. Herbert Morrison's speech of April 13.

The *Economist* writes: "His (Mr. Morrison's) firm statement to the House on April 13, when it was clear that British lives were in grave danger and the Abadan oil refinery was slowing down to a standstill; made its mark in Teheran. The forces of order were strengthened and those who started the campaign for the nationalisation of the petroleum industry found themselves in a riotous alliance with the Communist-led Tudeh Party, associated with violence and strikes, and moving uneasily at the heart of a new centre of international tension.

"Mr. Morrison clarified the issues immediately; by his obvious determination to defend this country's most valuable asset overseas, and by his implied warning that negotiations about petroleum cannot take place under threat of mob violence, he separated the problem of maintaining order from the problem of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company—which is to negotiate with Teheran some way of dealing with the demand for what is called 'nationalisation'."

The *Economist* points out that only a small proportion of Persians took an active part in the rioting. Mostly they were made up of the usual Communist agitators—"to whom the whole oil dispute has been a glorious opportunity." Fortunately, the Persian police and troops brought the affair under control although, it asserts, "no one can be sure that another emergency might not cause a total collapse."

Dealing specifically with the nationalisation issue, the *Economist* continues: "The fact has to be faced that 'nationalisation' means, as at present stated, nothing more or less than expropriation—that is to say, seizure of an enterprise in which over £350 million of British capital has been sunk.

"Yet it is absolutely certain that the Persian Government could not run the enterprise without extensive foreign help. If it were to persist in its aim, it would be the end not only of the oil company but of Persian economy; for it is clear that not for decades would the Persians be able to operate a concern of the magnitude and international ramifications of this gigantic oil extracting, refining and marketing organisation. And with all the already great but potentially even larger revenue it draws from the Anglo-Iranian, the Persian Government would be without a regular reliable income.

"Internal collapse would be dangerous in any country; how much more far-reaching would the results be for a country which is next door neighbour to a great Power whose shortage of oil is one of its chief economic weaknesses—the Soviet Union.

"Important and obvious though these facts are—and the company has relied too much on them in the past—a new approach to the problem has to be made. A solution, practical, equitable and peaceful, must be found. Already four of the eight weeks that were asked for by the Majlis Commission which is considering ways of 'nationalising' petroleum have passed. Whoever first puts up a reasonable proposal will gain the initiative in the negotiation.

"Ideas are needed; and they should be ideas that can be applied equally well to similar problems that arise wherever a great Western commercial interest has to come to terms with the growing national pride and ambition of a Government to which it owes its opportunities. Persia versus the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company is a test case which will set precedents for other great companies. And it is an opportunity for the British to show political imagination and administrative ingenuity.

"In Rumania, on the Danube, in Eastern Germany, in Manchuria, the Russians have settled the problem in their own drastic manner—the Communist imperialist solution of 'joint company.' That is not the British way with independent nations: but a British way must be found."

There are four essential facts to be considered, adds the *Economist*. "The oil belongs to Persia. Secondly, this oil has been found, extracted, refined and sold, thanks entirely to British skill, initiative, labour, and money. Thirdly, the Persians could not possibly operate the company themselves," and fourthly, "for internal reasons" the Persian Government must be more closely associated with the oil operations—and must obtain more money from them."

The *Economist* then suggests that "a simple and practical plan might be to form a new and purely Persian

company which would acquire the sole rights to oil from the Anglo-Iranian's present oilfields and would own and operate wells, pumping stations and pipelines.

"The role of the Anglo-Iranian Company will be to refine oil and market it—in fact, deal with all the essential international operations. The Persian Government would ultimately obtain its revenue not from royalties on oil extracted as at present, but by selling its own nationalised oil to A.I.O.C.

"But as neither the proposed new company nor, indeed, the Persian Government would have sufficient funds to compensate the Anglo-Iranian for the loss of its concession and at least £300 million of equipment, compensation would be paid for some years to come in oil, with an additional agreement that the highly-trained British staff should work for the new Persian company during the period that compensation is being paid. The present process of 'Persianisation' would continue and would, in fact, be speeded up as much as possible, especially by taking Persian directors on to the board of the A.I.O.C. until the entire oil business would be in Persian hands.

"An agreement on these lines should not be difficult to negotiate, given goodwill on both sides. But in view of the probability that such an agreement would become a prototype for other agreements in other parts of the world, consultation between the British and American Governments should be viewed with neither resentment nor alarm in Persia."

Concluding, the *Economist* says: "On one point there can be no doubt; straight expropriation is unacceptable and it is useless to believe that Persian national feeling could allow proper money compensation over a long period. Expropriation would make it impossible to secure capital for those further developments in the oilfields on which Persia's future prosperity and power depend. Likewise, it should be clear that it is for the Majlis Commission to say what its two Houses meant by 'nationalisation' when they voted for it five weeks ago."

On April 26, a special session of the Majlis Oil Committee unanimously passed a resolution to put the nationalisation of Persia's Oil into effect immediately. The resolution will be submitted to the Majlis on April 28 and if approved will need only the sanction of the Senate to become law.

The resolution said: "1.—For the enforcement of the law of March 15, on the nationalisation of Persian oil, a joint committee including five Senators, five Majlis Deputies, the Minister of Finance, and one more member appointed by the Government be formed.

2. The Government is bound to take over all the activities of the former Anglo-Iranian Oil Company supervised by the above Board immediately. If the Company insists on its claims against the Persian Government, the Government can meet them by setting aside 25 per cent of the net oil profits after deducting exploitation expenditure.

3. The Government is to investigate with the Joint

Board the judicial and financial claims of the Persian Government and the legal claims of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. A report will later be made to both Houses for approval and putting into force.

4. In view of the fact that oil nationalisation was approved by the Senate on March 20 all the income on oil and oil products is the right of the Persian people. The Government is bound to audit the Company's accounts with the supervision of the Joint Board. The Joint Board is also to supervise closely all matters of exploitation.

5. The Joint Board is to prepare as soon as possible a constitution for a Persian National Oil Company, including the appointment of a Board of Directors and a supervising Joint Board of Experts, and to seek the approval of both Houses.

6. The replacement of foreign experts by Persian experts is to be prepared by sending a number of students abroad every year for training in all training sciences connected with oil. Expenses are to be paid from oil income.

7. All former customers of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company may purchase the same amount of oil that they bought from January 1948 to March 1951 at International prices and they also have priority over all other purchasers if they offer equal conditions with other customers.

8. All proposals by the Joint Board are to be submitted first to the special Majlis Oil Commission and after approval the report is to be submitted to the Majlis.

9. Within three months of the approval of this law the Joint Board is to end its activities, but may ask for extension from the Majlis."

Oil nationalisation in Iran will decide the fate of foreign companies exploiting the resources in Asia. Iran has moved forward where India faltered. It is to be seen whether the alternative arrangement suggested by the *Economist* will serve as a basis for compromise.

### *Iran's Difficulties*

Iran's conflict with Britain over the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's profits, over the percentages of these profits, whether or not these are to be on a 50 : 50 basis—have been receiving disproportionate attention in the world. This is our general habit; we make more noise over the destructive activities than over the constructive possibilities inherent in every human situation. Iran's latest experience has been bearing out the truth of this contention. The New York *World Interpreter* of March 2 last records such an event. A Teheran news said :

"Peasants Today, Landowners Tomorrow!" Thus the semi-official paper, *Ittelaat*, hailed a recent decision of the Shah that peasants on the Royal Estates receive full title to enough land for the support of their families. The paper points out that land alone will hardly improve the condition of the impoverished peasants; capital, implements, improved seed, modern methods, education, and better health are just as necessary as land. Precisely for this reason, however, plans are being worked out



for a Farmer's Bank with large powers and ample capital.

"The peasants will be expected to pay for their new land, but on very favorable terms. Payments will be extended over a period of at least 15 years with exemption of payments altogether for the first few years. The land to be divided is extensive. The Director of the Royal Estates reports that in 1941 when Riza Shah was deported from Iran, he passed on to his son, the present Shah, more than 6,000 villages and tracts. Since then, much of the property has been returned to former owners or otherwise disposed of. From the remaining 2,300 villages and 2,600 forest holdings the annual income of \$2,500,000 has been spent on health, education and social services.

"However, the Royal Estates are only a small part of feudal Iran, so too much can not be expected in a hurry. This experiment must succeed before it can be extended to other landlords. Peasants who have had their work planned for them for centuries, will not become independent American-type farmers living on their own land. Iran must find its own solution, and can hardly follow the American pattern. Communal interests, general irrigation systems and village life will be preserved, as the villager receives more and more fruits of his work.

"Nevertheless, the die is cast, and Iran is on the move. A Commission entrusted with the fulfilment of the great task—the turning over of the land and the building up of successful peasant farming—is already visiting villages to investigate the practical first steps."

### *Disposal of India's Tea*

"There will be no bulk purchase of 1951 tea by the U. K. but some quantity of tea would be allowed to be consigned to the U. K. during 1951 without undergoing sale transactions in India."

This was disclosed in Parliament today (March 2nd) by Shri Hare Krushna Mahtab, in reply to Shri U. P. Barman. The Minister of Commerce and Industry stated that as a result of the change of place of sale, a part of the profits attributable to the sale operations outside India would not be chargeable to Indian income-tax as income accruing or arising in India. The profits attributable to the manufacturing operations would, however, be taxable.

The consequent loss to the Indian Exchequer by allowing the tea to be shipped without sale operations would be Rs. 20 lakhs.

Other facts brought out in the reply were:

The Minister stated that the price of India tea was lower as compared with the price of tea from other countries. The Indian price would certainly be lower when it should be a competitive price. The price was not controlled and would be regulated by the demands in the auctions. There was no intention of the Government to increase the export duty of tea.

Referring to the steps taken so far to develop Calcutta as a world tea centre, the Minister said that

at the instance of the Government, construction of additional warehousing accommodation had been undertaken by the Port Commissioners of Calcutta with a view to increasing facilities of storage of additional quantity of tea that might be disposed of through the Calcutta tea auctions.

The *Ad Hoc* Commission appointed for the purpose of recommending steps to be taken for the development of Indian tea had submitted its report.

The salient points of its recommendations included *the need for assistance to the tea industry in securing supplies of essential materials, such as fertilisers and tea chests*, system of deferred payment of excise duty on tea, revision of the basis of levy of income-tax super-tax, etc., on the tea industry so as to exempt from taxation the amount of profit utilised for benefit of labour, additional warehousing, accommodation at Calcutta, to facilitate the routing through the Calcutta tea auctions of an additional quantity of tea.

### *Revision of Postal Charges*

The revised postal rates which will come into effect from the 1st of May, 1951, have been announced in a Posts and Telegraphs Department notification issued on Friday. The changes notified are:

(1) Concessional rate of postage of one anna per tola for local delivery letters is abolished. All inland letters and business reply envelopes will be charged at the ordinary rate of two annas for the first tola and one anna for every additional tola or part thereof. Postage on local delivery postcards and business reply postcards will continue to remain unchanged.

(2) Registration fee on inland or foreign articles will be increased from four annas to four annas six pies.

(3) All V.P. articles containing goods of the value of over rupees twenty-five are required to be compulsorily insured for at least the actual amount to be recovered from the addressee and insurance fee collected accordingly. Further, on all V.P. articles in the inland service a posting fee of one anna will be charged from the sender when the amount, to be recovered from the addressee, does not exceed rupees twenty-five and a posting fee of two annas when the amount to be recovered from the addressee exceeds rupees twenty-five. The total charge which the sender of a V.P. article will be required to pay in postage stamps will thus be as follows:

(a) Value not exceeding rupees twenty-five: (i) postage at letter packet or parcel rate as the case may be, (ii) registration fee of four annas six pies, (iii) posting fee of one anna. (b) Value exceeding rupees twenty-five: (i) postage at letter packet or parcel rate as the case may be, (ii) registration fee of four annas six pies, (iii) posting fee of two annas and (iv) insurance fee according to the value.

(4) Scale of insurance fees for insurance of all inland postal articles will be revised as follows:

Four annas where value insured does not exceed one hundred rupees and two annas for every additional one

hundred rupees or part over the first one hundred rupees. The maximum value for which an article can be insured will be raised from rupees three thousand to rupees five thousand.

(5) Rate of commission on inland money orders will be revised as follows: (a) for an amount not exceeding rupees five—two annas, (b) exceeding rupees five but not exceeding rupees ten—three annas, (c) exceeding rupees ten, but not exceeding rupees fifteen—four annas, (d) exceeding rupees fifteen, but not exceeding rupees twenty—five annas six, (e) for amount exceeding rupees twenty—five the money order commission will be six annas for each complete sum of rupees 25 and 6 annas for the remaining provided that if the remainder does not exceed rupees five the charge for it shall be only two annas, if the remainder does not exceed rupees ten the charge shall be only three annas and if the remainder does not exceed rupees fifteen the charge for it shall be only four annas.

Simultaneously the existing air mail will be abolished and on all inland money orders, surcharge of one anna per money order will be charged. These, like letters and postcards will be carried by air under the all-up scheme.

(6) Stationery charge for registration of envelopes will be revised from six pies at present to one anna and six pies. The selling price of registration envelopes with face value of six annas and six pies will therefore be eight annas from that date. Until such time as new registration envelopes bearing the emboss with six annas and six pies are made available the existing registration envelopes will be sold after affixing six pies postage stamps.

The efficiency of the postal department under Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai has completely gone down. The stoppage of Sunday work has virtually dislocated the week-end postal service. It is often found that letters and packets posted on Saturday evening reach their destination on Tuesday at the earliest. A packet posted at the Calcutta G.P.O. on Monday was delivered in its own delivery area on Wednesday. Some Calcutta Post Offices are being worked up to 8 P.M. but unless Sunday deliveries and quick service are restored such facilities will be of little avail.

The latest increase in postal rates are absolutely unwarranted. The combined revenue of the Post-Telegraph-Telephone-Radio department shows an over-all surplus, we find no reason for increasing postal rates to make up for the loss of that individual section. The manner in which this increase has been effected has also been strongly criticised. The Railway Budget announced increase in railway fares. The General Budget came out with a number of tax increases, the postal rate increases were announced after the first two storms were over and on an entirely different occasion. The V.P. parcels have come in for the heaviest increase. This will further strangle mufassil trade, specially the book trade, which has already been very hard hit. Increase in money order fees is also bound to react unfavourably on the poorest sections of remitters.

And lastly we have the proposed clause which forbids

the sending of V.P. packets by monthlies etc., unless a written order is obtained previously. This ridiculous clause will have a disastrous effect on all monthly magazines.

### *Reconstituted Railway Board*

A reconstituted Railway Board with three functional members and the Financial Commissioner has started functioning from April 1, 1951. The post of Chief Commissioner of Railways has been retrenched. A railway officer of the rank of the Deputy Director in the Railway Board has been appointed Secretary of the reorganised Railway Board.

The functions of the reconstituted Railway Board are not in substance different from those of the Railway Board as it existed up to March 31, 1951. The methods of business and the procedure to be followed by the new Railway Board have, however, been radically altered, with a view to ensure both expedition and efficiency.

The Railway Board, as previously constituted, consisted of a Chief Commissioner, a Financial Commissioner and three functional members, together with the Secretary of the Transport Ministry. The Chief Commissioner was responsible for presiding at the Board meetings and for overall functional supervision and co-ordination of work.

Sri Gopalaswami Ayyangar referring to the reorganisation of the Railway Board in his Budget speech stated:

"With the constitutional changes and with a Minister responsible to Parliament coming to be in charge of Railways, the functioning of the Board has altered substantially. There is now a regular weekly meeting of the Board as a whole with the Minister, where several questions of policy are discussed and settled. Overall co-ordination is ensured first at the Board and then at the Minister's level. The need for an officer of the Board who is not burdened with departmental responsibilities is not now by any means compelling. The different members of the Board constitute what may be described as an 'All-India Railway Executive,' whose administrative work is suitably distributed amongst functional heads, each of whom presides over his particular department of railway activity.

On questions which require co-ordination among these different departments, the members come together and reach decisions as a collective body. The Minister controls the work of the Board and all directives given by him are carried out by it. The post of Chief Commissioner will therefore be retrenched from 1st April next, and the Board reconstituted with three functional members and the Financial Commissioner. Secretary of the Transport Ministry will, under existing conditions, continue to be, ex-officio, an additional member. One of the functional members will be appointed Chairman of the Board and, in that capacity, ex-officio, function as Secretary to the Ministry.



He will be responsible for the work of the Board as such and for the inter-Board co-ordination required for this purpose. He will also be in charge of the small Secretariat attached to the Board, in addition to being a functional member. The Financial Commissioner will retain his special position and function as Secretary to the Ministry in matters financial. The Board will function as a corporate body advising the Minister on all major questions of policy and issuing such executive orders as are necessary for the administration of the Indian Railways.

As a result of the retrenchment of the post of Chief Commissioner and certain other economies in the organisation of the Board's office, including a reduction in the status of the post of Secretary to the Board, economies to the extent of over Rs. 3½ lakhs will be realised."

### *Linguistic Provinces*

The move for the creation of Linguistic Provinces has again been revived by leaders of certain provinces in Southern and Western India. The question may figure as one of the election issues and the Congress Working Committee meeting in the first week of May will probably have to consider it formally or informally. An influential deputation of Parliament members from Andhra, Kerala, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Tamil Nad led by Sri Nijalingappa waited on the Prime Minister and urged the creation of separate provinces in these regions on a linguistic basis. It is understood that they impressed on the Prime Minister that the people of these areas should be given an assurance in this regard before the elections are held. It is reported that the Prime Minister gave a patient hearing and invited constructive and concrete suggestions as to how this proposal would be given effect to. He is also reported to have suggested that such issues could best be resolved by agreement and understanding among the parties concerned. It is likely that the leader and protagonists of linguistic provinces will soon confer among themselves and come into consultation with the leader of public opinion of the areas and States concerned with a view to evolving definite proposals for submitting to the Prime Minister so that he may give practical consideration to the same. We are sorry to find that West Bengal is conspicuous by its absence in this new effort to alter provincial boundary on a linguistic basis. The West Bengal Government ought to take the lead in this matter for securing breathing space for this over-congested and maimed province.

### *Manbhum Satyagraha*

People of this country are familiar with reports of police lathi charge on opposition meetings. From Purulia however comes a report saying that the police had to make a lathi charge to disperse a meeting which was being addressed by two Ministers of the Bihar

State. The meeting was convened by the Manbhum District Congress Committee. Several questions were put to ministers by members of the audience. The police tried to remove some of the questioners by force when there was uproar and the meeting ended in chaos. Some people were injured by lathi charges and the butts of police rifles. For weeks past, the Lok Seval Sangh has been offering Satyagraha against iniquitous food laws in different parts of the district. The Government at first observed a detached indifference to this movement probably thinking that it would fizzle out. But when it was found that instead of collapsing, it was gaining momentum every day, the Government ordered action. Police made a lathi charge on a meeting of the Satyagrahis at Jhalda injuring several persons. Many Satyagrahis, including two M.L.A.s who had recently resigned from the Bihar Legislature to offer Satyagraha, were arrested. So long the Ministers did not come out. The Purulia meeting referred to above had been convened the day after the arrests at Jhalda. All reports indicate that the Satyagrahis enjoy strong popular support. Unless the Government came to a quick compromise with the Satyagrahis, this struggle may lead to serious results.

### *Return of Peace to Telengana*

*The Vision*, Swami Ramananda Tirtha's weekly publishes a signed article by him. The report goes to show how the Communist menace has been brought under control. The States Ministry report of 1950-51, records the success of "Police Action" and the initiation of reconstructive activities costing more than Rs. 20 lakhs during this period. But we are tempted to accord more importance to *The Vision* report. For, it is of more permanent value.

"There is a definite psychological change in the people. The fallen hearts of thousands have felt some relief. They are carrying on their work more freely and the fear complex is greatly minimised though not wholly removed. The panic created by the sten guns of unsocial elements, including the Communists, is fast waning and the fear of arms is growing less and less. Though it cannot be said that they have completely extricated themselves from the clutches of the arms, they have been feeling the futility of arms to build up life. All this needed a sympathetic view of their miseries. I have done nothing more than being amidst them in their woes and speaking to them heart to heart. I am happy that the fallen hearts are once again experiencing the last breath of life though a feeble one at the present moment. The people are trying to see the way other than that shown by the Communist. An effective alternative has to be shown and reassuring feeling has to be created in them. This cannot be done by arms. Immediate ameliorative measures are necessary. In this connection I would like to reiterate once again the dire urgency of solving the Agrarian problem in Telengana squarely and on a basis of justice and equity. The present hesitancy is no help. It will defeat the purpose of other efforts.

There is one factor in the situation which should be remembered. On a critical analysis of the situation I have found that in some parts there are

elements other than the Communists who for their own selfish interest are using the present situation in their own sinister way. These are not limited to a particular section. These persons do not stay in their villages. They have deserted them. They stay in a secret camp or in a Mau Mau headquarter. Some of them act as middlemen. They spin false stories. They try to aggravate the panic. Their interest lies in continuing the present state of affairs. They pay money to whomsoever it is necessary, at times, even to the Communist and petty elements in the administration. Some come from Zamindars, some from Patel Patwaris, some from the unsocial elements at times even under the garb of the Congress. Due to all these factors, the sufferings of the people have grown and the situation is complicated. Any truck with these sections will make matters worse."

Since this appeared in the *Vision*, we have heard that Acharya Vinoba Bhave has been conducting a "walking tour" through the same areas with the same object in view. May both these "tours" put heart in the people so that they can dare oppose anti-social element on the strength of their inner convictions.

### *The Problem of French India*

The French "Establishments" in India cover an area of about 200 square miles with a tiny population of 332,045 only. The budgeted receipts and expenditure of these "Establishments" were in 1951 Rs. 72,00,000 and Rs. 77,95,000 respectively. Now that Chandannagore in Bengal with its 44,786 men and women have joined the Indian Union, the rest of the "Establishments," 4 in number, Pondicherry, Karikal, Mahe and Yanam, constitute the "problem" constituted by the greed for prestige of Republican France. All these and much more are given in Shri W. R. Rajkumar's book entitled above. It shows how France has been prolonging an unnatural condition of things which does not enhance her reputation or adds much to any material gains she makes out of these "Establishments." The latest statement of policy made on March 17 by M. Meynard-Lands, Commissioner of French India, something like a Governor-General, does not indicate any change of spirit. In effect, it constitutes an irritation of spirit, a prick that cannot be maintained long.

### *Indians, Citizens and Residents in Ceylon*

The following news was sent out by *Press Trust-Reuters* Colombo correspondent:

"The charge that Government had deliberately deleted names of a large number of Indians from voters' lists to score a point in the next general elections" was made by Mr. W. Dahanayake (Lanka Samaj Party) in the House of Representatives here.

Mr. Dahanayake who was speaking during a debate raised on a supplementary demand sponsored by the Finance Minister, Mr. R. Jayawardene, to meet expenses of the Department of Parliamentary Elections, added that while Indians had been given time till August 5, 1951 to register for Ceylon citizenship, it was unfair for Government to expunge in the meantime their names from electoral registers.

Mr. S. Thondaman (Ceylon Indian Congress) said that Indian estate workers were the worst affected by this deletion. Names of thousands of them had been expunged from voters' lists.

The Finance Minister replied that he was not the Minister in charge of registration of voters and, therefore, he could not answer the criticisms made. He promised to bring to notice of the appropriate Minister their criticisms. The demand was passed, 25 voting for and 13 against.

The news recalls attention to an injustice that has something of the Ma'an Government's discriminatory policy. Both in Ceylon and in South Africa Indian labourers in fields and factories were invited by the Governments to help develop the resources of these two countries. From being labourers, the Indians took roots and claimed their citizenship rights. This the ruling classes refuse to do; they direct their attention to up-rooting the makers of their country's economy, and sending them out to start life anew. The Governments in India, both now and during the British period, could not help them much. Even the U.N.O. has been as unsuccessful. More sorrow and suffering are in store for the victims of injustice and the perpetrators thereof.

### *U.S.A. and Japan*

A news item cabled from Tokyo on March 17 last said:

"Japan may be granted American credit totaling U. S. \$2,400,000,000 to finance industrial production in close collaboration with American efforts to build an anti-Communist mechanism in Asia.

Japanese Government agencies concerned with economy and industry are currently busy compiling data on the basis of which co-ordination of American and Japanese industrial production can be effected. At the same time considerable care is being exercised in the choice of personnel for an economic mission to the United States which will remain there six months to discuss and to work out mechanisms and techniques for such co-ordination.

It is understood that Japanese industrialists are being consulted regarding a list of 61 items which the United States hopes Japan can produce in order to take pressure off American industry. The list does not include arms and munitions or foodstuff.

Most of the reported U. S. \$2,400,000,000 credit will be used for the development of hydro-electric power, steel and coal industries. It is hoped that under the projected plan electric power production can be stepped up to 42,800,000 kilowatt hours per year. The steel industry to attain an annual output level of 6,000,000 tons of steel ingots and coal production be brought up to 45,000,000 tons. In addition, Japan will be expected to lift aluminium production to 56,000 tons and lead production to 47,000 tons yearly.

Japanese economic circles say that between 400,000,000 and 500,000,000 U. S. dollars will be earmarked for new hydro-electric power projects alone immediately after a peace treaty. In this connection it might be significant that Prime Minister Yoshida's industrialist son-in-law Tagakichi Aso and Jiro Shirasu who represented Prime Minister Yoshida in the Dulles talks last month, were both



recently appointed heads of two out of nine regional electric power companies."

A "special" message to the Calcutta *Amrita Bazar Patrika* sent out on March 21 thus elaborated the requirements of the plan:

"The future operation of the Japanese industrial complex will be integrated with the war mobilization effort of America through the newly established Office of Foreign Supplies and Requirements in Washington, which will have full control over procurement, handling and allocation of all strategic raw materials and industrial potentials in foreign countries that are available to the United States.

"Japan will be the main cog of the new American-designed international mechanism for supplying and producing goods necessary to furnish logistical support to anti-Communist countries, especially in Asia. Details of the integration plan are awaiting a report from Japanese organizations concerned which are studying the problem from the viewpoint of plant capacities, raw material needs, technical assistance required and methods of collaboration that may be most practical and efficient. Such studies have been going on in Japan since the departure of President Truman's peace envoy John Foster Dulles from Tokyo several weeks ago.

"The American Office of Foreign Supplies and Requirements was set up little more than a month ago, shortly before Ambassador Dulles left Washington for Tokyo where he is reported to have discussed matters with the Japanese Government and industrial leaders.

"Integration of the Japanese industrial complex with American mobilization and production facilities will automatically solve the critical problems facing Japanese industries as how to obtain raw materials and shipping space to carry them. Practically all raw materials needed by Japanese industry and all shipping space needed for hauling such materials have been spoken for. Japan, who will be late in entering the fight for raw materials and shipping space, would find the greatest difficulty in obtaining either one or both to keep her industries alive after a peace treaty. However, if the Japanese industrial complex is integrated with the American industrial set-up, Japanese industries will get a share of raw materials from sources concerned from the United States for her mobilization purposes. Furthermore, Japan will be allocated shipping space controlled and reserved by the United States."

We will be glad if this U. S. A. help can set up Japan on her feet again. She has shown what she can do with modern technology—transform a few islands into one of the mightiest of modern States, a terror to Western States with a longer period of industrialization. But the U. S. A. has other purposes in view to utilize Japan as a barrier to Communism. She had thrown bigger sums into China. The results are well-known. Before she follows the same track she should try to understand the causes of her China failure.

### *Germany to be Re-armed*

One of the greatest headaches of the three occupying Powers of West Germany is to establish a proper balance between their needs and the chances of the revival of Nazi spirit that the re-armament of Germany will entail.

It appears that German strategists are not appreciative

of the way in which their victors have been going about the business. The following, culled from an American paper enable us to understand the puzzle a little. "One of the basic principles of military strategy laid down by Von Clausewitz, the Prussian general who served in the Czarist army against Napoleon, was the concentration of forces in space and time. This is being gravely violated by the Western powers, says General Hans Guderian, Hitler's tank expert, in his new book, *It Can't Go On This Way*, which is a best-seller in West Germany.

Europe is the decisive battle-field in the struggle between the East and the Soviet Bloc, but the Western forces are being dispersed and dissipated in Asia, complains Guderian. Further, the psychological and political conditions are not being created for Germany's participation in Western defence. If these conditions are not fulfilled, Germany will have to look elsewhere for her salvation.

Guderian was the first German strategist who understood the role of tanks in attack. He was dismissed by Hitler in 1941 for suggesting withdrawal on the Moscow front. In 1944 he was made Chief of Staff after the failure of the attempt on the life of Hitler."

### *"Slave Labour"*

Soviet Union's propagandists have started the campaign of charging the United States with employing and profiting from "slave labour." This we read recorded in *News and Views from the Soviet Union* dated April 17 last. The writer is M. B. Medvedev. He flings contempt at American democracy's cant about "free labour system," "freedom of contract," and so on. He quotes Rowland Watts, Secretary of League of Defense of Workers' Rights, to uphold his charges which are various. One of these is the exploitation of Mexican labourers as "violators of the frontier."

As a foil to this, we have the charges of D. Margolin, who was a delegate to the Indian Congress for Cultural Freedom, from overseas. He had been "an inmate" for years of one of the "Soviet Slave Labour Camps," and is now settled in Israel. In an article he published in the *Bombay Chronicle*, dated April 13 last, the following quotations are made. It gives us an idea of the evil:

"I regret that my visit to India was too short to permit me to go beyond the limits of my special mission, namely, to supply evidence on Concentration Camps in the Soviet Union.

"The important point is this: The Soviet Government keeps as dead secret all data concerning 'L'Universe concentrationnaire.' Communism is your political and moral hope—not mine. So go ask them to answer three questions:

1. How many camps have existed and exist in the Soviet Union for the last 20 years?
2. How many people have been imprisoned and continue to live there?
3. How many have died?

"On the answer to these questions or on the lack of such answer or evasion, should in the first place depend your attitude to Communism."

### "Union of All Arab States"

Dr. Nazim el Kudsi, Prime Minister of Syria, has, we are told, "caught all eyes" with the announcement of his plan for "the formation of a United States of Arabs—another U.S.A."—with possibilities of as great material power. We do not find any difference between it and Azam Pasha's Arab League, except that the latter was inspired by Clayton of the British Intelligence Service very soon after 1945. The Kudsi plan may be French inspired or by U.S.A. for all that we know to the contrary.

The Arab League has proved a failure, the different Arab States refusing to co-operate against the common enemy—Israel. The bitterness of this defeat may have taught the Arab ruling classes the much-needed lesson. And the hopes for a better mind are indicated as follows:

"The Plan for the first time advocates in the clearest language the feelings of many who have the interests of the Middle East at heart. This unity which the author envisages is the only solution for the Middle East tangle which no one seems to have been able to solve, and none will be happier at their solution than the people of the Middle East who profess the same way of life. The present century, though it has seen the divisions of many countries into smaller units as in Europe, or the creation of new states like that of Pakistan, has also witnessed a movement for consolidation and co-operation. This movement is much stronger than many imagine or care to admit. That this has resulted in the present world situation in the form of two Blocs is our misfortune. This does not, however, mean that the reasons which impel unity and co-operation are not correct. This movement is bound to succeed and the Kudsi Plan which proposes an extension of this principle among the Middle East States is a welcome step."

### The MacArthur Episode

The dismissal of the Supreme Commander of the Occupation Forces in Japan and over the areas lately re-conquered from her has been hailed by some politicians as the end of an aggressive policy. We dissent from this opinion and are sorry that Indian politicians ruling the country should be victims of such a delusion. "They have been ringing their bells today, they will be wringing their hands soon," this was the classical comment of Walpole, Prime Minister of Britain.

General MacArthur has re-emphasized his point of view before his own people. And he stands vindicated in the statement by his successor, Lieutenant-General Matthew Ridgway. A Washington news, dated April 18, lays it forth in the following words:

"It would be impossible to win the war if the fighting was confined to Korea and if Manchurian bases were not bombed, one of these Congressmen said today.

"Representative Dod Armstrong (Republican), Missouri, who returned from Tokyo today said that he and representative W. J. Burn (Democrat), South Carolina, discussed the military situation with

General Ridgway about ten days ago before President Truman dismissed General MacArthur and appointed General Ridgway to his command.

"On the basis of his talks with United States military leaders in Korea and Japan and with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa, representative Armstrong said he (Mr. Armstrong) was in favour of—

1. Sending a strong United States military mission to Formosa to train the Chinese Nationalist soldiers there for an attempt on the Chinese Communist-controlled mainland;
2. Working out with the Chinese Nationalists plans to seize Hainan island (off the South China coast) and invade the Chinese mainland from there;
3. The blockading of all the Chinese coastline;
4. The use of United States air power to destroy Chinese bases in Manchuria and to cut the railroads and highways surrounding Mukden in Manchuria;
5. United States assistance to the Chinese Nationalist guerillas fighting within China;
6. The despatch of a token force of Chinese Nationalists to Korea."

Did MacArthur suggest anything more drastic than what his successor has done? So what difference does this dismissal make?

### Hindi as India's State Language

While the Constitution in India has ruled that Hindi in the Devanagiri script should be increasingly used as the State language to attain this status at the completion of 15 years, the gossellers of Hindi have been dividing their own house. We cannot say that we understand the reasons for which even Tandonji appears to be taking sides. Who will conduct the examinations cannot be so very important at this stage when the whole problem is liable to re-opening if the rival protagonists persist in their controversy.

The following rather long letter published in the Allahabad *Leader* sometime in last mid-March, exposes this ugly fact. We are sorry that this should have happened so early in Hindi's new dignity. We commend this letter to our readers:

"The hope about the emergence of unity and solidarity in the ranks of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan has been shattered to pieces by the recent 'stormy session' of the standing committee of the Sammelan that turned down the unanimous decision of the Lucknow meeting of the Hindi Vishwavidyalaya Samiti to entrust a special committee of 14 living ex-presidents of the Sammelan with the task of guiding the activities of the Samiti. The Hindi Vishwavidyalaya Samiti, popularly known as the Examination Board, had been formed at the Hyderabad session of the Sammelan, for establishing an authoritative Hindi Vishwavidyalaya and conducting the Sammelan's examinations with suitable modifications till the sanction of the Government was received for such a Vishwavidyalaya. Its sudden dissolution at the Kotah session was engineered by party intrigues inside the Sammelan. A strong resentment was voiced by important organs of public opinion in the Hindi world against this hasty decision of the Kotah session. The Lucknow meeting of the Hindi Vishwavidyalaya Samiti, which was



also attended by the president, the general secretary and some other office-bearers of the Sammelan, reviewed the entire situation and unanimously decided to appoint a special committee of 14 ex-presidents to guide the activities of the Samiti. According to the joint statement issued to the press by Rajarshi Purushottam Das Tandon and Shri Jaya Chandra Vidyalkar the presidents respectively of the Samiti and the Sammelan, 'the ultimate decision born out of the synthesis of all the amendments moved on the occasion was unanimous' and the general secretary of the Sammelan gave an assurance to get that decision endorsed soon by the meeting of the standing committee of the Sammelan. Other office-bearers of the Sammelan present in the meeting are also said to have concurred in the assurance.

The Lucknow meeting of the Hindi Vishwa-vidyalaya Samiti raised the hope that all the tension among the workers of the Sammelan was going to end, specially after the joint appeal of Rajarshi Tandon and Shri Vidyalkar. Soon however the president and the general secretary of the Sammelan objected to the wording of the report of the Lucknow decision, published in newspapers. Seth Govinda Das and Prof. Indra Vidyavachaspati contradicted their statement and testified the correctness of the report. The spirit of the Lucknow decision was, however, clearly in the nature of a happy compromise, and the manner in which it was flouted by the office-bearers of the Sammelan, before and in the recent meeting of the standing committee, expressed the determination of the majority group of the Sammelan to go their own way without caring for the ultimate good of the Hindi world. Instead of settling the minor differences in the interpretation of the Lucknow decision and honouring the assurance given earlier the leaders of the majority party put forward a resolution turning down the Lucknow decision of the Samiti and reiterating the stand for the dissolution of the Samiti, taken at the Kotah session. The resolution says that the standing committee is prepared to consider any suggestions that may be forthcoming from the committee of 14 ex-presidents in regard to any other matter but the questions relating to the formation or working of the examination board. We do not know what will be the reaction to this decision of ex-presidents like Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Bhagavan Das, Dr. Amaranath Jha, Mr. Ambika Prasad Bajpayi, Mr. Makhanlal Chaturvedi and Mr. K. M. Munshi. But there is no doubt that this decision has given a death-blow to the hope for the speedy resolution of the internal conflict of the Sammelan under the effective guidance of all living ex-presidents.

### *Toll of War in Korea*

*The News Week* (New York) of April 9 last records the following facts:

"One million casualties. By last week that was the toll of the Korean war for the U.N. and Red armed forces combined. The exact total, which always lags behind the actual fact, stood at 989,361, as totted up from U.N. claims and admissions. Three-quarters of the casualties were suffered by the Communists. The breakdown:

"North Korea : 283,000 killed or wounded, 139,000 captured, 45,000 non-battle casualties. Total 467,000.

"Communist China : 260,000 killed or wounded, 2,300 captured, 31,000 non-battle casualties. Total 293,300.

"South Korea : 16,182 killed, 88,511 wounded, 63,959 missing. Total 168,652.

"United States : 8,511 killed, 37,918 wounded, 10,691 missing. Total 57,120.

Other U. N. Allies : Total casualties: Turkey 110, Britain 980, France 396, Australia 280, Netherlands 115, Thailand 108, Greece 97, Canada 74, Philippines 55, New Zealand 7, South Africa 6, Belgium 1, Luxembourg 0."

### *"Friedrich Bayer-Grant"*

The following speaks for itself :

The India Institute for Cultural Relations in Munich (Germany) awards an Indian student of Chemistry a Grant of DM 600 for the academic year of 1951-52. The student should have completed his scientific studies in his own country, and intend to carry on his work in Germany. The "Friedrich Bayer-Grant" also comprises free tuition at any of the German Universities. Young Indian graduates or trainees are asked to apply for the "Friedrich Bayer-Grant" giving details of their life and academic career with duplicate copies of testimonials. The applications should reach the Institute by May first, 1951.

India Institute, Pullach bei Munchen, Johann Baderstrasse 61.

DR. FRANZ THIERFELDER, President.

Indian students and Indian Society will be grateful for this offer. Even now, even in her defeat and deceleration, German Universities can show points to others in Indology and modern science. And facilities for education in these are ever welcome.

### *University for Basic Education*

A news sent out on March 8 last from Sevagram (Wardha) indicates a mile-post in the progress of Basic Education.

The 7th All-India Basic Education Conference has appointed a seven-men committee to prepare a scheme for starting a university on the basis of basic education and to assess standards of attainment of different stages of basic education in relation to the traditional educational system. Acharya Kaka Kalelkar is the Chairman of the Committee and Sri E. W. Aryanayakam is the Secretary.

An interesting symposium on the idea of a rural university was the special feature of the Conference. Acharya Vinoba Bhave, Kaka Kalelkar, Prof. J. C. Kumarappa and others who participated in the discussion stressed that the Government of India and the States Governments should accept basic education as the foundation of our educational system.

Since then a Basic Education Conference has been held at Hyderabad and Wardha resolutions reaffirmed. The Governments, Central and States, appear, however, to be lukewarm explaining one of the causes of the stalemate in this program of reconstruction.

### *Rana Pratap Memorial*

Sardar Khursand Bahadur of Rohtak (East Punjab) appeals to the people of Free India, of the Rajasthan Federation, to raise a fitting Memorial over the place where rested the last remains of Rana Pratap. At a distance of 40 miles from Udaipur, and a mile from Chaond village, on the bank of a small rainy river, there stands at present a small octagonal tomb supported by eight pillars and surmounted by a black sandstone dome which rises only seven feet above the pavement.

The new Ministry in Rajasthan under Shree Jai Narain Vyas should turn its attention betimes to this task long neglected. It would be no credit to us if Rana Pratap should continue to have a Memorial as poor as at present.

### *Sri Aurobindo Cultural University*

"The Mother" of the Ashram at Pondicherry has invited a convention to be held on April 24-25, 1951, to give shape to what is claimed to be the last wish of Sri Aurobindo with regard to the assets of the Ashram, the fruits of his disciples' offerings. Last month she had invited Shree Hemendra Prasad Ghosh, one of Sri Aurobindo's fellow-workers in the political field, for consultation in this behalf. There Shree Ghosh found ready a scheme for a Cultural University to be reared on the teachings of Sri Aurobindo in all fields of research, sacred and profane, as these are popularly differentiated.

She is said to have assured those amongst Sri Aurobindo's disciples who appeared anxious to have a Memorial to him in Bengal, that "a lock of hair" of Sri Aurobindo will be made available if a fit temple can be built to house it, and a small fund be there to maintain it.

### *Acharya Keshav Prasad Mishra*

One of the makers of modern Hindi, Acharya Eshab Prasad Mishra, died in his 67th year. On retirement from his high position in the Hindu University as Head of its Hindi Department to which he was appointed on the death of Pandit Ram Chandra Sukla, Acharya Keshavji spent strenuous days in the pursuit of his favourite studies—Linguistics. Early in life he joined the Hindu School, Banaras, as a Sanskrit teacher. His father was practising medicine on indigenous lines but his earning was meagre and Keshavji had to stand on his own legs. As a teacher he passed his Matriculation and Intermediate examinations. When Babu Shyam Sunder Das became the Head of the Hindi Department in the Banaras Hindu University he persuaded Malaviyaji to send Keshavji to the Hindi Department.

Babu Sahib had a unique insight for recognising merit. And in organising the Hindi Department he gathered there geniuses wherever he found them. The Hindi Department of this Banaras Hindu University has become famed for its teachers and high standard throughout the country.

The death of Acharya Keshavji is a distinct loss to Hindi scholarship. He leaves behind him his widow and a son to whom we offer our sympathy.

### *Ernest Bevin*

At this moment of the British Labour Government's difficulties, internal and external, the death of "Ernie" Bevin is a grievous loss to the British Empire. The resignation owing to ill-health of Sir Stafford Cripps, had put a great strain on Britain's Prime Minister. Before the last shock was over, comes the resignation of Aneurin Bevin, Britain's Labour Minister, one of her "key-man" and by many hailed as her "coming man." This heightens the conditions of crisis.

"Ernie" Bevin had served his apprenticeship under poverty and squalor. It was only about 20 years ago that fortune smiled on him. But he kept his head. Slow-moving, plodding and unimaginative he represented the type of Briton that is the bed-rock of her greatness. This Labourite of Britain had a keen perception of the material aspects of her imperialism and of its strategic importance. Bevin was as conscious of these as Churchill. Therefore has the latter praised him with the words: "He takes his place among the great Foreign Secretaries of our country."

He died when his country's star has been flickering low. He recognized this fact, and strove in 1946 to keep India as the key-stone of Britain's Commonwealth. Churchill's words are a fitting memorial to him.

### *Raja of Aundh*

Hardly a month passes that does not record the death of an outstanding Indian. On the 15th April last passed away at Bombay in his 84th year, this member of the Princely Order who practised through his long life the old kingly virtues in the modern age's democratic set-up and demands.

He was a progressive administrator in every sense of the word. In days when it was rare to find any support from the Princely Order for the progressive nationalist movements of the country, the Aundh ruler was a fearless champion of the cause of Khadi—an article of faith by which Mahatma Gandhi set much store. As early as 1938, when newspapers carried stories about onslaughts launched on the States Peoples by autocratic rulers and their Dewans, Aundh was the only State where the ruler voluntarily agreed to forego a large share of his privy purse and reduce it to ten per cent of the State's revenue. Besides conferring responsible government on his subjects, the late Raja was farsighted enough to introduce compulsory education and the Panchayat system in the State. Thanks to his zeal, the State today owns a large network of industries, most of which were established before the integration process was set in force. All of us, prince, or peasant, has something to learn from the brilliant manner in which the late Aundh ruler practised democracy.



# VIVEKANANDA LETTERS

By S. D. CHATTERJEE

DURING my recent stay in Ottawa, Canada, I was invited to a small, informal dinner party at the house of my esteemed friend Dr. J. R. Kohr and there I had the privilege to meet the founder of the Canadian Bureau of Statistics, Dr. Robert H. Coats, now retired. The good fortune of this meeting was twofold: for not only did Dr. Coats turn out to be a keen student of India—having had, among other fascinating experiences, many personal connections with some of our foremost scientists—but he also revealed himself as the possessor of some original and unpublished letters Swami Vivekananda had written at the turn of the century. Moreover, Dr. Coats most generously consented to part with these valuable letters. They were transmitted to me with the following note:

572 Manor Road  
Rockcliffe Park  
2. 1. 51

Dear Dr. Chatterjee,

I enclose the two or three letters of Swami Vivekananda I spoke to you about the other evening. They were written to my wife then a young girl in London over fifty years ago. Originally she had twenty or more such letters, but with the exception of the enclosed they were almost wholly destroyed by mice during the war-period when my house was partially closed and rented.

My wife, who was French (nee Marie Halboister) was greatly helped by the Swami during a trying period of her life and always spoke of him with great affection. She corresponded with him at intervals up to the time of his death. His disciple Abhedananda was at our wedding in New York in 1905. She died in 1938.

I spoke of these letters to Dr. Mahalanobis in Washington once and had intended to send them on to him, but was of two minds when I found later so many of them destroyed. I fear the enclosed are not of great significance.

With kindest regards

Very sincerely yours,  
(Signed) R. H. Coats

You are of course free to make any use or disposal of them you wish.

Although Dr. Coats modestly assumes that these letters by Swami Vivekananda "are not of great significance," their publication here seems to be justified, first on historical grounds and, secondly, because they afford us a glimpse at the very fibres, as it were, from which the Swami used to weave the beautiful carpet of his great thoughts.

Spelling and punctuation have been faithfully reproduced, as these factors contribute to, rather than subtract from, the natural charm and the spontaneous-freshness of the Swami's style.

Finally, it may be worth while to point out that an interesting project suggests itself here, namely, the discovery, perhaps among the Swami's papers, of the complementary correspondence to the fragments published below.

These fragments are printed without further commentary, arranged in chronological order; the position of letter No. III, which is undated, has been determined by internal evidence.

I

Almora,  
the 2nd June, 1897

Dear Marie,—I begin here my promised chatty letter with the best intention as to its growth, and if it fails it is owing to your own *karma*. I am sure you are enjoying splendid health, I have been very very bad indeed now recovering a bit—hope to recover very soon.

What about the work in London? I am afraid it is going to pieces. Do you now and then visit London? Hasn't Sturdy got a new baby?

The plains of India are blazing now I cannot bear it now—so I am here in this hill places rather a bit cooler than the plains.

I am living in a beautiful garden belonging to a merchant of Almora—a garden covering several miles of mountains and forests. Night before last a leopard came here and took away a goat from the flock kept in this garden. It was a frightful din the servants made and the barking of the big Tibet watchdog. These dogs are kept chained at a distance all night since I am here, so that they may not disturb my sleep with their deep barks. The leopard thus found an opportunity and got a decent meal perhaps after weeks. May it do much good to him.

Do you remember Miss Muller? She has come here for a few days and was rather frightened when she heard of the leopard incident. The demand on tanned skins in London seems very great and that is playing havoc with our leopards and tigers more than anything else.

As I am writing to you before me reflecting the afternoon's glow stands long long lines of huge snow peaks. They are about twenty miles as the crow flies from here, and forty through the circuitous mountain roads.

I hope your translations have been well received in the countess' paper. I had a great mind and very good opportunity of coming over to England this Jubilee season with some of our princes but my physicians would not allow me to venture into work so soon. For going to Europe means work, is not it? No work no bread.

Here the yellow cloth is sufficient and I will have food enough. Anyhow I am taking a much desired rest, hope it will do me good.

How are you going on with your work? With joy or sorrow. Do not you like to have a good rest say for some years and no work. Sleep, eat and exercise, exercise, eat and sleep that is what I am going to do some months yet. Mr. Goodwin is with me. You ought

to have seen him in his Indian clothes. I am very soon going to shave his head and make a full blown monk of him.

Are you still practising some of the *yogas*? Do you find any benefit from them? I learn that Mr. Martin is dead. How is Mrs. Martin—do you see her now and then?

Do you know Miss Noble? Do you ever see her? ~~Ever~~ my letter comes to an end as a huge dust storm is blowing over me and it is impossible to write. It is all your *karma* dear Marie for I intended to write so many wonderful things and tell you such fine stories but I will have to keep them for the future and you will have to wait.

Ever yours in the Lord  
VIVEKANANDA

## II

Almora,  
the 25th July, 1897

My dear Marie—

I have time, will, and opportunity—now, to clear my promise. So my letter begins. I have been very weak for some times and with that and other things my visit to England this Jubilee season had to be postponed.

I was very sorry at first not to be able to meet my nice and very dear friends once more, but *karma* can not be avoided and I had to rest contented with my Himalayas.

It is a sorry exchange after all for the beauty of the living spirit shining through the human face is far more pleasurable than any amount of material beauty.

Is not the soul the Light of the world?

The work in London had to go slow—for various reasons and last though not the least was l'argent, mon amie! When I am there l'argent comes in somehow to keep the mare going—now—everybody shrugs his shoulder. I must come again and try my best to revive the work.

I am having a good deal of riding and exercise but I had to drink a lot of skimmed milk per prescription of the doctors, with the result that I am more to the front than back! I am always a forward man though—but do not want to be too prominent just now and I have given up drinking milk.

I am glad to learn that you are eating your meals with good appetite.

Do you know Miss Margaret Noble of Wimbledon. She is working hard for me. Do correspond with her if you can and you can help me a good deal there. Her address is Brantwood, Worple Road, Wimbledon.

So you saw my little friend Miss Orchard and you liked her too—good. I have great hopes for her. And how I will like to be retired from lives activities entirely when I am very old, and hear the world ringing with the names of my dear dear young friends like yourself and Miss Orchard, etc.

By the by I am glad to find that I am aging fast,

my hair is turning gray. "Silver threads among the—gold—I mean black" is coming in fast.

It is bad for a preacher to be young, don't you think so. I do, as I did all my life. People have more confidence in an old man and it looks more venerable. Yet the old rogues are the worst rogues in the world, isn't it? The world has its code of judgement which alas is very different from that of truth's.

So your "Universal Religion" has been rejected by the *Revue de deux Monde*. Never mind try again, some other paper. Once the ice is broken you get in at a quick rate I am sure. And I am so glad that you love the work, it will make its way, I have no doubt of it. Our ideas have a future ma chere Marie—and it will be realized soon.

I think this letter will meet you in Paris—your beautiful Paris—and I hope you will write me lots, about the French journalism and the coming "Worlds Fair" there.

I am so glad that you have been helped by Vedanta and *yoga*—I am unfortunately sometimes like the circus clown, who made others laugh, himself miserable!!

You are naturally of a buoyant temperament. Nothing seems to touch you. And you are moreover a very prudent girl, inasmuch as you have scrupulously kept yourself away from "love" and all its nonsense. So you see you have made your good *karma* and planted the seed of your life-long wellbeing. Our difficulty in life being we are guided by the present, and not by the future. What gives us a little pleasure now, drags us on to follow it, with the result that we always buy a mass of pain in the future for a little pleasure in the present.

I wish I had nobody to love—and I was an orphan in my childhood. The greatest misery in my life, has been my own people—my brothers and sisters and mother etc. Relatives are like deadly clogs to ones progress and is it not a wonder that people will still go on to find new ones by marriage!!!

He who is alone is happy. Do good to all, like everyone, but *do not love* anyone. It is a bondage—and bondage brings only misery. Live alone in your mind—that is happiness. To have nobody to care for and never minding who cares for one is the way to be free.

I envy so much your frame of mind, quiet, gentle, light yet deep and free. You are already free, Marie, free already. You are *jivan-mukta*.

I am more of a woman than a man, you are more of a man than woman. I am always dragging others pain into me—for nothing, without being able to do any good to anybody—just like women—if they have no children bestow all their love upon a cat!!!

Do you think this has any spirituality in it—nonsense, it is all material *nervous bondage*. That is what it is. Oh to get rid of the thralldom of the flesh!!!

Your friend Mrs. Martin very kindly sends me copies of her magazine every month—but Study's



thermometer is now below zero it seems. He seems to be greatly disappointed with my non-arrival in England this summer. What could I do?

We have started two *maths* here one in Calcutta, the other in Madras. The Calcutta *math* (a wretched rented house) was awfully shaken in the late earthquake.

We have got in a number of boys and they are in training, also we have opened famine relief in several places and the work is going on apace. We will try to start similar centres in different places in India.

In a few days I am going down to the plains and from thence go to the western parts of the mountains.

When it is cooler in the plains, I will make a lecture tour all over and see what work can be done.

Here I can not find any more time to write—so many people are waiting—so here I stop—dear Marie—wishing you all joy.

May you never be lured by flesh is the constant prayer of

*Splendid! Exquisite!*  
Ever yours in the Lord,

VIVEKANANDA

Note by R. H. Coats:—My wife was the most spiritual person I ever knew, but she was also the most affectionate and domestic. She always said that she had found the greatest happiness of her life in our marriage.

III

C/o. Mrs. Noble

21A High Street, Wimbledon

My dear Marie—I am in London again, this time not busy, not hustling about but quietly settled down in a corner—waiting to start for the U. S. America on the first opportunity. My friends are nearly all out of London in the country and elsewhere and my health not sufficiently strong.

So you are happy in the midst of your lakes and gardens and seclusion in Canada. I am glad so glad to know that you are up again on top of the tide. May you remain there for ever.

You could not finish the *Rajayoga* translations yet. All right there is no hurry. Time and opportunity must come if it is to be done you know, otherwise we vainly strive.

Canada must be beautiful now, in its short but vigorous summer and very healthy.

I expect to be in New York in a few weeks, and don't know what next. I hope to come back to England next spring.

I fervently wish—no misery ever came near anyone, yet it is that alone that gives us an insight into the depths of our lives, does it not?

In our moments of anguish gates barred for ever seemed to open and let in many a flood of light.

We learn as we grow—Alas! we cannot use our knowledge here—the moment we seem to learn—we are hurried off the stage. And this is *maya*!

This toy world will not be here—this play can not go on—if we were knowing players. We must play

*c/o Mrs. Noble*  
*21 A High Street, Wimbledon.*

My dear Marie — I am in London again this time not busy, not hustling about but quietly settled down in a corner waiting to start for the U. S. America on the first opportunity. My friends are nearly all out of London in the country & elsewhere and my health not sufficiently strong.

So you are happy in the midst of your lakes and gardens and seclusion in Canada I am glad so glad to know that you are up again on top of the tide May you remain there forever.

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blindfolded. Some of us have taken the part of the rogue of the play, some heroic—never mind it is all play. This is the only consolation. There are demons and lions and tigers and what not on the stage but they are all muzzled. They snap but can not bite. The world can not touch our souls. If you want even if the body be torn and bleeding—you may enjoy the greatest peace in your mind.

And the way to that is to attain at hopelessness—do you know that—not the imbecile attitude of despair—but the contempt of the conqueror for the things he has attained—for things he struggled for—and then throws aside as beneath his worth.

This hopelessness—desirelessness—aimlessness—is just the harmony with nature. In nature there is no harmony—no reason—no sequence—it was chaos before—it is so still.

The lowest man is in consonance with nature in his earthy-headedness—the highest the same—in the fullness of knowledge—all three aimless—drifting—hopeless—all three happy.

You want a chatty letter don't you? I have not much to chat. Mr. Sturdy came last two days. He goes home in Wales tomorrow.

I have to book my passage for N.Y. in a day or two.

None of my old friends have I seen yet except Miss Soutter and Max Gysie who are in London.

They have been very kind as they always were.

I have no news to give you as I know nothing of London yet. I don't know where Gertrude Orchard is—she would have written to her. Miss Kate Steel is also away. She is coming on Thursday or Saturday.

\* \* \* \* \*

I have hopes to give you as I know nothing of London yet. I don't know where Gertrude Orchard is—she would have written to her. Miss Kate Steel is also away. She is coming on this day or Saturday.

I had an invitation to stay in Paris with a friend—a very well educated Frenchman, but I could not go this time. I hope another time. I live with him some days.

I expect to see some of our old friends—and say good day to them.

I hope to see you in America sure—either I may unexpectedly turn up to Ottawa in my peregrinations or you come to N.Y.

Goodbye all luck be yours—

Ever yours in the Lord Vivekananda

I had an invitation to stay in Paris with a friend—a very well educated Frenchman, but I could not go this time. I hope another time, I live with him some days.

I expect to see some of our old friends and say good day to them.

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Goodbye all luck be yours—

Ever yours in the Lord, VIVEKANANDA





# "Judicial Review of the Major Constitutions of the World"

## "POSITION OF THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA"

### A Further Rejoinder\*

By D. N. BANERJEE,

University Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, Calcutta University

#### I

I have noted with much interest Mr. K. K. Basu's reply<sup>1</sup> to my rejoinder<sup>2</sup> in connexion with the question of the position of the President of India. In regard to my objection<sup>3</sup> to his statement<sup>4</sup> that "both in origin and effect a written constitution radically differs from an unwritten constitution"<sup>5</sup>—an objection to which I strictly adhere for reasons set forth before<sup>6</sup>—he has quoted in support of his contention, certain extracts from the judgment<sup>7</sup> of the Supreme Court of the United States of America in the famous case of *Marbury vs. Madison*,<sup>8</sup> as delivered by Chief Justice Marshall in 1803. In doing this, Mr. Basu appears to have missed the real point of the judgment under which a certain provision of an Act of Congress<sup>9</sup> was declared by the Supreme Court to have been unconstitutional and, therefore, void. The use of the word "written" in the judgment more than once, should not mislead us. The really important point in the judgment was the emphasis repeatedly laid in it, either directly or indirectly, upon the supremacy of the "Constitution" of the United States—I mean the Constitution which had come into force in 1789, together with the amendments made in it since then. This point of the supremacy of the Constitution had been emphasised in one of the provisions of the Constitution itself. Thus we find in Clause 2 of Article VI of the Constitution:

"This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof"; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land† and the Judges in

every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."<sup>10</sup>

Now the object of this clause very rightly regarded by many as the "linchpin" of the American Constitutional mechanism, was, as it still is, not merely to establish the supremacy of a Federal law, duly made over a State law in the event of a conflict between them, but also to establish the supremacy of the Constitution itself over a Federal law in case of an inconsistency between the two. The expression "the supreme law of the land" obviously means the supreme law of the territory of the United States of America, and Congress is within this territory.) This view has also been taken by Chancellor Kent.

"The people of the United States," he writes, "have declared the constitution to be the supreme law of the land, and it is entitled to universal and implicit obedience. Every act of Congress, and every act of the legislatures of the states, and every part of the constitution of any state, which are repugnant to the constitution of the United States, are necessarily void. This is a clear and settled principle of (our) constitutional jurisprudence. The judicial power of the Union is declared to extend to all cases in law and equity arising under the constitution; and to the judicial power it belongs, whenever a case is judicially before it, to determine what is the law of the land. The determination of the Supreme Court of the United States, in every such case, must be final and conclusive."

Dicey also expresses the same view.

Under a federal system, he<sup>11</sup> says, "the legal supremacy of the constitution is essential to the existence of the state; the glory of the founders of the United States is to have devised or adopted arrangements under which the Constitution became in reality as well as name the supreme law of the land. This end they attained by adherence to a very

\* This rejoinder may kindly be read along with my articles on the "Position of the President of India" in *The Modern Review* for June and for December, 1950.

1. See *The Modern Review* for February, 1951.

2. See *The Modern Review* for December, 1950.

3. See *ibid.*

4. See *The Modern Review* for September, 1950.

† The italics are mine.

5. See my article in *The Modern Review* for December, 1950.

6. The expression actually used was "Opinion of the Court."

7. 1 Cranch 137, 2 L. Ed. 60 (1803).

8. I.e., the Judiciary Act of 1789.

What actually happened in the case of *Marbury Vs. Madison* is as follows: The Supreme Court "held invalid that provision of the Judiciary Act of 1789 which purported to give original jurisdiction to the Supreme Court to issue writs of mandamus to public officers of the United States." The Court was of opinion that the Constitution of the United States "did not give to Congress authority to grant this authority" to the Supreme Court. The Court spoke through Chief Justice Marshall.—See Willoughby, *The Constitutional Law of the United States*, 2nd Ed., Vol. 1, p. 3. Also see Evans, *Cases on American Constitutional Law*, 5th Ed., pp. 54-58.

9. In many books the punctuation-mark here is a comma.

† The italics are mine.

10. "This clause," says McLaughlin (*The Confederation and the Constitution*, 1905, p. 247), "may be called the central clause of the constitution, because without it the whole system would be unworkable, if not impracticable. Draw out this particular bolt, and the machinery falls to pieces. In these words the Constitution is plainly made not merely a declaration, a manifesto, dependent for its life and usefulness on the passing will of statesmen or of people, but a fundamental law, enforceable like any other law in courts."—Quoted by Ogg & Ray in their *Introduction to American Government*, 9th Ed., p. 71n.

11. See his *Commentaries on American Law*, 10th Edition, Vol. 1, pp. 349-50.

We also find in Judge Cooley (*A Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations*, 7th Edition, p. 6):

"The will of the people, as declared in the Constitution of the United States, is the final law; and the will of the legislature is law only when it is in harmony with, or at least is not opposed to, that controlling instrument which governs the legislative body equal with the private citizen."

12. See his *Law of the Constitution*, 9th Ed., pp. 150-59.

obvious principle, and by the invention of appropriate machinery for carrying this principle into effect. The principle is clearly expressed in the Constitution of the United States. 'The Constitution,' runs Article<sup>13</sup> 6, 'and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof . . . shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.'

"The legal duty therefore of every judge," concludes Dicey, "whether he act as a judge of the State of New York or as a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, is clear. He is bound to treat as void every legislative act, whether proceeding from Congress or from the state legislatures, which is inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States. His duty is as clear as that of an English judge called upon to determine the validity of a by-law made by the Great Eastern or any other Railway Company. The American judge must in giving judgment obey the terms of the constitution, just as his English brother must in giving judgment obey every act of Parliament bearing on his case."

For should we ignore in this connexion the views of Judge Story, Daniel Webster, James Bryce and Alexander Hamilton.

"The power of interpreting the laws," observes Judge Story,\* "involves necessarily the function to ascertain whether they are conformable to the Constitution or not; and if not so conformable, to declare them void and inoperative. As the Constitution is the supreme law of the land, in a conflict between that and the laws, either of Congress or of the States, it becomes the duty of the judiciary to follow that only which is of paramount obligation. This results from the very theory of a republican constitution of government; for otherwise the acts of the legislature and executive would in effect become supreme and uncontrollable, notwithstanding any prohibitions or limitations contained in the Constitution; and usurpations of the most unequivocal and dangerous character might be assumed without any remedy within the reach of the citizens. The people would thus be at the mercy of their rulers in the State and national governments; and an omnipotence would practically exist, like that claimed for the British Parliament."

Again, referring to Clause 2 of Article VI of the Constitution of the United States, he says:†

"From this supremacy of the Constitution and laws and treaties of the United States, within their constitutional scope, arises the duty of courts of justice to declare any unconstitutional law passed by Congress or by a State legislature void. So, in like manner, the same duty arises whenever any other department of the national or State government exceeds its constitutional functions."

"The Constitution," says Webster,<sup>14</sup> "being the

supreme law, it follows of course, that every act of the legislature contrary to the law must be void. But who shall decide this question? . . . The Courts of law, necessarily, when the case arises, must decide upon the validity of particular acts."

"The stream," writes Bryce,<sup>15</sup> "cannot rise above its source. . . . In the United States the position of Congress may . . . be compared to that of an English municipal corporation or railway company. . . . The people have by their supreme law, the Constitution, given to Congress a delegated and limited power of legislation. Every statute passed under that power conformably to the Constitution has all the authority of the Constitution behind it. Any statute passed which goes beyond that power is invalid, and incapable of enforcement. It is, in fact, not a statute at all, because Congress in passing it was not really a law-making body, but a mere group of private persons."

A classic exposition of the whole question has been given by Alexander Hamilton.

"There is no position," says Hamilton,<sup>17</sup> "which depends on clearer principles than that every act of a delegated authority, contrary to the tenor of the commission under which it is exercised, is void. No legislative act, therefore, contrary to the constitution, can be valid. To deny this would be to affirm, that the deputy is greater than his principal; that the servant is above his master; that the representatives of the people are superior to the people themselves; that men, acting by virtue of powers, may do not only what their powers do not authorize, but what they forbid."

Again, referring to the position of the judiciary in the proposed American federation, he says:<sup>18</sup>

"The interpretation of the laws is the proper and peculiar province of the courts. A constitution is, in fact, and must be, regarded by the judges as a fundamental law. It must therefore belong to them to ascertain its meaning, as well as the meaning of any particular act proceeding from the legislative body. If there should happen to be an irreconcilable variance between the two, that which has the superior obligation and validity ought, of course, to be preferred; in other words, the constitution ought to be preferred to the statute. The intention of the people to the intention of their agents."

It is evident from the extracts given above that stress has been given in them,\* not to the so-called written character of the American Constitution, but to its supremacy and also, impliedly, to the subordinate position of Congress and the legislatures of the constituent States, the laws of which, to quote the words of Dicey,† "are of the nature of by-laws, valid whilst within the authority conferred upon" them by the

15. See his *American Commonwealth*, 1928, Vol. 1, pp. 243-46.

16. Also, Professor Munro :

"The Constitution of the United States, to use its own words, is 'the supreme law of the land,' and this clarion phrase makes perfectly clear where the Constitution stands. It is supreme over all organs of American government, national, State, and local."—(*The Government of the United States*, 5th Ed., p. 53.).

17. See *The Federalist*, No. 78.

18. See *ibid.*

† See Dicey, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

13. Dicey meant here Clause 2 of Article VI of the American Constitution.

\* See Joseph Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, 4th Ed., 1873, Vol. II, Section 1576, pp. 379-81.

† See *ibid.*, Section 1842, pp. 586-87.

14. Quoted by Willoughby in his *Constitutional Law of the United States*, 2nd Edition, Vol. 1, pp. 4-5n.



Constitution, "but invalid or unconstitutional if they go beyond the limits of such authority." This is as it should be. The supremacy of the Constitution as the fundamental law of the American Federal Union is the essential thing: its so-called written nature is only a question of form and follows as a consequence from that supremacy as a matter of political expediency.

But we must not confuse between the form and the essence or substance of a thing; nor should we identify the one with the other, and far less give to the former a position of primacy over the latter. Or, I may put it in another way. The so-called written character of the American Constitution is a secondary consequence of something which is of a primary importance in it, namely, its supremacy as law, and we must not confuse between what is consequential and what is essential. Thus we find in Dicey<sup>19</sup> again that one of the leading characteristics of a completely developed federalism is "the supremacy of the constitution," and that "in the supremacy of the Constitution are involved three consequences." And one of these consequences is that "the constitution must almost necessarily be a 'written' constitution."<sup>20</sup> And the reason for this is as follows:

"The foundations of a federal state," he observes,<sup>21</sup> "are a complicated contract. This compact contains a variety of terms which have been agreed to, and generally after mature deliberation, by the States which make up the confederacy. To base an arrangement of this kind upon understandings or conventions would be certain to generate misunderstandings and disagreements. The articles of the treaty, or in other words (of the constitution), must therefore be reduced to writing. The constitution must be a written document, and, if possible, a written document of which the terms are open to no misapprehension."

It is clear from this that the raison d'être of a so-called written constitution in a federal union is "no deeper than a political expediency." But from this it does not follow, as stated before, that we should confuse between what is only incidental or consequential in a Constitution with what is essential or fundamental in it. And we shall have an occasion to show later on why the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Marbury vs. Madison* has come in for a legitimate criticism by competent authorities on "American constitutional jurisprudence."

We shall now deal with the judgment of the Supreme Court in the case of *Marbury vs. Madison*. If, in the light of what has been shown before, we consider this judgment very carefully and without any prejudice or prepossession in our mind, we shall be

able to see it in its true perspective, and its really important point will then be evident to us. And this really important point is, as I have already said, the emphasis repeatedly laid in the judgment, either directly or indirectly, on the supremacy of the Constitution of the United States as its fundamental and "paramount" law. This will appear from the following extracts from the said judgment:

"The question, whether an act, repugnant to the constitution, can become the law of the land, is a question deeply interesting to the United States; but, happily, not of an intricacy proportioned to its interest. It seems only necessary to recognize certain principles, supposed to have been long and well established, to decide it. That the people have an original right to establish, for their future government, such principles as, in their opinion shall most conduce to their own happiness, is the basis on which the whole American fabric has been erected. The exercise of this original right is a very great exertion; nor can it, nor ought it, to be frequently repeated. The principles, therefore, so established, are deemed fundamental; and as the authority from which they proceed is supreme, and can seldom act, they are designed to be permanent.

"This original and supreme will organizes the government, and assigns to different departments their respective powers. It may either stop here, or establish certain limits not to be transcended by those departments. The Government of the United States is of the latter description. The powers of the legislature are defined and limited; and these limits may not be mistaken, or forgotten, in the constitution is written. To what purpose are powers limited, and to what purpose is that limitation committed to writing, if these limits may, at any time, be passed by those intended to be restrained? The distinction between a government with limited and unlimited powers is abolished, if those limits do not confine the persons on whom they are imposed, and if acts prohibited and acts allowed, are of equal obligation. It is a proposition too plain to be contested, that the constitution controls any legislative act repugnant to it; or that the legislature may alter the constitution by an ordinary act.

"Between these alternatives, there is no middle ground. The constitution is either a superior paramount law, unchangeable by ordinary means, or it is on a level with ordinary legislative acts, and, like other acts, is alterable when the legislature shall please to alter it. If the former part of the alternative be true, then a legislative act, contrary to the constitution, is not law; if the latter part be true, then written constitutions are absurd attempts on the part of the people, to limit a power, in its own nature, illimitable.

"Certainly, all those who have framed written constitutions contemplate them as forming the fundamental and paramount law of the nation, and consequently, the theory of every such government must be, that an act of the legislature, repugnant to the constitution, is void. This theory is essentially attached to a written constitution, and is, consequently, to be considered, by this court, as one of the fundamental principles of our society. It is not, therefore, to be lost sight of, in the further consideration of this subject.

"If an act of the legislature, repugnant to the

19. See Dicey, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-46.

20. The italic is mine. Dicey has, however, stated in a footnote (*op. cit.*, p. 146n):

"No doubt it is conceivable that a federation might grow up by the force of custom, and under agreements between different States which were not reduced into writing, and it appears to be questionable how far the Achaean League was bound together by anything equivalent to a written constitution."

21. See Dicey, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

constitution, is void, does it, notwithstanding its invalidity, bind the courts, and oblige them to give it effect? Or, in other words, though it be not law, does it constitute a rule as operative as if it was a law? (This would be to overthrow, in fact, what was established in theory; and would seem, at first view, an absurdity too gross to be insisted on.) It shall, however, receive a more attentive consideration.

"It is, emphatically, the province and duty of the judicial department, to say what the law is. Those who apply the rule to particular cases, must of necessity expound and interpret that rule. If two laws conflict with each other, the courts must decide on the operation of each. So, if a law be in opposition to the constitution; if both the law and the constitution apply to a particular case, so that the court must either decide that case, conformably to the law, disregarding the constitution; or conformably to the constitution, disregarding the law; the court must determine which of these conflicting rules governs the case; this is of the very essence of judicial duty. If then, the courts are to regard the constitution, and the constitution is superior to any ordinary act of the legislature, the constitution, and not such ordinary act, must govern the case to which they both apply."<sup>22</sup>

The emphasis in the above extracts on the Constitution of the United States as "a superior paramount law" is very clear. We also notice in them why the Constitution was "written," i.e., "committed to writing." Thus we find:

"The powers of the legislature are defined and limited; and that those limits may not be mistaken or forgotten, the constitution is written."<sup>23</sup> To what purpose are, powers limited, and to what purpose is that limitation committed to writing, if these limits may, at any time, be passed by those intended to be restrained."

The *raison d'être* of committing to writing the original Constitution of the United States—I mean the short document framed at Philadelphia in 1787—is evident from this. But from this one must not think that the Constitution of the United States today is to be found only in this brief document framed in 1787 (and its twenty-one amendments subsequently made).

"Let no one," says Professor Munro,<sup>24</sup> "make the error of supposing that these ten or twelve pages can be understood merely by reading them, or that they contain all the constitutional rules which govern the American people today . . .

"The architects of 1787 built only the basement. Their descendants have kept adding walls and windows, wings and gables, pillars and porches, to make a rambling structure which is not yet finished. Or, to change the metaphor, it is a fabric which, to use the words of James Russell Lowell, is still

being 'woven on the roaring loom of time.' That is what the framers of the original Constitution intended it to be. Never was it in their minds to work out a final scheme for the government of their country and stereotype it for all time. They sought merely to provide a starting point."

Usages were at work in the United States even when Chief Justice Marshall delivered the opinion of the Supreme Court in 1803 in the case of *Marbury vs. Madison*. Take, for instance, the question of party system there. Even though, writes Munro,<sup>25</sup> the leading statesman of 1787 had looked upon the rivalry of political parties as a thoroughly vicious feature in a free government, yet "political parties sprang into existence almost at the outset and gradually became dominating factors in the work of the new federal government."

"Usage," he continues,<sup>26</sup> "has created and maintains the party system, but who will say that party organizations do not profoundly affect both constitutional practices and the political life of the American people?"

If, as Mr. Basu appears to think, Chief Justice Marshall really implied in his judgment in the case of *Marbury vs. Madison* that there was a radical difference between a so-called written and a so-called unwritten constitution, then I am constrained to say for more than one reason—and that notwithstanding the great weight of his name—that his view is open to criticism. Usages (i.e., unwritten elements) had begun to develop in the American Constitution, as shown above, even in Marshall's own time, materially affecting its working.

"And some of those features of American Government," says Bryce,<sup>27</sup> "to which its character is chiefly due and which recur most frequently in its daily working, rest neither upon the Constitution<sup>28</sup> nor upon any statute, but upon usage alone."

Even in England which was, by contrast, supposed to have a so-called unwritten Constitution, there were in Marshall's time many elements in its Constitution which were written or statutory. Take, for instance, the Magna Carta (1215), the Bill of Rights,<sup>29</sup> the Act of Settlement,<sup>30</sup> the Act for the Union with Scotland (1707),\* the Septennial Act,<sup>31</sup> the Act for the Union with Ireland,<sup>32</sup> etc. The distinction, therefore, between a so-called written and a so-called unwritten Constitution is as I have already pointed out, "really one

25. See Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

26. See *ibid.*

27. See his *American Commonwealth*, Vol. 1, 1928, p. 394.

28. Bryce obviously means by this expression the written portion of the American Constitution.

29. I.e., the Declaration of Rights (1 Will. and Mar. Sess. 2, Cap. 2, 1689).

30. 12 and 13 Will. III, Cap. 2, 1701.

\* 5 Anne Cap. II. (Also cited as 6 Anne, C. 11, 1706).

31 1 Geo. 1. Stat. 2, Cap. 38, 1716.

32. 40 Geo. III. Cap. 67, 1800.

† See my article in December (1950) number of *The Modern Review*.

22. See Evans, *Cases on American Constitutional Law*, 5th Ed., pp. 54-58; also Fenn, *The Development of the Constitution*, pp. 27-32; also Dodd, *Cases and Materials on Constitutional Law*, 4th Ed., pp. 1-6.

23. The italics are mine.

24. See Munro, *The Government of the United States*, 5th Ed., pp. 53-54; also Ogg, *European Governments and Politics*, 1934, Chap. III; also Ogg and Zink, *Modern Foreign Governments*, 1950, Chap. II.



of degree rather than of kind," and does not mark a contrast between two very widely differentiated groups. In some Constitutions written elements preponderate and in others unwritten elements preponderate. That is all that we can, speaking scientifically, say, and for that reason we cannot classify Constitutions as "written" and "unwritten."

There is another aspect of the question. Mr. Basu has stated,<sup>33</sup> obviously following Marshall, that "the judiciary has necessarily the last say in the matter of interpreting a Constitution."<sup>34</sup> But Marshall's contention in favour of a judicial review of legislation following as a consequence from the so-called "writtenness" of a Constitution is itself not above criticism. Marshall<sup>35</sup> has said that "the particular phraseology of the Constitution of the United States confirms and strengthens the principle, supposed to be essential to all written Constitutions, that a law repugnant to the Constitution is void; and that courts, as well as other departments, are bound by that instrument."<sup>36</sup> This statement is too sweeping and not justified by facts. As Professor Willoughby, "one of the foremost authorities on the constitutional law of the United States,"<sup>37</sup> has shown in his celebrated work *The Constitutional Law of the United States*,<sup>38</sup> that, throughout this statement as well as some other statements in the judgment in the case of *Marbury vs. Madison*, there thus the premise, not warranted by facts, "that there is something in the very nature of a written constitution that necessitates the vesting of its final interpretation in the judiciary." This function of interpretation is not, as will appear from what follows, necessarily exercised by the courts of law. That is to say, the doctrine of judicial review of legislation which is a distinctive feature of the American system of government, does not, for one reason or another, apply to every country which may have, or may have had, a so-called written constitution.

"In most European countries," writes Professor Haines,<sup>39</sup> "the rule prevails that the guardianship of the Constitution belongs to the legislature, and, subject to a reversal by popular referendum or the election of a new assembly, the legislature determines the limits of its own authority and exercises control over the other departments of government. The legislature not only exercises ordinary legislative authority, but is recognized as possessing

constituent powers, or powers of an ultimate sovereign. . . . A controversy regarding the meaning of a constitutional provision is simply not a justiciable controversy. The basic hypothesis, therefore, on which the American constitution structure is founded, that constitutions are laws and the ordinary significance of that term, and that a case or controversy involving an alleged conflict between a constitutional provision and a statute is necessarily subject to judicial cognizance, are repudiated as legally unsound and politically impracticable."

"The claim," Professor Haines, however, adds, "that a written constitution with limits on the powers of government, if not guarded and protected by the judiciary, becomes a mere 'scrap of paper' and is not seriously observed, appears to be disproved by the experience of countries with written fundamental laws and final legislative interpretation of the constitution. The constitutions of Belgium and Switzerland, though subject to final interpretation by the legislative assemblies, have seldom been changed merely by legislative interpretation or by a refusal to obey a constitutional requirement. The experience of these countries indicates that legitimate private rights and privileges are likely to receive adequate protection without a judicial guardianship of the written constitution."

We also find in Willis\* that

"A majority of the nations of the earth though adopting written constitutions, have retained the doctrine of legislative supremacy."

Let me now refer to one or two specific countries which have had a so-called written constitution, but in which the doctrine of judicial review of legislation in the American sense either does not operate at all or does so only very partially. Let me first take the case of France under the Third Republic. Referring to the position of the judiciary in it, Professor Munro<sup>40</sup> writes:

"There is another feature of the French judicial system which the American student will do well to note. France has a written constitution, embodied in a series of constitutional laws, the provisions of which are in some cases very precise. And the French constitution, like the American, is ostensibly the supreme law of the land; hence any ordinary law which conflicts with its provisions is said to be unconstitutional and void. But no French court has the power to declare a statute unconstitutional and to annul it on that ground, no matter how repugnant to the constitution the statute may be. No such power is expressly given to the courts by the French constitution and it has not been acquired as in the United States, by usage."

We also find in Ogg:<sup>41</sup>

"We have seen that the members of the national legislature, sitting in the guise of a National Assembly, can make any changes whatsoever in the provisions of the written fundamental

33. See his article in *The Modern Review* for February, 1951.

34. The italics are mine.

35. See his Opinion in *Marbury Vs. Madison*.

36. The italics are mine.

37. See Professor Garner's article "Westel Woodbury Willoughby," etc., in *Essays in Political Science in Honour of Westel Woodbury Willoughby*, 1937, p. 15.

38. See Willoughby, *The Constitutional Law of the United States*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, pp. 5-8. This work in three volumes is really of a great value. It is regarded by Prof. Garner (see his article referred to in foot-note 37 above) as "probably the leading treatise on the subject, as it is certainly the most comprehensive and up-to-date one."

39. See his article "Some Phases of the Theory and Practice of Judicial Review of Legislation in Foreign Countries" in *The American Political Science Review*, August, 1930.

39. See *ibid.*

\* See his *Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1936, p. 72n.

40. See Munro, *The Governments of Europe*, Revised Edition, 1932, p. 520.

41. See his *European Governments and Politics*, 1934, pp. 471-72; also Dicey, *Law of the Constitution*, 8th Ed., pp. 153-54 and p. 316.

law. In closing, it may be noted, further, that the legislature itself can enact a statute palpably inconsistent with that law with full assurance that it will be recognized and enforced by the courts—which is tantamount to saying that in France, as in Britain, Parliament is supreme and the American device of judicial review of statutes does not exist. . . . In neither France nor England . . . is any act of Parliament challengeable judicially."

The position of the judiciary in France does not, in essence, appear to have changed under the Constitution of the Fourth French Republic.<sup>42</sup>

Let me now refer to the case of Switzerland, another country with a so-called "written Constitution. Besides, it is by nature, as I have shown in another connexion,<sup>43</sup> really a Federation—a true Federal State—like the United States of America, although it is called a Confederation. Now what is the position of the judiciary in it in regard to legislation?

"The Swiss Federal Tribunal," says Bryce,<sup>44</sup> "cannot declare any Federal law or part of a law to be invalid as infringing some provision of the Federal Constitution. It may annul a Cantonal law as transgressing either the Federal or a Cantonal Constitution, but the Constitution expressly assigns to the Federal Legislature the right of interpreting both the Federal Constitution itself and all laws passed thereunder, so that it can put its own construction on every law which it has itself passed, without the intervention of any judicial authority to correct it."

We also find in William Rappard<sup>45</sup>:

"As for the judicial review of legislative measures, it has been expressly denied, as far as federal laws are concerned. It has, however, crept in by a round-about path in respect of Cantonal laws."<sup>46</sup>

Again, he says:

"In its function as a court of public and administrative law, the Federal Tribunal must uphold the federal Constitution and federal statutes as against cantonal Constitutions and statutes. . . .

However, it has been expressly and deliberately denied the right of deciding on the constitutionality of all federal statutes. The authors of the Constitution of 1874 reserved to the Federal Assembly alone the right of interpreting the Federal Constitution."<sup>47</sup>

Considerations of space do not permit me to give

further instances of the absence of the power of judicial review of legislation in countries having so-called written Constitutions. But from what has been shown immediately above, it is clear that Mr. Basu's sweeping and dogmatic assertion<sup>48</sup> that "the judiciary has necessarily the last say in the matter of interpreting a Constitution," is not applicable to all countries having, presumably, what he calls "written Constitutions." And the same criticism equally applies to Marshall's relevant observation on this question, referred to before. We also find in Evans<sup>49</sup> in connexion with his remarks on Professor Willoughby's criticism of Marshall's reasoning in *Marbury vs. Madison*:

"The criticism directed against Marshall's argument based upon the nature of a written constitution is better founded. It is pointed out that in a number of other countries having written Constitutions the Courts are not permitted to pass upon the constitutionality of acts of the legislature."

One should be sure of one's facts before one makes a categorical statement in regard to a point of constitutional law. Even in the United States, Mr. Basu may be interested to know, there are, says Bryce,<sup>50</sup> in connexion with the question of "the authorities entitled to interpret the (American) Constitution," "points of construction which every court, following a well-established practice, will refuse to decide because they are deemed to be of a 'purely political nature'."

"These points," continues Bryce,<sup>51</sup> "are accordingly left to the discretion of the executive and legislative powers, each of which forms its view as to the matters falling within its sphere, and in acting in that view is entitled to the obedience of the citizens and of the States also."

"It is therefore an error to suppose that the judiciary is the only interpreter of the Constitution, for a certain field remains open to the other authorities of the government, whose views need not coincide, so that a dispute between those authorities, although turning on the meaning of the Constitution, may be incapable of being settled by any legal proceeding. This causes no great confusion, because the decision, whether of the political or the judicial authority, is conclusive so far as regards the particular controversy or matter passed upon."

"The above is the doctrine now generally accepted in America."

We find a corroboration of this view in Judge Story. Dealing with the question, "Who is final Judge

42. See Strong, *Modern Political Constitution*, 1949, pp. 261-62; also Malezieux and Rousseau, *The Constitution of the Fourth Republic* (ft. C. Ghosh), p. 16; also Ogg and Zink, *Modern Foreign Governments*, pp. 519-20.

43. See my article on the "Swiss System of Government," etc., in *The Modern Review* for February, 1946.

44. See his *Modern Democracies*, Vol. I, p. 401.

45. See his *Government of Switzerland*, p. 50.

46. The italics are mine.

47. The italics are mine.

See William Rappard, *op. cit.*, p. 90. We also find in Wheare (*Federal Government*, 1947, p. 61) that in Switzerland the last word about the meaning of its Constitution "does not appear to rest completely with the Federal Tribunal. It may declare Cantonal laws invalid, but it must accept the laws of the general legislature as valid."

48. See *The Modern Review* for February, 1951, p. 143.

49. See his *Cases on American Constitutional Law*, 5th Ed., (Fenwick), 1942, p. 60.

I may also invite here the reader's attention to Professor Thayer's comment on the reasoning of Marshall in *Marbury vs. Madison*, as quoted by Professor Willoughby in his *Constitutional Law of the United States*, 2nd Ed., pp. 6-7n. Among other things, Professor Thayer has said: "It (i.e., Marshall's reasoning) assumes as an essential feature of a written Constitution what does not exist (obviously when Professor Thayer was writing) in any one of the written Constitutions of Europe."

50. See his *American Commonwealth*, 1928, Vol. 1, pp. 376-77.

51. See *ibid.*



or Interpreter in Constitutional Controversies," he has said that there are many cases in which "the decisions of the executive and legislative departments" "become final and conclusive, being from their very nature and character incapable of revision." Thus, "in measures exclusively of a political, legislative, or executive character, it is plain that as the supreme authority, as to these questions, belongs to the legislative and executive departments, they cannot be re-examined elsewhere." Where, however, "the question is of a different nature and capable of judicial inquiry and decision, there it admits of a very different consideration." In such a case, "there is a final and common arbiter provided by the Constitution itself, to whose decisions all others are subordinate, and that arbiter is the supreme judicial authority of the Courts of the (American) Union."<sup>\*</sup>

Further, dealing with the question, "Who interprets the (American) Constitution?", Charles Beard<sup>†</sup> says, among other things:

"According to the formula usually found in the child's book in civics, it is the Supreme Court of the United States, or at least a majority of the judges, that 'interprets' the Constitution. But even a superficial examination of the instrument itself reveals a fatal weakness in this contention. Federal courts have no monopoly over the business of exposition. They are given a field of work, a jurisdiction, and it extends only to certain cases in law and equity.

"All problems arising under the Constitution cannot be formulated into cases, or actions between parties, and carried before the Supreme Court. Moreover the Court has repeatedly ruled that some cases are political in character and lie outside its jurisdiction."

"It is an over-simplification to say," he next observes, "that the Constitution is the document as expounded by the Supreme Court."

He then shows the part which Congress plays as an interpreter of the Constitution, and, thereafter, remarks:

"Likewise, in his sphere, the President of the United States by his decrees, orders, and actions gives meaning to the Constitution. Many of his findings are 'political' in character; and the Supreme Court will not inquire into their legitimacy—for example, a declaration on foreign policy. Others are discretionary and these too, the Court has said, must be left to his judgment."

## II

In regard to the question of the interpretation of Clause (1) of Article 74 of the Constitution of India, I should like to state that I adhere to my view, so far as the *purely legal—and not political—*aspect of the question is concerned, set forth before,<sup>52</sup> namely, that, technically speaking,<sup>53</sup> the President of India is not

*legally bound to accept, in the exercise of his functions, any advice tendered to him by his Council of Ministers.* That is to say, there is no *statutory obligation* requiring him to accept such advice. And I have shown before<sup>54</sup> that this view was taken also by the late Sir B. L. Mitter. This view appears to be the correct view, notwithstanding all quibbling otherwise. If the words of a statute, says Maxwell,<sup>55</sup> "are in themselves precise and unambiguous no more is necessary than to expound those words in their natural and ordinary sense, the words themselves in such case best declaring the intention of the Legislature." We also find it quoted in *Craies on Statute Law*.<sup>56</sup>

"If the words of the statute are themselves precise and unambiguous, then no more can be necessary than to expound those words in the ordinary and natural sense. The words themselves alone do in such a case best declare the intention of the law-giver."

Again, we find in Judge Story:<sup>57</sup>

"Where the words are plain and clear, and the sense distinct and perfect arising on them, there is generally no necessity to have recourse to other means of interpretation."

Further, Beal has quoted Lord Cranworth, L. J. (in *Gundry vs. Pinniger*, 1852) to say:

"The great cardinal rule is that which is pointed out by Mr. Justice Burton, viz., to adhere as closely as possible to the literal meaning of the words. When once you depart from that canon of construction, you are launched into a sea of difficulties which it is difficult to fathom."<sup>†</sup>

And, lastly, we find in Kent:<sup>58</sup>

"The words of a statute, if of common use, are to be taken in their natural, plain, obvious, and ordinary signification and import."

In view of these authoritative views on the canons of interpretation of statutes, we should expound the words used in Clause (1) of Article 74 in their natural and ordinary sense. And if we do this, then the only interpretation which can be rationally put upon the clause, so far as—and I repeat this here—the *purely legal aspect* of the question is concerned, is what I have given before<sup>59</sup> and has been briefly stated above. If we analyse the clause, it will really mean that "there shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head"—

(i) to *aid* the President in the exercise of his functions, and

(ii) to *advise* him in the exercise of his functions.

There is nothing in this clause which imposes a

\* See Joseph Story, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, Secs. 374-75, pp. 264-67.

† See his *American Government and Politics*, 9th Ed., pp. 46-48.

52. See *The Modern Review for December*, 1950, pp. 458-59.

53. For the political aspect of the question, see my article in *The Modern Review for June*, 1950.

54. See *The Modern Review for December*, 1950, p. 459.

55. See his *Interpretation of Statutes*, 9th Ed., 1946, pp. 1-2.

56. See Craies, *A Treatise on Statute Law*, 4th Edition, p. 65 and footnote.

57. See Story, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, Section 401, p. 296.

† See Beal, *Cardinal Rules of Legal Interpretation*, 2nd Ed., pp. 74-75.

58. See Kent, *Commentaries on American Law*, 10th Ed., Vol. 1, p. 521, Lec. XX.

59. See *The Modern Review for December*, 1950, pp. 458-59.

statutory obligation on the President to accept the advice of his Council of Ministers. And I think that the authors of our Constitution acted very wisely in not imposing such a statutory obligation on the President. (It would, as I have previously stated,<sup>60</sup> be very awkward, indeed, if, for instance, any advice of an outgoing Council of Ministers as to who should form the incoming Council of Ministers were to be legally binding upon the President. He would in that case have no discretion left in the matter,<sup>61</sup> and that would be a travesty of parliamentary form of government.) Nor can we reasonably treat the word "aid" as a technical term. One should think a little deeply about the implications of one's statement about a constitutional matter before one should make it. Nor does the law of our Constitution really permit such a statement. We should take the words "aid" and "advise" in the Clause under our consideration "in their natural and ordinary sense"—"in their ordinary meaning." The word "aid" does not mean, as Mr. Basu thinks, "collaboration" with all that it implies. It simply and plainly means, according to the Oxford Dictionary,<sup>62</sup> "help (a person to do)." If I may give a homely analogy, I may say that in the matter of the execution of the business of administration at the Centre, the President, *technically speaking*, is the Principal or the Master, as it were, and the Council of Ministers are his mere *aiders* and *advisers*. While

it is their duty to aid and advise him in the exercise of his functions, he is not *legally bound* to accept their advice. And, in view of the words *whether any* in Clause (2) of Article 74 of our Constitution, it is doubtful whether any such advice must be *always* sought and offered. This is my view of the whole question. And when I previously stated that "the text" of the law was not explicit, I really meant that it was not explicit in the sense of supporting Mr. Basu's contention. And we must not forget in this connexion the canon of constitutional construction that

"Nothing is to be added to or to be taken from a statute, unless there are . . . adequate grounds to justify the inference that the Legislature intended something which it omitted to express."\*

My submission is that there is no justification for any inference that the authors of our Constitution intended that there would be any *statutory obligation* on the President to accept the advice of his Council of Ministers. They never meant, nor could have ever meant, it. Nor, again, does it follow from the text of our Constitution.

I need hardly state here that I have discussed above the question of the position of the President *vis-a-vis* his Council of Ministers purely from a legal standpoint, and not from a political standpoint.†

\* See Maxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

† For this latter question, reference may kindly be made to my articles in *The Modern Review* for June and for December, 1950, where the whole question has been discussed in detail.

60. See *The Modern Review* for June, 1950, p. 454, footnote 38.

61. See the preceding reference for further details.

62. See *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, 3rd Edition.

(To be continued)

## A SCHEME FOR INCREASING FOOD PRODUCTION

By S. N. AGARWAL

THE problem of food shortage in India is getting increasingly complicated. Instead of becoming self-sufficient in foodgrains by the end of this year, the Indian people have to put up with a reduction of rations by 25 per cent and stretch the begging bowl to foreign countries. Unfortunately, correct figures as to the actual percentage of food shortage in the country are not available, so much so that some economists are inclined to believe that there is no food shortage at all and that the present difficulties are chiefly due to artificial scarcity created by anti-social elements. Even those who do not accept this view generally concede that the real deficit is not more than about 10 per cent. This shortage is, surely, not so extraordinary and should not cause so much headache to the Government and the people. With better storage techniques, irrigation facilities, reclamation of waste lands, prevention of wastage of food, and tapping of edible but inferior and generally neglected food, it should have been possible by now to meet the annual food deficit. Failure to achieve this objective is, indeed, a sad commentary on the

basic policy that is being pursued by the Government of India despite public opposition.

I earnestly feel that the existing system of procurement and levy is fundamentally erroneous. In most of the States in India, the farmer has to part with a substantial portion of his produce under a system of compulsory procurement at Government rates which are considerably lower than the 'open-market' or 'black-market' rates. He, naturally, resents such procurement and does not feel enthusiastic enough to step up the production of food-grains to the maximum. He tries to divert his land from food-crops to money-crops which yield higher income because of better prices. Moreover, he begins to learn the art of dodging Government procurement and selling his foodgrains to the black-marketeers. In Madhya Pradesh, the Government procures foodgrains indirectly through merchants. But the net result is ultimately almost similar. The level of production shows the tendency to go down because the producers, both agricultural and industrial, do not feel the glow of economic incentives in a system hedged with



controls on all sides. This has happened even in an enlightened and progressive country like Britain. In a poor country like India, therefore, the uneducated agriculturist is not expected to respond only to patriotism and appeal for sacrifice. Adequate economic incentives ought to be regarded as pre-requisites for making the "Grow More Food Campaign" a practicable proposition and a success.

How could this be achieved? I have a very definite and concrete suggestion to make. The Government should abandon the existing policy of procurement and introduce a system of open market and limited sale of rations at controlled rates. The State should undertake to provide cheap rations only to those who cannot really afford to pay the 'open-market' prices. For instance, persons earning less than Rs. 200 per month might be regarded as falling within this category. This figure will, of course, vary from region to region. The Government could also publish scheduled rates of foodgrains available in the ration shops from month to month; the rates could vary with the different levels of income and the quantities purchased. Moreover, only coarse, though clean, foodgrains (*i.e.*, second or third quality, but not rotten or mixed with grit, earth, etc.) may be made available in these Government shops. In order to discharge this responsibility, the Government, instead of procuring foodgrains at lower rates, should purchase them from the free or open market and sell them at cheaper prices in the ration shops. The loss incurred by the State in the process would be in the nature of a subsidy. Even at present, such subsidies are being paid by the Government on foodgrains imported from foreign countries. The money goes out of the country and the poor Indian farmer is not able to derive any benefit out of this additional expenditure from the public exchequer. Instead, the Government ought to subsidize food-grains purchased from our own agriculturists and allow the tillers of the soil to feel that they can reap the full fruits of their hard work on the land. The State will be obliged to make suitable arrangements for cheap ration shops in the cities, specially in the deficit areas; in the rural regions only landless labour will be allowed to enjoy such facilities. The rest of the people in cities and villages will be free to make their purchases of foodgrains in the open market. Such a scheme will have several distinct advantages. First, the ignominy of the "black market" and the consequent chain of moral degradation would automatically disappear. Secondly, the State will be able to recover a substantial portion of money spent on subsidy through a suitable system of sales-tax and graded income-tax realized from merchants who will be entitled to conduct their business in the open or free market. Thirdly, the poorer sections of the population will continue to receive rations at controlled rates and the well-to-do people will get the satisfaction of making

their purchases in the "white" market in place of the existing "black market."

In suggesting the scheme, I do not claim any originality. During my European tour last year, I found such a scheme working successfully in Czechoslovakia. The existence of a free market side by side with some cheap and subsidized ration shops for the poor people had eliminated black-marketing from the country and the State was able to augment its public exchequer in substantial measure through sales-tax and income-tax on the business transactions in the open market. I see no reason why a similar experiment could not be tried in India as well.

The first objection that may be advanced against this scheme is that higher prices of foodgrains would again set the inflationary spiral in motion. There need be no fears on this account because the Government will be able to arrest the inflationary tendencies by selling foodgrains to the poorer sections of the community and any rise in the level of wages would be quite unnecessary. Moreover, high prices of foodgrains prevail even today. The significant difference that the new scheme would bring into effect is that in place of the black-market prices we will have open-market business transactions yielding additional taxable income. The Government can check any probable inflation by two other methods as well. First, the farmers need not be paid the whole value of their produce in cash, the State could offer an additional incentive to the villagers by giving them gold and silver also in making payments. The farmers even now convert their money into ornaments but the middlemen exact high profits by exploiting the needs of the villager. The poor tiller of the soil will, surely, be grateful to the Government if he is able to procure gold and silver at comparatively cheap rates. Secondly, the State, instead of paying the full value of foodgrains to the farmers in cash or precious metals, could divert part of the money due to them into collective welfare schemes like better housing, co-operative farming and marketing. Shares of such co-operative societies could be supplied to the agriculturists, of course, with their consent. This will also, incidentally meet the objection that the additional purchasing power placed in the hands of the villagers might be mis-spent on intoxicants and wasteful socio-religious ceremonies.

Another argument advanced against this scheme by some economists is that the uneducated farmer is not yet trained in economic incentives. If he is able to earn higher income on his agricultural produce, he may not care even to cultivate the whole of his land. The insinuation is that such a scheme of paying higher prices to the agriculturist, instead of encouraging him to produce more, may ultimately result in actuating him to produce less. To my mind, such an insinuation is fantastic and betrays gross ignorance of the present psychology of the masses.

The average villager today is an intelligent person who easily responds to the economic incentives that exist in modern society.

There is one more point. In place of procurement, the Government could also think of realising rent and land revenue in kind, *i.e.*, in the form of foodgrains at controlled rates. But the present level of storage efficiency and honesty among State officials may not be conducive to the success of such a system. This may be resorted to only in times of national emergency when stock-piling of foodgrains for ration shops may become imperative.

Lastly, I do not mean to suggest that only by

changing the existing system of levy and procurement the food problem in India would be automatically solved and the deficit made good by additional productive effort on the part of the farmers. All other schemes of supplying better seeds, irrigational facilities, manure, cattle and implements will still be necessary. But I have no manner of doubt that by abolishing the present system of procurement a very great hurdle in the way of greater food production would surely be removed.

I place the scheme before the Union and State Governments and the National Planning Commission for their serious consideration. I hope they will find it well worth a fair trial.

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## LONDON LETTER

BY MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

THE wettest Winter ever recorded continues into as wet a Spring. 'Tears have drowned the world,' Shakespeare commented in one of his plays—and the superstitious amongst us have plenty of evidence for their belief that Heaven, quite literally, is washing its hands of us. But what a pity it all is. In the countryside there is a tremendous hold-up in agriculture and in our towns—where furbishing-up is in progress in honour of the approaching Festival—new paint is spoilt before it can dry and those who lay out gardens and squares, abandoning hope for their washed-out seeds, are buying grass sods by the square foot and laying them down like carpets. In Parliament Square, it is amusing to see that the grass carpet is a mis-fit. It just fails to come up to the edge of the path. But the famous Square, none the less, now looks very handsome. For the first time, probably, people really take an interest in the statues. Along the new terraces standing about as if they had taken up their places at a Reception, these dead and gone statesmen make an impressive setting for Parliament. Indeed, whatever we may feel about the Festival Exhibition and the Festival Gardens, the new design for Parliament Square is one great improvement which has been brought about. Another permanent good will be the new Concert Hall. Some may not take to its most modern and efficient design. They sigh for the old Queen's Hall, blitzed and not yet re-built. Undoubtedly its green gloom and its fountains and its noises-off from the Bar had a never-to-be-forgotten atmosphere. How long does it take for a place to acquire an atmosphere? One has a horrible fear that modern, perfect, buildings, with their faultless acoustics, doors that exclude all sound and lights that cast no shadow, are more attuned to a refrigerator than to a fiddle!

The Festival Gardens are very much in the news at the present time. They are the Government's latest achievement in the art of throwing away money. First the Groundnuts, then the Gambia eggs, and now the

Gardens with an excess of expenditure over estimate of a million and a half pounds sterling. It is a disturbing revelation. How is it possible, everyone is asking, to pour out so much money on the seemingly simple business of creating a fun-fair (horrible word) in a public park? And on all sides one hears the charge that it is a 'racket' and 'fiddling away the money.' The Government has appointed a firm of chartered accountants to investigate the Gardens' expenditure, the Chairman has resigned, and so has the Managing Director. And all this a month before the Gardens are due to be opened by Princess Margaret. . . . It is a very odd situation and must be an embittering one to the displaced officials. To go, under a cloud, when seven-eighths of the work on the Fair is completed!

Mr. Herbert Morrison is reported to have said that he hopes, when people visit the Festival Gardens, they will exclaim: 'How lovely!' and not 'How much did it all cost.' Perhaps they will and perhaps the Gardens will remain, long after the Festival year is forgotten, and become as popular a feature of London as were the former and famous Gardens of Ranelagh and Vauxhall. Londoners certainly are much more interested in the Festival Gardens than they are in the Festival Exhibition. The list of attractions is a little over-powering. Fourteen restaurants will not be wanted in after years—nor the miniature zoo, Crystal Palace, railway and so on—but the riverside restaurant and riverside theatre should remain. The theatre is said to be much admired by visiting architects. Such things should be a great advantage, in stuffy London summers, to people who cannot go away for a holiday. It is a very good thing to bring them to a Park, for supper or entertainment. In recent years the London County Council has held open air Art Exhibitions in Battersea Park. These no doubt will continue to be held in the new fashioned Gardens. (The pavilions of Vauxhall Gardens were decorated with a series of drawings by that very great painter Hogarth). In fact,



this idea of a Festival Garden is no new vulgar thing. And, above all, in years to come, may Londoners look back to the proto-type Vauxhall and consider the place first and foremost as a Garden. The historian of South London, Mr. Harry Williams, has this to say about Vauxhall:

"Pepys mentions the nightingales singing in Vauxhall Gardens in 1667, but the most memorable account of Vauxhall is given by Addison in 1712. The fragrant of the walks and bowers, the air filled with the scent of innumerable flowers, the chorus of birdsong from the trees, the freshness, the liveliness and the vibrant happiness of the place shine from his pages. Such naive delight in simple things is one of the lost treasures of the earth, and almost any sacrifice would be justified if it could be recaptured for mankind to-day."

When I read this passage, I set out to buy a copy of Addison. But I found it meant buying Addison in four volumes and this seemed a bit extravagant and especially to do such a thing on the eve of the Budget.

In palmer days the Budget was a closely guarded secret. Some taxes always came off somewhere and any leakages beforehand might allow of profitable and unfair gambling in futures on the Stock Exchange. Now it is a different story. Taxes, real or disguised in increasing prices, get stiffer all the time. Far from hugging his secrets the Chancellor of the Exchequer issues, just before his Budget, a Financial Survey. It is a mixture of cushioning the shock and of propaganda for his Government's policies. Of late years, in fact, we have become accustomed to say, we have two Budgets.

But this year the number has gone up and we are actually being treated to *three*. The Chancellor seemingly has very bad news and he has shifted some of the burden on to the Postmaster General. The Post Office has just announced a whole series of new charges. Telephone calls from public boxes, telegrams, postage on overseas parcels, poundage on money orders, postage on printed papers and the fees for cash-on-delivery are all to go up. These last two imposts are fresh blows to private enterprise and the more serious is the one affecting printed papers. It will be an expensive business to push for trade by sending our circulars and catalogues; postage on bills and receipts too presumably will come under this head. Great resentment is felt by business men. The Post Office has always been a profitable concern—and the Government has always had its services at a reduced rate.

But to return to the Financial Survey. And first of all a *caveat*. The *Daily Mail*, in a column entitled "It's Always Wrong," seeks to console its readers by pointing out that all the major predictions made in the Surveys of 1947, 1948, 1949 and 1950 were afterwards falsified. In 1947, the Survey was wrong about the American Loan; in 1948, it predicted mass unemployment; in 1949, it opined 'there is likely to be no rapid change' when in fact, the situation changed so rapidly that devaluation ensued in six months; and

in 1950, it prophesied that American aid would last another two years—and added 'a further decrease in the Armed Forces is planned'! (So much for past numbers of this Old Moore's Almanack, as this same newspaper amusingly styles it.)

But the most spectacular miscalculation on the part of the Chancellor is in the matter of the Budget surplus. To anticipate a deficit of £7 millions and then finish the year with a surplus of £247 millions must be unique in the annals of accounting. Some reparation in all honesty is due to the tax-payer. But he will not get it. For this news is set against such a background as to stifle all hope in his breast. Briefly it appears the position is this. In 1951 we will have £350 millions *more* of goods and services; but rearmament will absorb £400 millions. And even that sum is illusory since prices are rising all the time.

How is this gap in the estimates to be closed? Up and down the country, at political meetings, there is always someone to howl that every new charge can be met out of 'dividends'. Indeed even a Minister—I think it was Mr. Webb—committed himself the other day to the partisan and unjust statement that he did not think that dividends should be allowed to rise to off-set the fall in the value of money. Suppose a Conservative Minister perpetrated such an outrage in the matter of wages. . . .

This persecution of dividend-holders is out of date and unfair. What these blinded people will not recognize is that of the dividend-holders many older people, many who have retired, have already suffered a tremendous crash in their standard of living—and indeed are at their wits' end as to how to manage to hold on in future. An ugly aspect of this persecution is that never before were the persecutors, the workers, in such an assured and prosperous condition. I look back to the days when the miners, for instance, were next door to starving. And never shall I forget the days of the great Depression. In fact, in 1931, I lost my seat in Parliament because I would not follow the stampede into Ramsay MacDonald's National Government and agree to a cut in the dole. But the workers' battle has been won. Many miners now are earning over £20 a week and I know of miners' homes—in which there is more than one male bread-winner—where £70 a week is coming in. Even the workers on the Festival Gardens have been getting £10 a week. So the time has come for the workers to let by-gones be by-gones and not, when the 'capitalist' is all but in his coffin, look for the nails with which to fasten it down. (What are they doing with the savings they can make now? Why don't they see the advantage of acquiring some dividends themselves?)

That the capitalist is all but in his coffin is suggested by the afore-mentioned Survey. Is he to be bled even now to close the gap in the rearmament estimates? The *Spectator* thinks not. 'There can be no question this time,' it says, 'of squeezing a bit

more out of profits; for profits have to all intents and purposes received their quietus in the Survey. Table 26 contains the bald information that, after provision for stock appreciation, the total amount likely to be left for undistributed profits in 1951 will be £80 millions as against £299 millions in 1950 and £470 millions in 1949. This impressive, not to say staggering, news has been marked on the Stock Exchange. . . I wonder it did not close the Stock Exchange.

Psychologists give us a lot of information we could do without. It would be an advantage if they could throw any light in the time-lag there is between the march of events and our catching up with an interpretation of them. This thought is prompted by a comparison between the mental atmosphere in industry here and that prevailing in the United States. Here many trade unionists are living in the past. It is not only in the matter of dividends but in their general approach to their place in society. *Time and Tide* this week tells an astonishing story. The Manager of a factory ordered some paint which he wanted and had it delivered at the works intending to take it home with him. But when he went to collect his paint, his storeman refused to let him take it. It must be sent along to him. The theory was that as an Executive he had no Union ticket . . . and in taking it himself he was depriving another man of his job.

This attitude has its pathos. But if it is at all general in industry, think of the waste of time and energy. Think of the men, for instance, whose time and energy could be released to get on with the job of housing. (I know of a working-class woman who has been living, with all her possessions, in the middle of her room for weeks, because the men will not come to mend the roof and stop the rain running down the walls.)

Restrictions on dividends, restrictions on labour, these are sign-posts that lead nowhere. In the United States, it seems, the mental climate is quite otherwise. There 'the sky's the limit.' In other words, the workers believe there need be no limits to what they are paid so long as there are no limits to what they earn. High wages need not bring inflation, so long as higher output takes care of the situation. To quote the *Spectator* again:

"In the United States, which is facing much the same rearmament problems as this country, the director of defence mobilisation, Mr. Wilson, has forecast that two years from now not only will reasonable safety against aggression be secured but civilian shortages will be easing and the relaxation of controls will be possible. It is this confident attitude towards the problems of production which British labour needs most of all."

To digress: how fortunate are the people of the United States to anticipate that in only two years' time they will be nearing the end of civilian shortages! Here the shortages—and the prices—get worse

all the time and especially in prospect. Shopping in fact has become a matter of geometrical progression. When you go to buy anything, you pay twice as much as you can afford because you are assured that when the next lot come in prices will have doubled.

Thinking of Trade Unions and their restrictions, it is worth putting on record the action of the teachers in Durham in the matter of the 'closed shop.' They have done a great public service. In the past intellectuals, in times of transition and revolution, have often juggled with ideas rather than tried to sort out and arrive at principles. But in Durham the behaviour of the teachers is a reversal of the proverbial *trahison de clercs*. They have won a victory for principle over the Durham County Council. This Council had passed a resolution 'under which each employee was to be called upon to say whether he was a member of a Union or not.' And this resolution was to apply not only to manual workers but to doctors, teachers, nurses and so on. Although many of the teachers were in fact members of a union, they decided to repudiate this condition—and so did their colleagues in the Health Service. This was the first round. Then the Council thought again, and not very judiciously. In spite of the attitude of the teachers, when it came to making an appointment for a headmaster, they asked each of the six applicants for the post whether he was a member of a union. Five of them, true to the stand that they were taking up, declined to answer. But the sixth said that he was—and was given the job. (It must be a very dreary promotion). At once the teachers set up an Action Committee and this Committee instructed a number of members of the Teachers' Union to hand in their strike notices, to become operative in a month's time. This, by the way, was extremely intelligent tactics. It compelled the Minister of Education to take note of the position and gave him time in which to make up his mind what he should do. He has the power to reverse the decision of a Local Authority—and this he has now done.

The Durham teachers, by their courageous action, have brought the question of compulsory membership of a Trade Union right out into the open. It is to be hoped—can one say expected—that other Trade Unions will follow their example. For in the past men who have conscientiously objected to joining a union, Plymouth Brethren for example, have been turned out of their jobs by their fellow-workers. Most disturbing of all is the fact that the Minister of Labour has ruled that a man dismissed from his job for non-union membership is not entitled to unemployment benefit. Probably the unions would lose nothing by making their membership voluntary. The time has gone by when employers could make non-membership of a union a condition of employment. Indeed public opinion would emphatically endorse a ruling that membership or not of a union was entirely a matter for the worker to decide for himself.

The only other item of news on the Home Front



which is engaging our attention at the moment is the business of the Census. This week-end we have all been filling up forms. It is a most interesting form. It seeks to know one's age and state and when one ceased to be educated (!) It also enquires about the number of rooms, the plumbing and the sink and the stove, and whether one has the exclusive use thereof. But the most eloquent column is conspicuous by its absence. There is no room in it for the entry of any child born

out of marriage. Is not this a good thing? It does not mean that there is no place in society for the illegitimate child. But evidently it does mean that that child can keep its secret.

And all that remains to be said of the Census is this. When the next one comes round, may we all have the exclusive use of our own plumbing and our own sink!

Westminster, London, 9th April, 1951.

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## A RARE IMAGE OF AVALOKITESWARA

BY JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc., B.L.

THE late Rai Bahadur Hem Chandra Basu of Monghyr was an amateur archæologist and collector of images and inscriptions, Monghyr and its neighbourhood being rich in historical sites and ruins and objects of interest. He collected various images, inscriptions and objects of arts, but most of them were unfortunately destroyed during the Bihar earthquake of 1934. A few escaped destruction, and this is one of them. He had compiled a local history of Monghyr and its neighbourhood, and it was going to be published as the second volume of Sri Krishna Sinha Jayanti commemoration volume when he died.

The image was found near the river Kiul at Luckesarai in the district of Monghyr. It was heavily incrustated with sandal paste and cream, showing that it was once worshipped. It is of black chlorite (?). S. J. Kalyan Ganguly of the Calcutta University has cleaned it with great care. It bears an inscription at the base, which has been partially and tentatively deciphered as bearing the name of Gopala—whether Gopala II or Gopala III of the Pala dynasty it is difficult to say. The characters are in proto-Bengali of the 10th—11th century; one scholar is inclined to think that the script may be of the 7th—8th century. From iconographic consideration it appears to be of the 11th century. The image of the donor is seen at the proper left hand at the bottom; the pose of the palm with lotus mark in relief is very rare in images of Avalokiteswara. The figure of Dhyani Buddha is at the top. The chiselling as well as modelling is very fine. It has been presented to the Asutosh Museum of the Calcutta University; those eager to study it may contact the

Curator, S. J. Deva Prasad Ghosh, who will be glad to help the scholars.



Inscribed image of Avalokiteswara, Lakshmi-sarai, Dt. Monghyr (c. 11th century A.D.)

Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University



# THE ART OF POTTERY IN INDIA

By TINKARI MUKERJEE,  
*Dy. Keeper, Government Art Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta*

"Truest to nature, in the directness and simplicity of its forms, and then adaptation to use, and purest in art, of all its homely and sumptuary handicrafts is the pottery of India," thus describes Sir George Birdwood the art of Indian pottery. The amazing discovery at Mohenjodaro and Harappa and the variety of finds discovered consisting of pottery both decorated and plain, clay figurines and model animals and the use of glazed and vitreous pastes for the manufacture of small ornaments and animal figures testifies to the high proficiency attained in this craft even in those early days of human civilization.

with the pots of other materials in daily usage, an impetus seems to have been given to the production of cheap potteries used by us daily. Among the Hindus however this impetus has been accelerated in view of the fact that potteries are to be thrown away on some ceremonial occasions and in view of the prevalent idea also that potteries become polluted and cannot therefore be cleaned like metal pots.

The Indian potters work on their old-fashioned wheels which have hardly undergone any change through centuries. The wheel is set in motion and the potter sitting on the ground near the wheel turns out



Earthen Martaban, painted and lacquered  
from Sasseram

*Courtesy : Indian Museum*

In ancient sculptures scattered all over India and in the Buddhist cave paintings we find pots of various shapes depicted which are identical with the forms of pots produced everywhere in India, even today. "Kalasa or water jar, kapala or cooking vessels, patra or platters, saraka or goglets and patrika or cups, were the earliest forms of earthen utensils made in the country."

The proprietorship of Indian pottery may be attributed to three sources—(a) Pottery produced by aboriginal tribes, (b) Pottery produced by Hindus, (c) Pottery produced by Muhammedans. The pottery being brittle and its cost being cheaper in comparison



Earthen Surabi with nice ornamentalations from  
Azamgarh

*Courtesy : Indian Museum*

pots of various sizes and shapes and of equal thickness by the dexterous manipulation of his nimble fingers. The rapidity and accuracy by which potteries are turned out have become to the potters a second nature developed through generations from father to son working on the same process and manipulation.

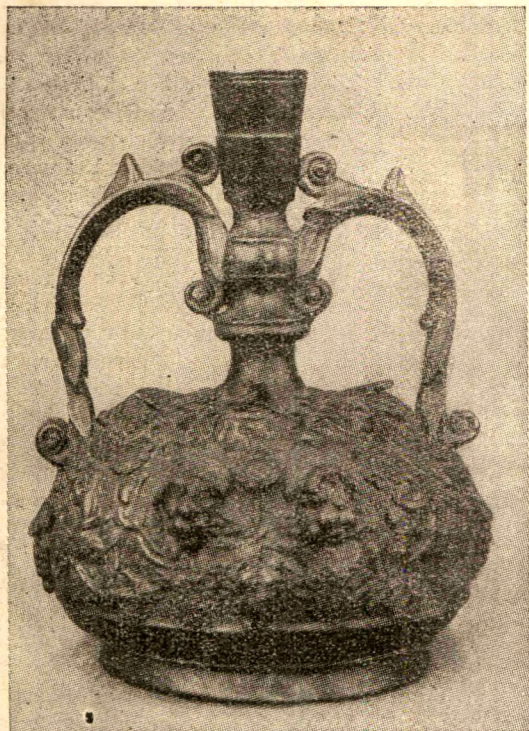
The potter has an assigned place in Hindu community and it has been inherited from father to son. Potters whether Hindus or Muhammedans may be divided into two classes: (1) *Kumbhakars* or the village potters confining their activities to the production of household or agricultural articles and (2) *Kuzagars* or artistic potters turning out artistic or



glazed wares. It often happens that the Kuzagars do not make their own pottery but purchase semi-dried vessels from the Kumbhakars on which they work. Thus the Kuzagars are in a sense dependent on the Kumbhakars who seem to be the backbone of this craft. Most of the Kuzagars are Muhammedans with exceptions.

this craft and giving shapes to types of potteries both from utilitarian and artistic points of view till the present forms we find today have evolved.

It is difficult to give a clear-cut classification of the various types of potteries found all over India. In consideration of the different factors the following classifications may be made: (1) glazed, (2) unglazed



Earthen Surahi with raised ornamentations from Aligarh

*Courtesy : Indian Museum*

The quality of pottery mainly depends on three factors—shape, decoration and colour scheme. With the Indian potters shape is of the utmost consideration and it is never made subservient to colour or decoration. There is no perceptible effort to conceal the beauty of form, the perfect symmetry of its component parts, by decorations. This characteristic led Sir George Watt to remark:

"If any ornamentation is applied it must be skilfully subordinated to the form to which it is superadded, so as not in any way to divert attention from it. Nothing can be in worse taste, nor in an aesthetic sense more wasteful, than to hide a lovely form under an excess of foreign ornamentation. In the best Indian pottery, we always find the reverent subjugation of colour and ornamentation to form and it is in attaining this result that the Indian potter has shown the true artistic feeling and skill of all Indian workmasters in his handicraft."

The shape is different in different types of pottery and has behind it a history of development through generations after generations of potters working after



Earthen vase—Ajanta pattern, from Bombay

*Courtesy : Indian Museum*

or terra cotta, (3) unburnt (specially in connection with some type idols), (4) painted or stained and, (5) painted or stained but unvarnished.

The following remarks of Sir George Watt on the art of pottery seem interesting:

"Over large tracts of India the art of glazing is quite unknown, though highly ornamented pottery is nevertheless produced. Of painted pottery there may be said to be two kinds—painted or stained before firing, and painted, lacquered or stained after firing. The materials and methods employed for this purpose are extremely local and such as to remove any doubt as to their being indigenous."

The art of glazing pottery seems to have originated from the art of glazing tiles for covering walls and roofs and pavements, and the ancients were conversant with this art for a very long time. Many are of opinion that in India, specially in Sind, the art was introduced by Chenghiz Khan when he after his conquest of China in 1212 A.D. brought back with him a Chinese wife and at her instance this art was carried to Persia and subsequently to India. It is held that



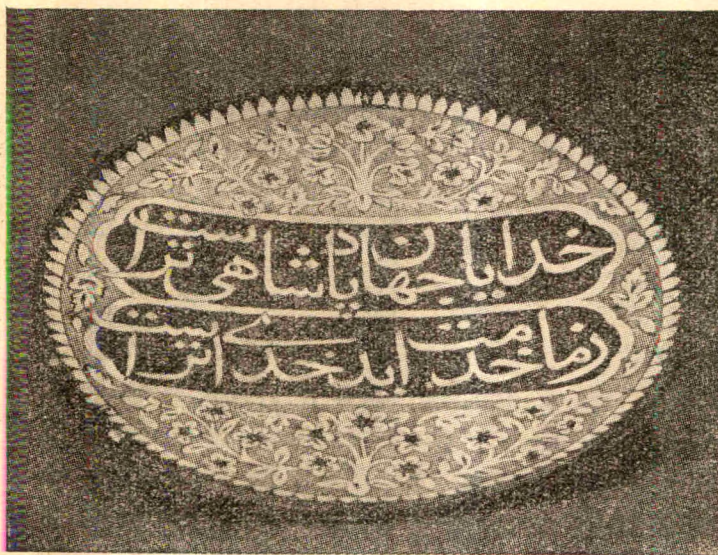
"The old glazed tiles to be seen in India are always from Muhammedan buildings, and they vary in style with the period to which the buildings on which they are found belong; from the plain turquoise blue tiles of the earlier Pathan period, A.D. 1193-1254, to the elaborately designed and many-coloured tiles of the latter part of the Great Mughal period, A.D. 1556-1750. Whenever also the Mahommedans extended their dominion they would appear to have developed a local variety in these tiles."

By some, however, this view has been refuted on the discovery of some old Gaur tiles having a "marked

some materials in the kiln for generating dense smoke. In the finer works of Sewan and Azamgarh the black colour is obtained by a different method. To prevent direct contact with fire, the articles to be turned black are fired within a close jar with damped straws, cow-dung or oil cakes, to generate dense black smoke which comes in contact with the articles to be turned black.

At Azamgarh a peculiar type of highly glazed black potteries are available, worked out in silvery white designs on the surface with the effect of damascened work. After the potteries are baked designs are etched on the surface, and then an amalgam of mercury and tin is rubbed on the surface of the designs thus etched. On the completion of the process silvery white designs appear on the highly polished background. "In the glazing and colouring two preparations are of essential importance, viz., *kanch* literally glass and *sikka* or oxides of lead. In the Punjab, the two kinds of *kanch* used are distinguished as *Angrezi kanch* (English glaze) and *desi-kanch* (country glaze)."

Some of the important centres of painted potteries are Peshawar, Hoshiarpur, Gujranwala, Rawalpindi, Lucknow, Sasseram and Madura. By reason of this art being intimately connected with the productions of idols and other sacred objects and with the frescoing of the walls



Earthen plate from Multan

Courtesy : Indian Museum

Hindu character distinct from the blue and diapered tiles which are distinctive of Mahommedan manufacture elsewhere in India, before the floral designs of the Mughal period came into vogue. It is quite possible therefore that enamelled pottery was made in India long anterior to the age of Chenghiz Khan."

Unglazed or terra cotta potteries are made all over India, each province having developed a peculiar shape and type of ornamentation in course of generations of practice. At Aligarh, a type of unglazed earthen vases (always black) is produced with raised ornamentations of flowers and foliage on the surface. A very thin type of pottery known as *Kagazi* is produced in Gujranwala, Bhawalpur, Alwar and other places. These potteries are so thin and consequently brittle that it is with difficulty that they can be taken to a distance and for their thinness they have justly acquired the term *kagazi* or paper-like. Black potteries of Sewan, Khulua, Azamgarh, Aligarh and Ratnagiri have become known as a type by themselves and have acquired unique reputation.

The black colour is produced by the confinement of the smoke during firing and by the application of

of temples and houses it is considered utterly unconnected with the kindred Muhammedan art of glazing pottery. On religious and ceremonial occasions of the Hindus throughout India various types of earthen pots are painted and decorated and it is easy to infer that the art of painting potteries might have a religious background having its origination on a religious necessity. The ornamental designs desired to be executed on potteries are either painted on off-hand or a pattern is done on a paper the outlines of which are prickled with pins so that pin holes appear on the outlines of the pattern. The pattern is then placed on the pottery and dusted with the powdered colour along the pricklings. The pattern on the paper is thus transferred on the pottery in the shape of dotted outlines which are afterwards joined and painted according to a pre-conceived colour scheme. The process resembles the process of 'pouncing', practised in painting. The main advantage of the process is to make available a number of potteries of similar designs and colours within a very short period with the minimum amount of labour.

The important centres of glazed potteries in India



are Peshawar, Lahore, Jalandhar, Delhi, Jaipur, Ajmer, Bikanir, Multan, Halla, Bombay, Lucknow, Allahabad, Bulandshahr, Rampur, and many other places. Each of these localities has developed a special type of design and colour scheme which are the discriminative features between the products of the various localities. For the sake of brevity descriptions of potteries turned out in some of the important centres are given below:

In Delhi and Jaipur a type of pottery is produced. It is not made of clay but of ground felspar (ground barburā) mixed with gum or starch. It cannot in consequence be formed on the potter's wheel but has to be moulded or wielded by hand. The art appears to have originated in Delhi. Regarding the Jaipur pottery it has been remarked:

"The articles are made in moulds and glazed with felspar and starch. The colours chiefly employed are blue from oxide of cobalt, and green from oxide of copper. Some of the pottery are semi-translucent, and in addition to blue and green a few other colours have been sparingly employed, specially a canary yellow, a dark blue and brown for vases of one colour. Most of the best examples are hand-painted with conventional floral or arabesque patterns, and sometimes with figures of animals."

Unglazed potteries are also produced at Jaipur some of the interesting types of which are *huggas*, water vessels, plates and other utensils of black and red and highly glazed.

The potteries of Peshawar are highly polished and the most common form is green and pink on a milky white background with occasional patches of assorted colour. It is also not uncommon to meet the shades of blue and green. Many interesting articles such as tea cup and dish, flower vase, scented stick burner, etc., are produced.

Multan like Halla was famous for the production of glazed tiles and had a large trade in this type of pottery long anterior to its production of vases, plaques and other such ornamental wares. The special Persian characteristics found in Multan wares are due to its close proximity to Persia and the intimate relation that existed for long, between these two countries.

A very interesting phase has been introduced in Bombay potteries by following the ancient Buddhist designs and colour schemes of the fresco paintings depicted on the walls of the cave temples of Ajanta. Large vases and plates, highly polished and glazed, and worked out in these designs are now available.

In Sind, potteries are available in two forms—(a) vases, and (b) tiles, with floral ornamentations usually assorted within panels or medallions, the floral designs being executed in a shade of colour usually lighter than the local panel field. The peculiarity of the Sind pottery consists in its painted pattern being slightly raised above the field level by means of painting the pattern first in a white slip and this characteristic process demarcates it from the pottery works of Multan.

The peculiarity of Rampur potteries consisted in

painting them in deep green blue colour without any pattern worked out on the potteries which in course of time developed in ornatng them in one and sometimes in two shades of green blue with a pattern distinctly moulded above the surface.



Porcelain jug from Jeypore

Courtesy : Indian Museum

With the Hindus idols of clay command a great market as they are in constant demand on every Puja occasion. Earthen puja utensils like painted plates, lamp stands, etc., are also in great demand by the Hindus and in consequence this demand has given an impetus to this particular branch of potter's art. Simultaneous with the art of idol making an art has developed in the line of making clay figures in diminutive form of persons following various professions, painted and dressed. Besides human figures, various types of animals and fruits are produced in a very naturalistic way so as to elicit admiration from all. The centres noted for this type of work are Krishnagar, Lucknow and Poona. Besides these diminutive figures toys in clay are also produced and most of them have an easy pose and a very naturalistic imposition to appeal to the children. In fact, this branch of the potter's art has an educative value. Children have a natural inclination for toys and if the toys are made under proper artistic guidance they go a long way to the formation of the artistic background of children and thereby may serve a useful purpose of creating the artistic background of the nation.



# SOME ACCOUNTS OF ANTARCTICA

## The Great South Land

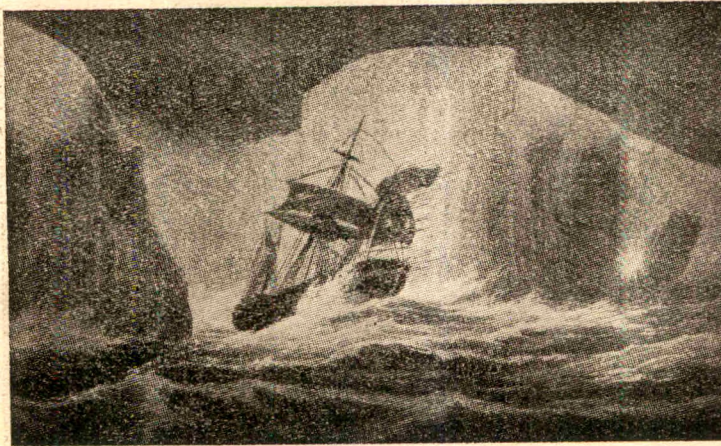
By PARESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA, M.A.,  
Calcutta University

ANTARCTICA, also known by such significant names as "The Third World" and "The South Land," is a big and frozen continent below  $60^{\circ}$  (S) latitude. For hundreds of years this Polar region has been inspiring dreams in the minds of the romance-loving people of Europe as well as of Asia. The existence of such a snowy land in the extreme south of the globe was first predicted by the ancient Greek philosophers, as they speculated its situation on the basis of astronomical observations. Thus, the name Ant-

Asia, America and Oceania. Naturally, the South Land of Utopian wealth was also in their golden list.

In the last part of the eighteenth century, France and England were partly determined to discover this snowy Utopia. Thus, in 1771, the French Government sent Joseph Kerguelen to find out the South Land and the result was the discovery of the Isle of Desolation (later known as the Kerguelen island). It lies in the Indian Ocean in latitude  $49^{\circ}$  and  $30^{\circ}$  S. and longitude  $69^{\circ}$  and  $40^{\circ}$  E.

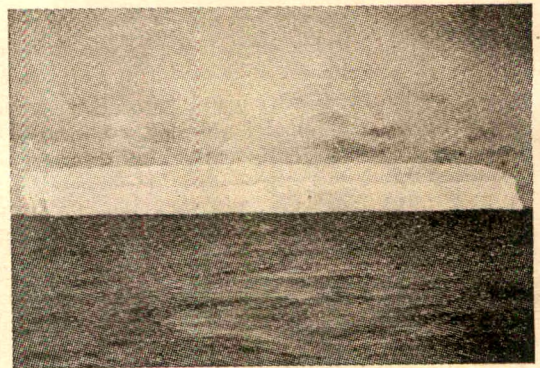
Perhaps the real glory of discovering Antarctica should rightly be given to James Cook, who for the first time crossed the Antarctic Circle on January 17, 1773, with his two vessels *Resolution* and *Adventure*. After Cook's epoch-making discovery, many important expeditions were sent to the South Land. About all the prominent States of Europe took parts in these projects. Thus, Czar Alexander I of Russia sent two ships *Vostok* and *Mirni* under the able commands of Belinghausen and Lazareff. The exploration resulted in the discovery of two islands (in 1819 and in 1821) in the Antarctic zone, which were named as Peter Island and Alexander Island. This Russian expedition



Voyage of Ross (1842) in the Antarctic. His ships the *Erebus* and the *Terror* sailing through the chain of ice-bergs

arctic is composed of the two constituent words, viz., *Anti* (opposite) and *Arkhatos* (the Great Bear or the Constellation Ursa Major).

Curiously, like the famous discovery of America by the celebrated mariner Christopher Columbus in the last decade of the fifteenth century, the discovery of the great South Land was also effected due to the constant eagerness of the occidental nations to find out across the seas new paths to India, the country of riches and wisdom. Actually this happened in 1487, when Captain Bartholomew Diaz rounded Africa at the instance of Henry the Navigator, the king of Portugal. The European sailors in the succeeding years got an impression of the cold regions of the South when Magellan rounded South America in 1520, and Schouten and Lemaire passed through the coastal waters of Tierra del Fuego in 1615. When their accounts were related in Europe, they were not heard simply as "Sailor's tales," and thus a number of people began to dream over the actual existence of a South Land, which would provide them with plenty of riches. Really, that was the day when the Europeans first began to think seriously how to rest their economy over the plentifulness of



An Antarctic tabular ice-berg

decisively proved for the first time that the Antarctic continent is actually a great land-mass (more than 5,000,000 sq. miles) covered by a thick "ice-cap."

In the nineteenth century other important expeditions were fitted out to obtain more information about this mysterious Third World (Antarctica). Among the great mariners and adventurers, who too



conspicuous parts in them, particular mention may be made of the names of Weddel, Biscoe, Balleny, Dumont d'Urville, Wilkes, Ross, Larsen, Gerlache, Amundsen and others. These great explorers risked many times their lives for the sake of discovery, exploration and scientific investigation.



Scott's ship *Terra Nova* ice-bound in the Antarctic

In the present century the untiring efforts of the great Polar heroes like Amundsen, Scott, Shackleton, Wilson, Drygalski, Nordenskjöld, Bruce, Charcot, Mawson, Byrd and others have added to our knowledge about the Polar regions of the South. The point of the South Pole was first reached by Roald Amundsen<sup>1</sup> on December 14, 1911. After a month's time Scott reached the spot on January 16, 1912.<sup>2</sup> Later on, Admiral Byrd accomplished his chivalrous visit to the South Pole by aeroplane, on November 28, 1929. His comparative

1. He is, also, famous for his North Polar expeditions.

2. Unfortunately, the heroic explorer and his four brave followers Wilson, Bowers, Oates and Evans died on their way back, due to extreme cold and shortage of food. Afterwards, a search-party discovered the dead bodies of Scott, Wilson and Evans. The last written words of Scott, as found in one of his note-books, tell how his mind remained unconquered even before his death. They are as follows :

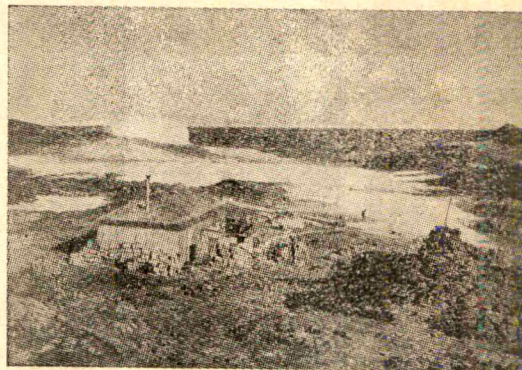
"Had we lived, I should have had a tale to tell of the hardihood, endurance, and courage of my companions which would have stirred the heart of every Englishman. These rough notes and our dead bodies must tell the tale, but surely, surely, a great rich country like ours will see that those who are dependent on us are properly provided for."

quick visit was a queer contrast to the most toilsome and extremely risky journeys of the former explorers. In this connection Admiral Byrd has himself remarked :

"It was difficult to believe that in recent history the most resolute men who had ever attempted to carry a remote objective, Scott and Shackleton, had over this same plateau a few miles each day, with hunger—fierce, unrelenting hunger—stalking them every step of the way."—*Little America*.

At present, the European countries have established colonies and whaling-stations upon the coasts of Antarctica, which are, day by day, growing into great political importance.<sup>3</sup> By studying the modern trends of international affairs it may be very easily understood that the Antarctic shores are gradually becoming important naval bases. Very recently, Argentina (in Latin America) rivalled with England to take possession of the Falkland Isles (off the coast of Patagonia) and the Falkland Dependency of the South Land. Apart from this, the European nations acquire annually large amounts of money, exceeding £3,000,000 sterling by hunting different species of whales (*viz.*, the rorqual, the humpback and the blue-whales).

Now, the coastal areas of the great southernmost continent may have some importance regarding the past movements of the human races partly civilised or uncivilised.



The hut built by Shackleton's party in 1907. Scott's party took shelter in it in 1911

As A. Vayson De Pradenne points out:

"The presence of an Austroloid type in the extreme south of South-America seems to be attested by the work of various anthropologists (S. and G. Sergi, Lebzelter, etc.), and affinities of language and cultural connections have also been adduced."<sup>4</sup>

In fact, many of the pre-historic antiquities of Polynesia show some queer resemblances with similar vestiges of the Mayan as well as the Inca civilisation

3. Among the Western powers, England, France and Norway have the greatest share of lands in the South Land.

4. *Pre-History*, tr. by E. F. Row, pp. 222-23.



of the Americas. Truly, a number of pyramids and stone and bronze statues of early Polynesia<sup>5</sup> display a great likeness with the ancient pyramids and statues of the two Americas. The mysterious images of San Augustin in Colombia (in S. America) bear such a profound

doubtedly less severe than it is today.<sup>6</sup> This fascinating view of Mendez-Correa may not seem too incredible, as actually the Antarctic shores might have possessed warm regions partly fit for human habitation several thousands of years ago, as the snowy continent still

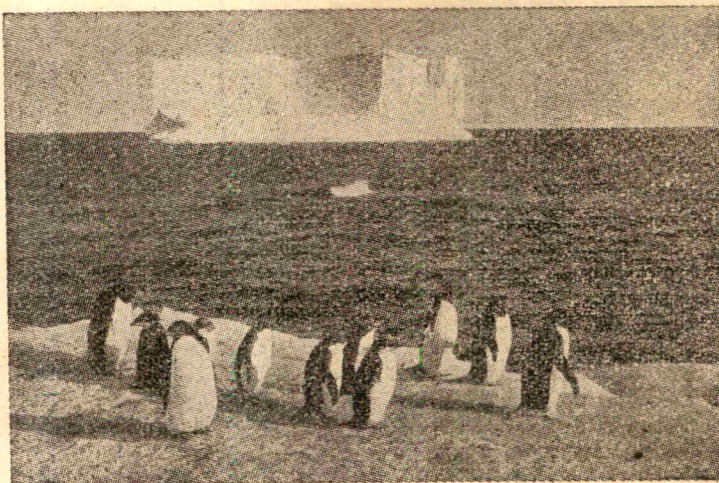


A typical frozen area of the South Land. The penguins are seen on the ice

resemblance with the armless images of the Easter Island (27 deg. S.—108 deg. 30m. W.) that one can hardly check one's temptation to connect them in some way or other.

But, here a question arises, how the pre-historic Oceanians reached the soils of South America. Of course, there are possibilities that the Polynesians took the ocean-route in order to reach the more eastern regions of the New World. Here,, a doubt arises. This pre-historic migration might not have taken place completely by ocean-route. The brilliant suggestion of Mendez-Correa is very significant on this point. According to him the pre-historic inhabitants of the islands of the southern ocean, possibly reached the lowest fringe of South America by way of the shores of the Antarctic. In support of his contention it has been pointed out by Pradenne that the Antarctic climate in those dim pre-historic epochs was "un-

possesses at least one great active volcano, called Mount Erebus in the Victoria Land.<sup>7</sup> Apart from this, the existence of Albatrosses, Penguins, Seals and Walruses on the coastal regions of Antarctica may indirectly hint that human habitation in those regions was, possibly, not totally impossible in pre-historic days. Perhaps, it may be argued without indulging too much in imagination that a number of the early Polynesians might have reached the Polar regions of the South, in the course of their courageous navigation. This may be reasonably supported by the fact that the pre-historic Austric settlers of East India and Oceania often used to traverse hundreds of miles in the blue ocean. As for example, the Malays who were,



An ice-berg and the penguins

possibly, a branch of the civilised Austriacs, once spread their culture in the islands and peninsulas lying in the vast region between Madagascar in the West and New Zealand in the East.<sup>8</sup> So, it is not at all impossible that a number of them reached even the Isle of Desolation<sup>9</sup> or the shores of Antarctica.

5. Scoresby Routledge: "The Mysterious Images of the Eastern Islands." (*Wonders of the Past*, Vol. III, p. 905 ff).

6. R. D. Banerji: *Pre-Historic, Ancient and Hindu India*, Introduction.

Perry: *The Children of the Sun*.

Keane: *Man, Past and Present*.

Hendrick Willem Van Leen: *The Arts of Melind*.

6. Pradenne: *Ibid*, p. 223.

7. It was first discovered by Sir James Ross in 1841.

8. The name 'Maori' may be a corruption of 'Maoli,' which is; possibly a derivation of 'Malay.'

9. Also known as Kerguelen Island.



The view of Mendez-Correa seems to be at least partly supported by the strange scripts of the Easter Island. Thus, in the famous essay of Tomeniko,<sup>10</sup> we find some representations of penguin-like creatures.



Midnight in the Antarctic

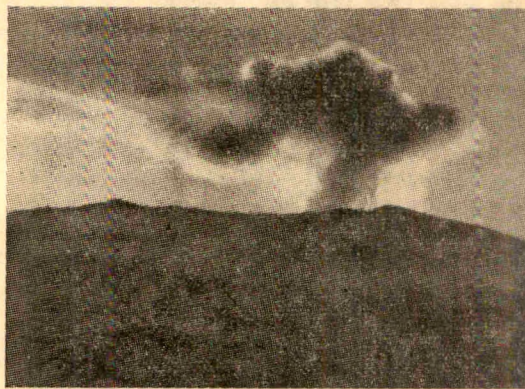
This seems to be very interesting, as it is well-known that the penguins are not found beyond the limits of the Antarctic continent. Really, it is a thing to ask ourselves whether the pre-historic or the ancient Polynesians had ever any real knowledge of the Polar regions of the south or not. Here, of course, we cannot at any rate ignore the bare fact that the Polynesians who spread down to Tasmania and lower New Zealand might very naturally reach the Polar Circle often in accidental ways, if not out of deliberate intention.<sup>11</sup> Curiously enough, there are definite traditions in the islands of New Zealand, which clearly point to the cold Antarctic seas. Thus, in a famous historical tradition of the Maoris there is a wonderful account

10. He was a native inhabitant of the Easter Island. Recently he endeavoured to explain some of the peculiar pictographic symbols of the Easter hieroglyphics.

11. In this connection it is very interesting to note that the European navigators of the 16th and the 17th centuries, "frequently met with contrary winds and were driven southward into snowy skies and ice-encumbered seas" while sailing round the Cape Horn (South America). See, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 2, p. 14.

of the South Polar regions. It narrates how one bold mariner of the New Zealand isles, named Ui-te-rangiora built a large canoe (*pahi*) and sailed to the frozen waters of the South, in the middle of the 7th century A.D. In later days, the deeds of this great hero were fervently imitated by another worthy Polynesian navigator named Aru-tanga-Nuku. Thus, the story goes:

"The desire of the 'ariki' Te Aru-tanga-Nuku and all his people on the completion of the canoe was to behold all the wonderful things seen by the vessel *Te Ivi-O-Atea*<sup>12</sup> in former times. These were those wonderful things: the rocks that grow out of the sea in the space beyond Rapa (about 1,100 miles south-east of Rorotonga); the monstrous seas; the female that dwells in those mountainous waves, tresses wave about in the waters and on the surface of the sea; and the frozen sea of 'pia',<sup>13</sup> with the deceitful animal of that sea who dives to great depths—a foggy, misty, and dark place not shone on by the sun. Other things are like rocks, whose



Smoke issuing out of the crater of Mount Erebus  
summits pierce the skies; they are completely bare and without any vegetation on them."<sup>14</sup>

As J. C. Andersen points out:

"This is a graphic description of the impression made in the Antarctic on men accustomed only to the tropics. The rocks growing from the sea, and the objects piercing the skies, bare of vegetation, are ice-bergs; the female whose hair waves about is conjectural, but the hair is the long kelp of those seas; the deceitful animal is probably the sea-lion or sea-elephant; 'pia' is arrowroot, which when scraped is exactly like snow, and the snowy wastes were compared with the white substance most familiar to them. The Antarctic ice is to be found south of Rapa in the summer, so there are two instances, about three hundred years apart, of Polynesian voyages sailing into those high latitudes for the sheer love for adventure, and from a desire to see the wonders of the deep."<sup>15</sup>

So we may naturally understand that the real

12. The name of the famous boat of Ui-te-rangiora.

13. Arrowroot.

14. Johannes C. Andersen: *Myths and Legends of the Polynesians*, p. 39. London, 1928.

15. *Ibid*, pp. 39-40.



credit of first discovering Antarctica should be decisively given to the early Polynesians, as the authenticity of their oral traditions and accounts about the frozen



Captain Scott

continent cannot possibly be doubted. As Andersen rightly remarks:

"When, however, traditions of one island are corroborated by comparison with traditions of another hundreds of miles away, the two peoples having been separated for hundreds of years, their authenticity must be accepted."<sup>16</sup>

Hence, we may say that neither the *Resolution* nor the *Adventure* of Captain Cook first sailed in the Antarctic seas, but the voyage was done by *Te Ivi-O-Atea* of the Polynesian hero *Ui-te-rangiora*, so far as we know up till now. The latter (*Ui-te-rangiora*), perhaps, first brought the real accounts of the icy South Land to the human society in the historic age, not Kerguelen, Ross, Cook or Belinghausen.

Lastly, (to repeat again), it also seems that the Antarctic coasts might have been, sometimes, really visited, if not inhabited, by the Oceanians even in pre-historic days. It is not impossible that this archaic connection led to the development of a number of strange legends in the cycles of Polynesian Mythology. Thus, one legend tells how one woman named *Hine-Nui-Te-Po*, in the dim past, went to the Under-World and made herself the great goddess of night. The idea

of the Lower-World,<sup>17</sup> where reigned the everlasting night may hint in a very subtle way to the Polar regions of the South.<sup>18</sup> The dominion of *Hine-Nui-Te-Po*, as it is narrated in the Oceanic mythology was reached by the great Polynesian heroes like Maui and Hutu.

These Polynesian legends, though mightily overgrown with great many fictitious and colourful episodes, may possess some grains of truth. The idea of the land of 'Po' (darkness) where reigns the goddess *Hine-Nui-Te-Po*,<sup>19</sup> may naturally attract our imagination to the Polar regions of the South, where darkness prevails for several months. It may be possible that the early Polynesians sometimes used to frequent the Antarctic shores from the Ross Sea to the Shetland Islands, though these might have occurred mostly in accidental



The last rest of Captain Scott

voyages. Today, the archaeologists should be conscious about these great possibilities, because if the traces of pre-historic human settlements in the Antarctic zone are really discovered any time, they will surely throw a flood of light on the various complex problems of the archaic culture which once dawned over Australia, India, South Africa and the islands of the southern seas.<sup>20</sup>

We do not know, whether the ancient Indians had any real knowledge of the South Land. But, the Puranic

17. Cf. 'Dakshina Patala' described in the 'Kiskindhya Kanda' of the Bengali Ramayana of Krittivasa.

18. Cf. the ancient Homeric (*Odyssey*) legends about the Cimmerians shrouded in continuous night and the Laestrygonians living in perpetual day.

See, Ridgway: *The Early Age of Greece*, p. 358.

According to some scholars this myth may hint to the icy regions of the North Pole.

19. Was she a later deification of "the female whose tresses wave about" as told in the Maori legend of *Ui-te-rangiora*?

20. Elliot Smith: *In the Beginning*, London, 1932.

Perry: *Ibid.*

K. D. Nag: *India and the Pacific World*.

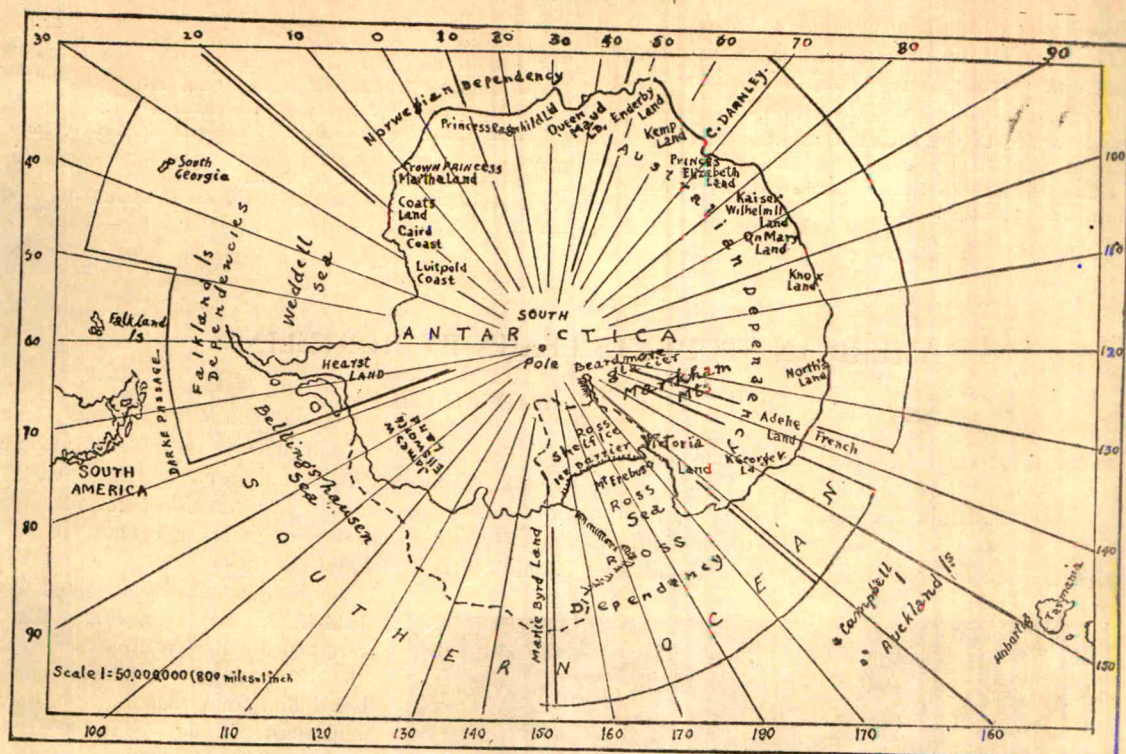
James Hastings: *Dictionary of the Bible*, p. 669.

B. Tylor: *Anthropology*, 2 vols.

P. C. Das Gupta: "The Deities of the Pacific World," *The Modern Review* for December, 1949.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 40.





idea of *Dadhi Samudra* (the Ocean of Curd) encircling a great island-continent<sup>21</sup> seems to be highly suggestive regarding this point. It is not impossible that the icy waters of the South was described as the Ocean of Curd by the ancient Hindu geographers, as the early Polynesians described them as the frozen Sea of 'pia' or arrowroot.

Strangely enough, in the *Kiskindhya Kanda* of Valmiki's Sanskrit *Ramayana*, there is a peculiar account of the extreme south of the globe. In this particular portion of the epic, the *Vanara* King Sugriva commands his monkey-hosts to march to the South in search of the Maithilian princess Sita, and describes to them the mysterious regions of the South. Thus, he asks his soldiers to stop beyond the *Risabha* mountain:

There stay: beyond the dark and drear,  
Lies the departed spirit's sphere,  
And, girt with darkness, far from bliss,  
Is Yama's sad metropolis.  
Beyond, your steps you may not set,  
Where living things ne'er journeyed yet."<sup>22</sup>

Here it seems very tempting to presume that these lines give a hint to the Antarctic continent. Curiously enough, this peculiar account about the distant south beyond the confines of the earth, which is the home of departed spirits and is the city of Yama, the God of Death, has a peculiar likeness to the similar account

of the Under-World as told in the Polynesian story of goddess *Hine-Nui-Te-Po*.<sup>23</sup>

Apart from this, the mysterious conceptions of *Dakshina-Patala* (Southern Lower Region) and blizzardous *Chandraloka* as contained in the *Kiskindhya Kanda* and the *Uttara Kanda* of the Bengali *Ramayana* of *Krittivasa* may indirectly hint that the ancient Hindu mariners and geographers had at least some faint knowledge of the snowy Antarctic.

Lastly, it should be always borne in mind that there are still many regions in Antarctica which are yet to be explored. Percy Sykes has rightly pointed out about the great South Land that

"There still remain more than two thousand miles of unexplored coast to be charted . . ."<sup>24</sup>

But, in this connection, it should not be forgotten that as the vast space of the Third World lies just at the other end of the deep sea, which extends to the south of India, the Indians have got a natural claim over at least some portions of it. If like the European countries, India establishes some marine bases on the coasts of the South Land, surely her status will be heightened in the international sphere, as her action will not only prove her vitality but also help her to be

23. In this connection, will it be too much to suppose that the so-called 'Vanara' people of ancient South India were, somehow, familiar with Antarctica, being themselves originally of either Negrito or Austric or Dravidian stock?

24. *History of Exploration*, p. 337, London, 1933.

21. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri: *Studies in Indian Antiquities*.

22. *The Ramayana of Valmiki*, tr. by Griffiths, p. 452, Benares, 1915.



the true leader of southern Oceania. There is no doubt that once her colours are unfurled in Antarctica, she will gain the favour of Poseidon, and it is then only that the Indians will have their proper control over the wild surface of the Indian Ocean.\*

\* Readers who are more interested in the geography of Antarctica may consult the following books :

- H. R. Hill : *The Siege of the South Pole*, London, 1905.  
 J. C. Ross : *A Voyage of Discovery and Research in the Southern and Antarctic Regions*, 2 vols., London, 1847.  
 A. Rainaud : *Le Continent Austral*, Paris, 1893.  
 Douglas Mawson : *The Home of the Blizzard*, 1914.  
 E. H. Shackleton : *The Heart of the Antarctic*, 2 vols., London, 1909.  
 F. Herley : *Argonauts of the South*.  
 Herbert G. Ponting : *The Great White South*, London, 1921.

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## AMERICAN STUDENTS LEARN BY HOSTELING

By ELIZABETH L. WADSWORTH

HOSTELING first came to Roslyn, a medium-sized suburban town on Long Island, New York, on the East Coast of the United States, in 1939. In that year, social-studies teacher Robert Stanforth, himself an enthusiastic hosteler, told students about this kind of

Then came World War II. Bob Stanforth and Frank Walter left the school, and for the next few years hosting at Roslyn languished for lack of faculty aid. Teachers were in favor of hosting, but none felt they could lead trips.



A group of members of American Youth Hostels, Inc., vacationing abroad in the land on a four-day bicycle tour

So it went until the school year 1946-47. In that year, Frank Walter returned to Roslyn from service in the U. S. Army. Students remembered him from their older brothers' and sisters' days in secondary school. They remembered that he was a hosteler and a trip leader. Not long after his return, a few fourth-year students got together and decided their art teacher was a good prospect for leading trips. They posed the question. To their delight, Mr. Walter's answer was "of course."

So, in the winter and spring of 1947, Frank Walter and groups of Roslyn students went on two bicycle hosting trips, to Washington, D. C., the Nation's capital, and New England, the section of the United States comprising the six north-eastern States. Carrying their enthusiasm further, they formed the Roslyn High (Secondary)

School Hostel Club, with Frank Walter as faculty adviser.

informal, low-cost travel. He told them about hostels, the special, supervised overnight stops for people who travel by bicycle, on foot, or otherwise under their own power. He told them about hostels' low rates—50 cents per night—and about the hosting code of doing one's own work, which makes these rates possible.

Roslyn students were enthusiastic. During the next few years, teacher Stanforth took out trips regularly on week ends and during vacation times. He was joined at times by a young art teacher, Frank Walter.

Interest stayed high over the summer, and when school opened in 1947, the Hostel Club's more than 30 members planned a week-end trip out on Long Island and began to think of an autumn trip to New England. The previous spring's New England jaunt had taken place over a long week end in May. It would serve as a pattern. There was only one drawback: members agreed it had been too short.

Now the problem arose—how to take a longer trip with school in session. It was then that the club decided



to ask parents, school officials, and teachers for time off. They chose the first week in November. This week, plus two week ends, would give enough time really to get acquainted with New England and its countryside.

Each student who wanted to take the trip was to ask for his or her own permission. Armed with general approval from Principal Ross, they set about the job, not knowing whether they would achieve any success at all. Several things had been happening, however, that made their job easy. Parents and teachers alike had been noticing results of the previous spring's trips.



Two hostellers are seen cutting firewood to leave behind for the next group to stay at the hostel

Roslyn's English-language teachers had found that the trips gave source material for the student's written English. As any teacher knows, students will usually learn in direct proportion to their interest in a subject. There seemed no doubt that writing about a hosteling trip was interesting!

Other teachers—and parents—had found that travel brought Roslyn's hostellers a different outlook on other people's customs and attitudes. Even in the few trips they had taken students had begun to see that "our" way is not necessarily the only way.

Parents had noticed hostellers gaining a practical sense of responsibility. Before they went hosteling, for instance, some of the group had had no experience at all with cooking. Others had approached the kitchen with, at best, a tentative air. Very few knew anything about meal planning, the price of eggs, and how to make a good meal for little money. Parents were amazed to find that after one or two trips their hostel-

ing offspring were planning, budgeting, and preparing whole meals.

Once permissions were granted, plans for the New England trip went ahead. Planning their trips is a major business for the Hostel Club. Before any trip, Hostel Club members decide first on a day-by-day itinerary. Then, their secretary writes for reservations to the house parents who supervise hostels they will use. If the area is far away, someone looks up train schedules for the first and last parts of the journey. Someone estimates total costs for the trip. Someone finds out about checking bicycles, what equipment the



Youth hostellers in the United States must prepare their own food and plan their own trips to learn resourcefulness and co-operative living

weather may call for, what food-buying facilities will be near each hostel, and so forth.

Each student is responsible for his or her own equipment. If the trip is by bicycle, students see that their machines are in good condition. (Most trips are by bicycle, but there have been ski and hiking trips, too). In practice sessions before the trip, they learn bicycle safety, and they learn to fix flat tires, to oil and otherwise keep a bicycle at its best.

Assembling further equipment can be an education in itself. Students know they must have an American Youth Hostels Pass, which will admit them to hostels; their own eating utensils; and a sheet sleeping sack. Beyond these, it is up to the individual. The guiding principle is weight, since everything goes on the bicycle for hosteling.

In the meantime, members take up special study projects about the area in which they will travel. Someone looks up local history; someone else, points



of interest; and so on. For weeks before each trip, meeting time is given over to these special reports. Roslyn's hostellers have learned that one gets twice as much from a trip if one knows what to look for beforehand.

Frank Walter points out that students have a serious attitude toward the times when they miss classes. For one thing, they know that they will not get permission to be out of school if their grades are not up. For another, they realize that being out of school for a few days does not mean losing the work—it means making it up on one's own time.



A group of youth hostellers singing around the fireplace in a hostel

Principal Ross comments, in this connection, that members of the Hostel Club stand uniformly high in their work. "I do not know whether hosteling attracts good students," he said, "or whether it makes good students, but hostellers almost without exception do better than average in the classroom."

Planning, however, is only beginning. Mr. Walter believes that hosteling's major values do not lie in planning, but in the trips themselves. He sums it up in a few words: simplicity, participation, democratic group living.

"When you get out hosteling, you dispense with most of today's mechanical devices. You travel on a bicycle. You sleep in a bunk. You join other people for tasks and for fun. You cannot help finding out that friends are more important than conveniences. You actually see why people talk about the beauties of nature.

"You learn to sacrifice something for other people, too. Maybe you do not like fish, but if the rest of the group does, you eat it or go hungry. At the same time, you know you can have your favourite dish when your turn to cook comes up.

"And another thing, when you are out hosteling, you have to make up your mind for yourself. If it is your turn to buy the food, it is up to you to figure out how to get the most for the group's money."

He told about one of the students who depended on people around her for everything. When she got out on a hostel trip, she learned, by force of circumstances, to take the initiative. After one or two trips, teachers began to notice a change. Not only did she get on better with her classmates, but her marks showed a decided improvement.

Testimony of the students themselves bears out what their parents and teachers have found. Said one:

"You learn something on every trip, facts, and how to do things. You learn about cooperation, too, and getting along with other people. On a hosteling trip, you sit down and decide what to do. In class or at home, someone usually tells you."

But Roslyn students are not all seriousness. Their first answer to "Why do you like hosteling?" is immediate and universal: "Because it is fun." Mr. Walter knows at least two cases where students who had a choice of high schools chose Roslyn because of the Hostel Club.

During the year 1949-50, Roslyn's schoolboard gave Frank Walter a special leave of absence to study the field of outdoor education. Following this year of study, he will return in the autumn of 1950 to start a new department at Roslyn high (secondary) school. This department will combine hosteling, camping, and other activities not in the field of organized sports. Its purpose will be to take all Roslyn's secondary school students the kind of values and education which hosteling has given to some of them.

Until now, hosteling at Roslyn has been open only to secondary school students. It has been restricted by the expense of travel and by the amount of time Frank Walter could spend leading trips. Under the new department, funds will be available so that all students can take part in the program. Special emphasis will be placed on intermediate school students. Whole classes will take part.

Mr. Walter reports that the plan is getting enthusiastic support from other teachers. One or two of them have taken trips with the Hostel Club, but under the new program they will all have a chance to participate.—From *NEA Journal*.



## EGYPTIAN AND OTHER LONG-STAPLE COTTON POSSIBILITIES WORK IN WEST BENGAL

By SARADA CHARAN CHAKRABARTY

### EGYPTIAN COTTON ACCLIMATED IN BENGAL: REASONS FOR ADVOCATING ITS CULTIVATION

(1) Imported seeds are generally attacked with pests. This variety, now acclimatized in Bengal, has proved indigenous to the soil.

(2) Its fine, strong staple has length above 1-5/16 inches and can spin 80's warp. It has been acclaimed by the Secretary, Bengal Millowners Association as "an unprecedented thing in the history of India."

(3) Its price is nearly double that of other long-staple varieties, though the yield is same and require equal care and labour in its cultivation.

(4) It can be grown mixed with some food-crop.

(5) Though last 10 years work on cotton under different Government schemes till 1947, has proved its suitability, it has failed to impress the cultivators. In the average fertile soil in Bengal, cultivators get good profit from the crops they are used to grow. Even the most successful grower abandoned its cultivation, the moment subsidies and help provided under Government schemes have been withdrawn. This is the only cotton, if introduced, will appeal to cultivators in Bengal.

(6) Cost of its cultivation will not exceed Rs. 300/- per acre from which 3 maunds of lint or 9 maunds of seed-cotton are expected. Taking the price at Rs. 250/- per maund, Rs. 750/- may be realised from sale of the produces besides seeds and food-crop cultivated with it. So its cultivation is profitable to cultivators as well as to capitalists.

(7) Opinion on this cotton by one of the celebrated Millowners of Bengal, Sri M. L. Shah of the Mohini Mills, is given here in support of the above statement about its quality.

Mohini Mills Ltd., 22, Canning St.  
Calcutta, 17th January, 1951

To Sri Sarada Charan Chakraborty,  
P.O. & Vil. Fulea Bayra, Dist. Nadia.

Dear Sir,

I have inspected the sample of Egyptian acclimated cotton grown in this season 1950-51 and my opinion on the cotton is as under:—

The length of the staple is approximately 13". The cotton is strong and class is good and almost free from naps. In my opinion this cotton can spin 80s. warp. If this cotton could be grown commercially, the requirement of such cotton will be more than one lac of bales. This cotton can be used by Bengal, as well as all India Mills. Under the circumstances, I recommend a scheme should be put into operation for multiplication of seeds and its preservation for large scale production.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) M. L. Shah

### PRESENT ACTIVITIES TOWARDS COTTON CULTIVATION IN WEST BENGAL

Though Indian Mills have been suffering acutely from cotton crisis, nothing has been done in West Bengal to

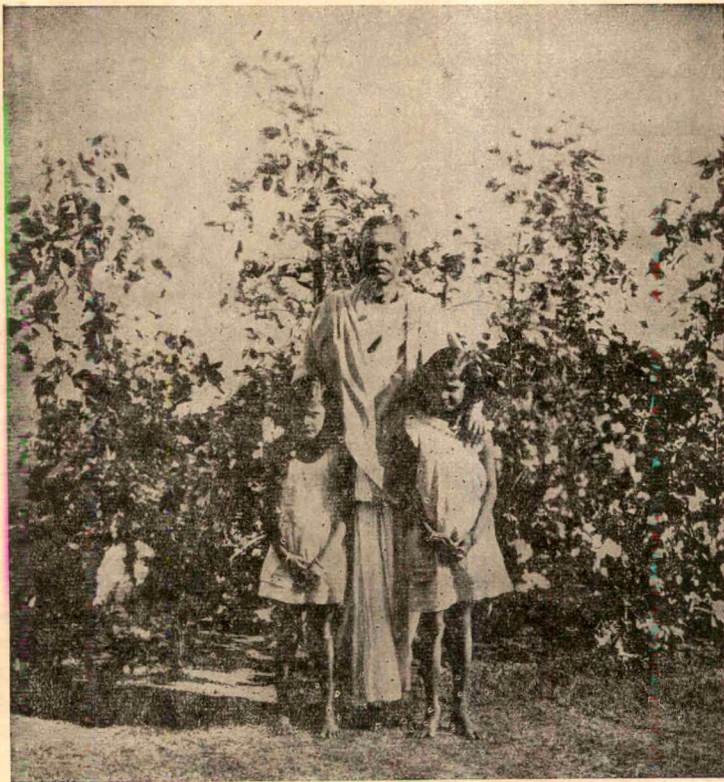


A plant of Egyptian cotton grown in the fields

revive its cultivation since partition of the Province. The Dhakeswari Cotton Mills, which had been pioneer in revival of cotton cultivation in Bengal under my supervision as its Agricultural Officer, also abandoned its cotton works after partition. So I had to come to West Bengal. The proprietor of some lands at Fulea Bayra, Nadia, on the Ganges, Dr. M. R. Chakraborty, M.B. allowed me to continue cultivation of Egyptian and other varieties there. My cultivation attracted many Congress workers and the Governor and many high officials visited and praised my cultivation. I had been, regularly, publishing results and



utility of its cultivation in many papers and magazines. My remarks that "in view of the cotton crisis in India, no government can afford long to sit idle in the matter" has proved true. In 1950 the Central Government contributed substantially to enable the Indian Central Cotton Committee to extend its cultivation in the Republic and to make India self-sufficient regarding its requirements of cotton. With a view to introduce its growing among cultivators, I felt the necessity of associating my work with government. As I am the only grower of Egyptian Cotton in the State, struggling hard under many difficul-



The writer of the article standing by the cotton-plants to indicate the height of the plants

ties to maintain seeds of this precious variety from extinction, I submitted, in 1949, a scheme for seed-multiplication of this cotton to I.C.C.C. through the Agricultural Department. The scheme was in February, 1950 sent to them with recommendation of the State for acceptance and financial help. As I.C.C.C. will take time to make their decision, the State on the recommendation of the Agricultural Department, made an interim grant of Rs. 1000/- for the season 1950-51, to enable me to continue its cultivation. The Hon'ble Minister, Supply Department, Sri N. B. Maiti, with some experts made a tour in Bankura in July, 1950 to ascertain possibilities of cotton cultivation in soils that are unfit for growing jute

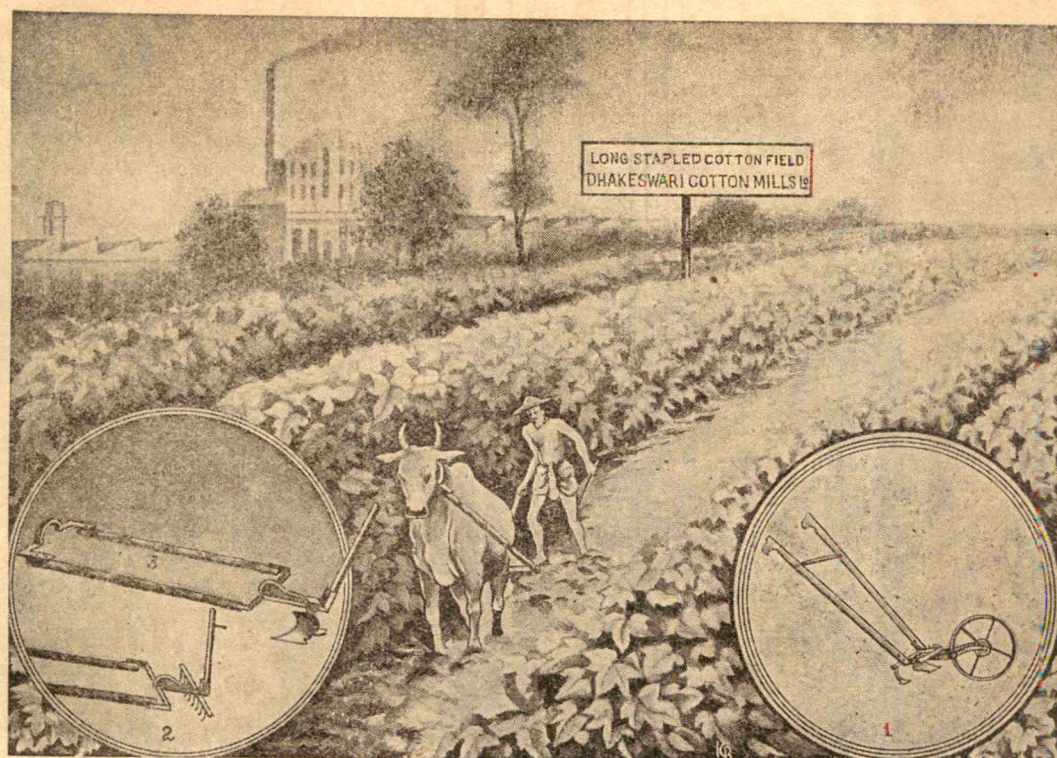
and paddy. In one place he found 90 seers of seed-cotton collected from 9 kathas of lands which comes to 15 maunds of kapas per acre, rarely collected in other cotton-growing tracts in India. He made further observations as to how cultivable areas in such tracts, now lying uncultivated, may be greatly increased by undertaking minor irrigation schemes and may be managed by the Agricultural Department. As suggested by him, an expert from the Central Government visited those areas who also corroborated his views about immense possibilities of cotton cultivation in those areas. At his

instance, the Agricultural Department sent a cotton cultivation scheme for West Bengal for 3 years at a cost of nearly 4 lacs of rupees to the Indian Central Cotton Committee. A cotton sub-committee was also formed with the Hon'ble N. B. Maiti as President to advise the Agricultural Department in its cotton works. The I.C.C.C. considered about the two schemes and arranged to send its secretary to visit West Bengal and submit his report after consulting me and others interested in the schemes. The secretary visited West Bengal and submitted his recommendation to the Central Government, after his return from West Bengal on 12th December, 1950. It is mysterious that I was not given any opportunity to place my views in the deliberations that took place on the eve of the departure of the secretary from this State. As one who framed the seed-multiplication scheme and also as a member of the cotton-sub-committee, I fairly expected a representation. When I learnt that my scheme had been dropped, I submitted a similar scheme to the Agricultural Department for their consideration. According to the scheme now to work in West Bengal large tracts in Birbhum, Bankura, Midnapore shall be

cultivated with long staple varieties as Perbhani and Co<sub>3</sub>, from the season 1951-52. My long association with the working of different government schemes in Bengal has convinced me that to interest tillers of the soil, and cotton cultivation to have a footing in Bengal, Perbhani and Co<sub>2</sub> have to be cultivated as passable varieties to be replaced gradually by the precious Egyptian cotton with multiplication of seeds.

The Secretary, I.C.C.C. came to this State and visited several cotton fields. He visited my area at Fulea Bayra, Nadia on the 4th December, 1950 accompanied by the Director of Agriculture and Crop Research Officer. I showed him the vigorous growth of acclimatized Egyptian



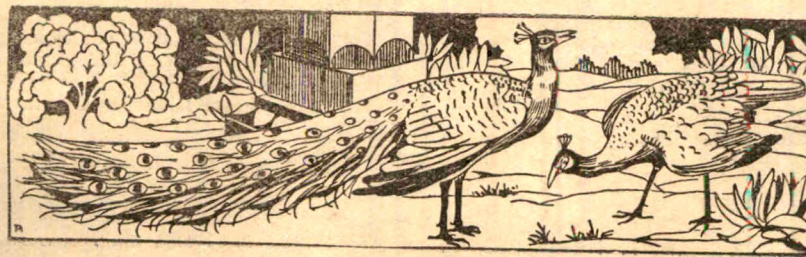


(1) Hand-hoes and cultivator; (2) one-bullock-driven harrow; (3) one-bullock-driven light plough

cotton grown under optimum condition and those under adverse conditions. I hope I succeeded in convincing him that the plants are indigenous to soils in Bengal. On the eve of the departure of the secretary on 12th December, 1950, I learnt that the proposal about working of the cotton scheme in West Bengal had been placed before him. Most of the members of the *ad-hoc* committee had not been called for their opinion, though some of them reside in Calcutta and can be requisitioned by phone-call even. It is mysterious that I was not given any opportunity to place my views on the seed-multiplication scheme though the Secretary, I.C.C.C. wanted to consult me on the scheme. As one interested in the scheme and also as a member of the *ad-hoc* committee, I had fairly expected a representation in the matter. It has been decided to work the scheme submitted by the Agricultural Department from the coming season 1951-52. The Secretary,

I.C.C.C. after his return to Bombay requested the Agricultural Department, to give me facilities, to enable me to cultivate one acre of land with the acclimatized Egyptian cotton for one year 1951-52. I have accordingly, as advised by the Agricultural Department, submitted a seed-multiplication scheme for one year, on the basis of my previous scheme, recommended by the State to I.C.C.C. in February, 1950.

It is a great satisfaction to see that the government, though very late, has at last undertaken works to revive cotton cultivation in the State. I have every faith in the success of the work under the present erudite and able Director of Agriculture, Dr. Nundy, who, I hope, will soon realise the importance of gradually replacing the existing varieties by the more precious Egyptian acclimatized cotton as the only means to interest tillers of the soil here permanently to its cultivation.





# TAGORE'S PHILOSOPHY OF ART

## A Critical Study

By Prof. S. K. NANDI, M.A., D.PHIL.

"A GIGANTIC creative endeavour built up its triumph in stupendous carvings defying obstacles that were overwhelming. Such a heroic activity over the greater part of the Eastern continent clearly answers the question, 'What is art?' It is the response of man's creative soul to the call of the real."<sup>1</sup> In these poignant lines, Tagore, the master artist, defines art and determines its nature and function in the light of the observation quoted above. It is the activity of the spirit that makes art what it is. The touch of the spirit makes it lively and vivacious. Reality is recreated and reshaped in the imagination of the artist. This activity of the spirit makes all the difference that distinguishes true poetry, from naturalistic poetry. Prof. Radhakrishnan<sup>2</sup> rightly points out that it is the spirit in man that retouches reality in a way and makes possible the rebirth of a higher reality which we call art. The touch of the spirit brings forth the blossoms on the arid wastes of the ugly world. The leper and the hunchback, Shylock and Iago, capture our imagination. Even what we detest, what we abhor and are really afraid of, when presented in art, become illumined with a divine light and pleasant with a kindly shade. The world of true art never closed its doors to the ugly and the deformed and the ludicrous, and cared as much for them as it cared for the grand and the sublime. They were equally welcome.

This definition of art as the 'response of man's creative soul to the call of the real' negates at the outset that art is mere imitation. Plato's censure on art stands self-condemned as soon as we recognise this element of spirit's activity in art. Truth, in the sense of correspondence with the factual world, does not carry much weight with a true artist. He does not so much care for the details, as he cares for the vision of the whole. It is the copyist whose business is to record in every detail but an artist gives you the impression of the whole, which seems to be developing in your imagination. The true artist is always suggestive. The 'beginning-middle-and-end' theory of Aristotle and later upheld by Hegel, tells us clearly that the artist must have a panoramic vision of what he wants to present. A mere catalogue of what is and of what happens will not satisfy a true connoisseur of art. The true poet, Tagore believed, had such a vision and that is why he could create a 'reality' that far surpasses, in 'dignity and grandeur, what we call 'real' in the ordinary sense of the term. That is why Tagore could write :

"What you create is truer than what happens;  
O poet ! thy imagination is more real than Ajodhya,  
the birth-place of Rama."<sup>3</sup>

1. Rabindranath Tagore : *Religion of Man*.

2. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan : *Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore*.

\* 'सेइ सत्य या रचिवे तूम,  
घटे या ता सब सत्य नहे । कवि, तब मनोभूमि,

Thus Tagore accords a higher reality to art and art as such transcends the ordinary distinction of reality and unreality. It is, in a sense, supra-real. Art follows reality and ultimately it transcends all such categorisation. The notion of reality in art as conceived by Tagore, has been shared and ably expressed by Kumaraswami.<sup>3</sup> Reality in art means the eternal negation of the sense of want. A true work of art is real only in this sense. There we do not find a true replica, a mimic representation of nature, yet we do not experience any feeling of want. Crude details are overlooked. Yet the sense of dissatisfaction does not overwhelm us. Reading Ramayana, we do not hasten to the historian to ascertain whether there were any such characters as Rama and Ravana and whether there was actually any conflict between them. We weep over the tragic end of Sita, the consort of Rama, and do not wait for the historian, who could, after enduring and arduous researches, tell us that the Ramayana might have been a mere fiction. People never questioned the truth and reality of all such epic characters. They accepted them for these characters were not wanting in reality in a higher sense; the characters were real for them, as they did not experience any sense of want in these characters. They were self-contained. In the case of all such successful portrayal mind uncritically accepts what is given for it finds delight in such acceptance. The feeling of want is not there and that is why the question of reality-consciousness does not arise at all. We do not question the probability of the appearance of ghost in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*; we relish Tagore's masterly technique in evoking the uncanny feeling in his story, 'The Hungry Stone.' We do not sit in judgment over the probability or improbability of 'Indranath' in actual life. Saratchandra's mighty pen gave it a reality, which is of a higher order. We know that Tagore's Urvasi is no being in flesh and blood, yet we believe that it is in no way more unreal than any other realistic character, taken from life. The content of art may be anything, a Urvasi or a Santhal woman, an Aurobindo or an Iago, a devil or a demi-god. It makes no difference whether we choose the one or the other. Reality in art, according to Tagore, consists in true expression, in the technique of embodying the light that never was on sea or land. This expression is the desubjectification of subjective feelings of the artist with proper psychical distance. That only makes art what it is. Tagore definitely tells us in 'Sahityer Swarup':

"Realism in art does not depend so much on its content as it depends on the technique and the mode of expression."

All such realism takes its birth in the region of the

रामेर जनमस्थान अयोध्यार चेये सत्य जेनो ।"

—भाषा उद्धृत, "काहिनी"

3. Sri Nandalal Bose : *Silpa Dristi*.



surplus, where man's imagination has the widest latitude of freedom. Poetic imagination works with equal felicity on the lowly bar of the scoundrels and the divine concourse of the heavenly beings. What is needed is a successful expression of the subjective feelings and that is why Croce, the noted philosopher, so boldly asserted that 'art is form and nothing but form.'

Here we will do well to note that for Tagore, form is only the primary truth about art and not its ultimate significance. There is content to contribute largely towards the making of real art. The form grows round the content and a perfect harmony of the two brings the greatest satisfaction. That is where Tagore is eclectic. He foregoes his position as a subjectivist and uncritically accepts the middle course. Had he been true to his belief in subjective philosophy, he would have held with Croce that art is form and nothing but form and the 'world that is there' is posited for the convenience of exposition. Form and content are not perfectly blended in imagination and it is no achievement of the human mind. There is no a posteriori unification of the two. They come from within as one indivisible whole. Form and content are only a posteriori differentiation and characterisation of one indivisible entity. This conventional naming of the same thing as two different entities should be bid farewell to for all times to come.

Before we close the discussion, we will critically examine Tagore's contention that art must express the human personality. By personality, he does not mean personality in its colourful entirety, but only the higher personality in man.<sup>4</sup> It is essentially what man aspires to be. Man, where he is noble and grand, where he is sublime and a worshipper of reason, is a welcome guest in Tagore's world of art. And such delimitation and narrowing of the content of art, according to Tagore, makes the problem of communication easier. But we are unable to accept his views in the face of contrary empirical evidence. Milton's Satan, Valmiki's Ravana, Scott's Brian de Bois Gilbert are certainly not types of characters

that may be admitted by Tagore in his realm of art. Iago, the villain in Shakespeare's *Othello* is an anachronism in Tagore's kingdom of art. We do not think that the artist should express himself in his work of art. He is not to choose between his passions and compassions. Sometimes the one and sometimes the other may come in and reign for a while without doing least violence to the autonomy of art as art. We should not religiously avoid the one and perpetually enthrone the other. That will not lend colour and richness to the variety of art. Moreover, our commonest of experiences, when properly expressed through the medium of art, runs the chance of being better appreciated by those who are common men and they constitute the bulk of the race. Wordsworth's 'We are seven' is an instance in point. Our rarest experiences and higher aspirations may not be shared and properly understood by others and thus they have the least probability of being properly appreciated. In our view, the mission of art is neither to express the divine in man nor the devil in him. Art merely objectifies the subjective feelings whatever they may be. Human personality should not be confused with such passing feelings as find expression in art. For, a true artist sometimes creates characters which are diametrically opposite; an Iago and an Imogen are born from a common mother. It is the 'negative capability' of the artist, to borrow an expression from Keats, that enables the artist to create a God and a hydra-headed monster. They are no expression of the poet's personality. The artist is successful only there, where he works with proper detachment.<sup>5</sup> Without this detachment, an artist is not worth the name. Without this detachment the variety in Shakespeare's and Tagore's creations would have been impossible. The definition of poetry as 'emotions recollected in tranquillity' speaks eloquently of this aloofness. We consider this mental aloofness on the part of the artist to be an essential factor that goes a long way in making art what it is. We fully endorse Elliot's view when he writes :

"The more perfect the artist, the more separate in him will be the man who suffers and the mind which creates."

6. Cf. Dr. Bullough's *Theory of Psychological Distance*.

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## THE LATE DR. SIR C. RAMALINGA REDDY A Personal Tribute

By P. RAJESWARA RAO, Advocate

THE passing away of Sir C. Ramalinga Reddy after completing the Biblical age of three scores and ten marks the end of an epoch of eminent educationists like the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sir Hari Singh Gour and Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, who made their respective Universities pioneers in every branch of learning.

Dr. Reddy comes of a distinguished family noted for its learning in our classics and epics. He showed signs

of promise even in his teens. At Cambridge his intellect blossomed forth into a fine flower. He attracted the attention of the students and professors alike. He was the first Indian to be elected as the Vice-President of the Cambridge Union. His oratory was pressed into service by the Liberals in electioneering campaign (there was no labour party at that time in England). He was made the Secretary of the Cambridge Liberal Club.

Besides attaining brilliant success in his own subject

(Economics) in examination he completed the course of lectures necessary for being called to the Bar. But the late Mr. Gopala Krishna Gokhale advised him to abstain from donning the Barrister's gown and become an educationist in order to mould the character and cultural life of the coming generation. Young Reddy readily accepted his leader's advice to the surprise and consternation of his admirers and fellow-students. With his analytical acumen, critical faculty, erudition and eloquence he might have quickly and easily become a front-rank lawyer and amassed a huge fortune. He might have also adorned the bench with credit and distinction.

But destiny willed it otherwise. He became the Vice-Principal of the Baroda College, a position held by Sri Anubindo Ghosh before he plunged into the national movement. From there he went to Mysore to become the Principal of the Maharajah's College and ultimately became the Inspector-General of Education in the State. There he came into contact with that intellectual giant, the late Sir Brajendra Nath Seal who subsequently became the Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University.

Madras under the Montford Reforms opened a new vista for him. At the outset he was caught in the whirlpool of communal politics by joining the Justice Party, which was ushered into existence by that arch-imperialist Lord Pentland in pursuance of the policy of 'divide and rule'. But Reddy proved to be a square peg in a round hole. It did not take him long to get out of the mire. He proved to be a tireless and severe critic of the Justice Party which was in power. His indictment of the Panagal Ministry under dyarchy can favourably be compared with the impeachment of Warren Hastings by Edmund Burke.

The Justice Party literally inaugurated the Andhra University and virtually installed him as the Vice-Chancellor to escape his opposition. Though he could not be silenced, at any rate, his attention was diverted. He gave his very best to the University during its formative period which was not altogether happy. Though he was a keen student of the humanities, consistent with the spirit and the requirements of the times, he gave top priority to applied sciences and research.

The Satyagraha movement in 1930 moved him deeply and he resigned his office as a protest against the repressive policy of the British Government. Subsequently he became a full-fledged Congressite and smashed the opposition of the Justice Party in Andhra. When his successor Dr. S. Radhakrishnan left the University to fill the Professorial chair at Oxford, he once again became the Vice-Chancellor and remained as such till he left it voluntarily an year ago to become the Pro-Chancellor of the Mysore University. Really he wanted to watch and guide its career from a distance. Like Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, he had the uncanny knack of spotting out a genius and giving him the necessary opportunities for expression. In spite of the peculiar political pressure in the shape of Communal Government—a legacy of the Justice Party—

still prevailing in this part of the country, he successfully avoided considerations other than merit and efficiency in filling up posts of responsibility and trust and also of opportunity and honour.

When the Congress contested elections in 1937 the claims of this veteran nationalist were ignored. Evidently the party bosses were afraid of his intellectual independence. He occupied a cross-bench in the upper chamber—the Legislative Council, as a nominated member. But he was not bitter to those who disappointed him. Following the noble example of that departed elder statesman the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastry he extended discriminating support to the governmental measures.

When the Second World War broke out he was not happy over the Congress policy of going into wilderness. He clearly foresaw the ideological issues and the global consequences with the result that he became a supporter of the war-effort. What was more, he tried to understand and appreciate, with an open mind, the stand taken up by the late Mr. M. A. Jinnah with respect to the Pakistan demand. Thus he drifted away from his previous moorings, and the knighthood conferred on him at that juncture roused public suspicion. But as a member of the non-Party Conference organised by the late Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, he endeavoured to solve the deadlock.

When the Congress came to power once again in 1946, he was nowhere in the picture. The fact that a man of his attainments and experience was not elected to the Constituent Assembly of India, where he could have risen to great heights, is indeed a pathetic commentary on our public life. But he nursed no grievance and had learnt to take the world as it was since long. He evinced continued interest in public affairs. His comment on men and matters was detached but trenchant. His criticism was marked by brilliant wit, biting sarcasm and ready repartee.

As a man he was frank to a fault, and was not afraid of exposing his private life to public glare. When his admirers were referring to him as a great Brahmacharin and a veritable Bhishma he protested and said that it would be appropriate to describe him only as an unmarried man. He was charming in conversation, powerful on platform and peerless in debate and above all he was a strict observer of Parliamentary tradition and democratic convention. As a letter-writer he was a class by himself. As one who continuously corresponded with a good number of the greatest intellectuals of our times in India and abroad, I can say without any fear of contradiction that his letters to me, whatever the subject might be, were most refreshing and I wish that all my correspondence were at such a high cultural level.

Above all he was a non-Party nationalist with sympathy for all. His catholicity was proverbial and served as an invaluable link between the older and the younger generations. His advocacy for the claims of Sanskrit to be the State language of India was cogent and convincing. He might not have achieved success in the popular sense



of the word. He might not have been prominent. But certainly he was eminent and influenced the thoughts of men at a higher level. The very fact that he instituted a national prize to be awarded annually to distinguished savants in the sciences and humanities, symbolised his lofty idealism. His memory will be cherished by posterity as one who tried to rise above pettiness and

prejudice and looked at men and matters without fear or favour, without undue attachment or ill-will. His life is a warning and an appeal to the present generation at this juncture when our thoughts are regimented and actions are regulated by extraneous influences and factors. May his soul rest in peace.

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## DHOLKA A Historical Sketch

By MANEKLAL GOVINDLAL JOSHI

DHOLKA, the taluka-headquarters town of Dholka Taluka of Ahmedabad district of Bombay Province, is an ancient town of historical importance. It is situated 23 miles South-East of Ahmedabad, and is on 22.44° North Latitude and 72.28° East Longitude.

There is no fixed date as to when this town was founded. *The Bombay Gazetteer* states that in *Kathasaritsagar* there is mention of a town named 'Dhavala.' The famous ancient traveller Idrissi has also made a mention of a town named 'Dulaka' in his memoirs.

There is a widespread belief prevalent among the general public that modern Dholka is the famous Viratnagar of the epic Mahabharata, where the Pandavas had remained in hiding for one year. But recent researches have made it clear that this belief has no historical basis.

According to latest historical researches available, it is assumed that Vaghela king Virdhavala's great-grandfather and Arnoraja's father Dhavala had founded this town of Dholka—naming it Dhavalakka or Dhavalgriha. But this is not a final verdict. Among the various ancient monuments which are still in existence in Dholka, there is still to be found 'Malava' reservoir built by Queen Minaldevi, the mother of great Solanki King Sidhraj Jaysinha. During her regency period Minaldevi had caused two reservoirs to be erected, one at Dholka (Malava or Minal Talav), and the other at Viramgam (Munsar or Minalsar), these being the two towns on the main roads from Gujarat to Saurashtra. Both these reservoirs are still in existence, though almost a thousand years have passed since then. Moreover, Dholka was more important than Viramgam in a way, because the main routes to the then two important ports of Gujarat, viz., Cambay and Dholera, separated from here, as also the main road to the famous shrine of Somnath Patan also passed through Dholka.

The late Poet Nanalal, while addressing the students of the local High School, had remarked that after completing their studies, it is possible that Lord Krishna

and his bosom friend Sudama had returned to Sudamapuri (Porbunder) and Dwarka via Dholka, and this statement gives support to the mention of the township of 'Dhavala' in the *Kathasaritsagar*.

Also taking into consideration the several pre-historical researches recently brought to light, one is led to believe that the region around Dholka must be very near some sea. In support of this theory one still finds that the southern portion of Dholka Taluka, viz., the Bhat tract, which is essentially a wheat-growing area, and the village Saragwala is said to have been a port. A mound near that village and round stones pierced with holes formerly used as anchors, give great support to this theory. Also river Omkar, which passes through this tract becomes saltish as soon as the flow of the fresh waters of monsoon is stopped. This also gives support to the theory that this whole region must have been a sea-bed in pre-historic age.

The late Col. Todd, in his famous *Annals of Rajasthan*, while writing about Dholka, states :

"By what route Kanaksen, the first emigrant of the Solar race, found his way into Saurashtra from Lohkot is uncertain; he, however, wrested domains of a Prince of the Paramara race and found Birnagar in the II century (A.D. 144). Four generations afterwards Vijayasen, whom the Prince of Amber calls Naushirwan, founded Vijayanagar, supposed to be where Dholka now stands, at the head of Saurashtra peninsula."—(Eng. Edition, Vol. I Page 253).

But he has stated that he has no historical proof to support his theory.

Prof. Altekar in his article entitled "Ancient Cities of Gujarat and Kathiawar" (published in the *Indian Antiquary* of June 1925, pages 26-27), while writing about Dholka, states :

"Though towns like Khetaka (Kaira), Kasadraba (Kasindra) and Karpatavanijya (Kapadavanji), which are in the vicinity of Dhavalakka or modern Dholka, figure prominently in Vallabhi inscriptions, they do not so much as mention Dhavalakka. If it had then been, as it subsequently became, the headquarters of a district, it would have been certainly referred to somewhere.

"Though traditionally believed to be the site

of Matsyapur or Viratnagara (where the Pandavas lived for a year incognito), Dhavalakka was in those early days only a village; it probably rose to importance when Anhilpurpatana became an important capital and commercial emporium in the tenth century. Stambhatirtha or modern Cambay was the port for the extensive import and export trade of Anhilpurpatana, and Dhavalakka was on the route between those two places as also on the route between Gujarata and Kathiawar. As all this trade passed through Dhavalakka it developed into a city and naturally became the headquarters of a district.

"During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it became one of the most important cities in Gujarat and an important centre of financial transactions (cf., for instance, the following passage in the Girnara inscription of 1232 A.D.)\* Under Vaghela rule, the importance of the town still more increased, for the Vaghela dominions at first consisted only of the territories around Dholka or Dhavalakka and Dhandhuka. It became their capital. The tank at Dholka was built by Minaidevi, the mother of Sidhrajia.

"The identity of ancient Dhavalakka with modern Dholka is too obvious to need explanation."

Mr. Bhogilal Sandesara has given the year of foundation of Dholka as Samvat 925 (A.D. 869) in one of his articles published in the July-September, 1941 issue of the *Forbes Quarterly*.

From all these theories it can pretty well be assumed that Dholka must have been founded in the sixth century A.D., and that during the Vaghela regime it had reached the zenith of its prosperity, and as Solankis at Anhilpurpatana became weak, and also from political as well as strategic point of view Anhilpurpatana being more convenient, the Vaghelas, after they attained the suzerainty of Gujarat, removed their capital from Dholka to Patan, with the result that Dholka gradually lost its importance.

During the regime of the So'ankis, Dholka along with Vyaghrapalli was bestowed as a gift to a chieftain whose progeny became known as Vaghelas. Virbhavala Vaghela's father, being dissatisfied with the behaviour of Solanki King Bhimadeva II or Bhola Bhim, left Patan, took hold of the regions around Dholka and Dhandhuka and began to consolidate them. He also captured the regions between the rivers Sabarmati and Narmada. He made Dholka his capital and began to rule semi-independently, accepting the suzerainty of Patan in name only. Virbhavala, himself being an ambitious and gallant warrior, in order to strengthen his position, captured Godhra and Cambay also, and merged them with his own regions. He had, in famous Vastupal and Tejpal, a most brilliant Minister and a spirited Commander-in-Chief respectively. Their motto of governing the country is best mentioned in these words :

\* श्री गुर्जरमण्डले धवलकप्रमुख नगरेषु मुद्राव्यापारान् व्यापृवन्ना  
तेजपालः...मुद्राव्यापार —of course means *Saraj*—  
Banking business.

"That minister is clever who without placing his hand on any one's head can increase the treasury, without putting any one to death can protect the country, without war augments its territories."

The world-famous Dilwara temples on Mount Abu are the creations of these two brothers, and therein in the inscriptions Virbhavala is mentioned as 'Mahamandaleshwara' and 'Rana.' From this it is surmised that till then his capital was at Dholka, and that he had still not captured the throne of Gujarat, and had not assumed the title of 'Maharajadhiraja.'

After the death of Virbhavala, his son Vishaladeva succeeded him, and he drove away the last Solanki King Tribhuvanapal, captured Patan, and having assumed the title of 'Rajadhiraja,' proclaimed himself the sovereign king of Gujarat (A.D. 1243).

Both Virbhavala and Vishaladeva had added new fortresses and repaired the old existing ones. These fortresses were but frontier military posts, probably as far surpassed in splendour as in extent by Dholka and other towns of the second class while they were in turn outshone by the marble-adorned metropolis of Anhilpurpatana.

In *Kumarapalaprabandha*, it is mentioned that Dholka was bestowed to Devashri who had put the red mark on the forehead of Kumarapala, when he became the king of Gujarat, after the death of Sidharaja Jayasinha.

After the removal of capital to Patan, Dholka lost its importance. Shortly after that the Mussalmans came in power, and Ahmedshah made Ahmedabad his capital. Under the Mussalmans Dholka was the headquarters of a local Governor, and it was regarded as a place of no small consideration, and accordingly a garrison was maintained there with an officer of the cadre of Naib-Suba in charge of it.

After this when Ahmedshah II became the king of Gujarat, he being a minor, it is mentioned that his Amirs divided his regions among themselves, and as such Dholka came into the possession of Sayad Mubarak. In the time of Muzaffarshah III, Dholka was still in the possession of Sayad Hamid, the son of Sayad Mubarak.

The Mussalmans were in turn succeeded by the Mughals, who became the masters of India. The Mughals captured Gujarat in 1572 A.D. It is reported that Akbar after capturing Gujarat for the second time, while returning to Delhi, went *via* Dholka, and that he passed a night there. His first Viceroy of Gujarat Mirza Aziz Koka had come up to Dholka to see him off.

With the coming of the Mughals, Muzaffar Hussain Mirza, with his mother Gulrukha Begum, had escaped to the South. But as soon as Akbar's back was turned he collected an army at Poona, and returned to regain his former kingdom. He captured Baroda. At this time Raja Todarmal, the Revenue Minister of Akbar, who



was then on a tour for surveying the lands of Gujarat, was at Ahmedabad, and he strongly advised the then Viceroy of Ahmedabad to make a bold stand against the rebels, with the result that as soon as the imperial army reached Baroda, the rebels escaped towards Junagadh in Saurashtra. The Mughals followed them, and there was a deadly fight between the rebels and the Mughals at Dholka in which the rebels were given finally a crushing defeat. It is reported that in this battle many women had taken part having put on male clothes, as was disclosed from the dead bodies.

With the passing of times came the fall of the Mughal Empire. It is mentioned that Aurangzeb too had once visited Dholka, and had passed a night there.

In the South, the Mahrathas rose in power and they began to spread themselves everywhere. In 1788, Chimanji Appa, a lieutenant of Peshwa Bajirao, plundered Dholka, and finally in 1804 it passed into the hands of the British from the Gaekwar of Baroda. During the intervening period it had passed from the Mussalmans to Mahrathas and *vice versa*. Lastly from 1757 onwards it remained with the Gaekwars. During the reign of Gaekwar Anandrao, the chieftain of Kadi rebelled against him, and to put down that rebellion the Gaekwar had to seek the help of the East India Company. The Company came to Anandrao's aid, and crushed the rebellion. In return, it was agreed that an additional battalion of the Company be kept at Baroda, for the maintenance of which the Gaekwar handed over the Dholka Taluka with its income. It is reported that at this time the Dholka Taluka consisted of 600 villages, and had an annual income of about Rs. 4,50,000. As a monument of the Maratha power in Dholka there is still a temple of Nagnath Mahadeo, with a village endowed for its maintenance.

*The Bombay Gazetteer*, while stating the condition of the Dholka Taluka when it came into the hands of the British Government, reports that

"It was a very fertile region. There were lots of Mango, Rayan, Mahura and Neem trees, giving fruits and shade to tired travellers. There were deep forests on both the banks of river Sabarmati, and lions and tigers were found there. There is no trace of these forests now, and because of the devastating floods of 1863 these man-eating animals have also vanished, and they are now not found anywhere. Besides these, duck and snipe were formerly very common, but now they are less common. Hogs too were found in much abundance, but they are rarely seen now."

In 1812, the population of the Dholka Taluka was 1,13,375, of which 1,01,487 were Hindus; 11,886 were Mussalmans; and 2 were Parsis. The average acreage of farms was 12.2/40, and the average acreage to plough was 10.28/40.

'Bagayat' (fruits, etc.) cultivation was done to a greater extent in Dholka Taluka, and even today the guavas, the pomegranates and the dried ginger of Dholka are well-known, and are exported to distant

places like Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Bikaner, etc. Especially Calcutta is the biggest consuming centre of Dholka pomegranates.

The great traveller Al Idrissi, who visited India in the twelfth century, while giving his account of the important business centres, speaks of 'Dulaka,' Asaval and a third town near Asaval as places of good trade, equal in size. He further states that the Gujarat Ports' chief inland mart was probably Dholka.

Dholka had very extensive business relations with the South. It was and still is a great centre for hand-woven cloth. According to *The Bombay Gazetteer*, these weavers originally came from Radhanpur because of want. Some stayed permanently at Dholka, and some went onwards to Kathiawar and Cambay, where they settled themselves. Apart from these Radhanpuri weavers there were and are many Hindu Khattris or weavers.

Cotton was and is produced in great quantity in the Dholka Taluka, and as such a ginning and pressing factory was established in 1877-78. Unfortunately that has remained the only factory up till now in Dholka town because Bavla and Koth on the north and south respectively of Dholka, have developed into great cotton and grain centres, affecting greatly the trade of Dholka.

Akbar's reign.

The first survey was made in 1823. Before that in 1590, Raja Todarmal had made a survey during

The present boundaries of the Dholka Taluka consist of Sanand Mahal in the North, Matar and Cambay Talukas of the Kaira district in the East, Dhandhuka Taluka in the South, and Limbdi Taluka of Saurashtra and Nala Sarovara in the West. In 1872, it had an area of 690 square miles, with a population of 161 persons per square mile. With the creation of Sanand Mahal, the area is slightly decreased.

The South-West and the South-East portions of the Dholka Taluka are low-level regions. These regions seem to be the sea-bed regions of pre-historic age, because they are still very saltish, and only wheat, gram and cotton are raised there. The average annual rainfall of the Dholka Taluka is 23 inches to 27 inches.

While giving the description of the Dholka town proper, *The Bombay Gazetteer* states:

"In a well-tilled and well-wooded plain, for about two miles broken at intervals, by mounds from ten to thirty feet high, and by the remains of rich mosques and gardens, Dholka, a mile and a half long three-fourth of a mile broad, is irregularly fortified by a mud wall four miles in circumference. . . . Dholka is probably one of the oldest cities in Gujarat, and has always maintained its position as an important country town and a trade centre."

Today there is no trace of these mounds or the mud wall, though the *Gazetteer* has gone to the

extent of mentioning that during the Mahomedan period an officer of the grade of a Naib-Suba was stationed here with a garrison to help him in maintaining law and order, and to protect the frontier, and that there was a fort also. The famous historian Farishta has also stated that there was a fort at Dholka. There is every possibility of these statements being true, since Dholka Taluka was on the border of Sorath and Gujarat.

After Dholka had come into the possession of the British, in the very first decade *i.e.*, in 1813 there was a great famine which played a havoc, resulting in the utter ruin of many handicrafts, such as hand-weaving, earthenware, bangles, iron and brass vessels, and tools making, etc. Even though a period of more than a hundred and twenty-five years has passed since then, still these crafts have not regained their former position.

As a remnant of the old days hand-weaving is still to be found, and about 700 to 800 hand-loom are being operated. It is reported that formerly the cloth woven at Dholka was exported to distant countries like Iran and Arabia, but now this cloth is chiefly consumed by the Deccani women. It is further reported that in 1912 at the time of the Coronation of King George V at Delhi, a *sari* specially prepared for Her Majesty was sent from here.

#### KASBATIS OF DHOLKA

According to local reports, it is said that there were formerly 52 Kasbatis at Dholka enjoying royal ensigns. Col. Walker, while writing about them, states :

"Previous to the fall of the Moghul Government, the Kasbatis as soldiers of fortune, who had acquired a competence, had settled at Dholka. From their number and war-like character, their influence was great, and they were feared by Kathis. They were useful to the Mahrathas. Due to changes in Government, Dholka district was an uncultivated waste. Gaekwar was incapable. Kasbatis offered to restore the population of many villages on condition that each village they brought into cultivation should be leased to them for certain period for certain rent. Since then it has been customary to grant waste villages to Kasbatis. These Kasbatis were a class of men, who though not possessed of hereditary rights, succeeded in assuming what was wellnigh their equivalent."

There were three chief clans of Kasbatis at Dholka *viz.*, Menas, Rehans and Paramars. In 1800, when Gaekwar proceeded against Shelukar at Ahmedabad one of the Kasbatis named Bavamiyan Parmar had gone with him. Also at the time of rebellion at Kadi, this Bavamiyan Parmar had joined the British forces with his two hundred horsemen. Bavamiyan expired in the same year, leaving behind him two sons, Bapumiyān who came in power after his father, and Malekmīyān. At that time he had thirty villages in his possession.

Furthermore, these Kasbatis acted as securities at the time of the collection of land-revenue. So great

was their reputation that their protection was paid for by the merchants, and they imprisoned or imposed billets on their debtors without any reference to their Government.

As successors to the Imperial Government at Delhi, the British Government in 1817, took back the possessions of the villages held by these Kasbatis. At that time the case of Bapumiyān was treated as an exception. Today Sardar Shermiyān Parmar of the same clan is still allowed to hold twelve villages on lease. Apart from these twelve villages he holds several portions of big Inami lots (*vantas*), as also he holds a major portion of the Salangpur village near Botad in Saurashtra Union.

#### SOME ANCIENT MONUMENTS AT DHOLKA

Looking from the historical point of view, the oldest existing monument in Dholka at present, should be considered the Malav lake, excavated by Queen Minaldevi, the mother of famous Sidhrajā Jayasinhā. Though this lake is round in shape, at one place it is protruding. According to folklore it is said that when land was being acquired for the lake, the place where this protruding is seen today, was the house of a dancing girl, who refused to sell or move from that place. She was offered to name her own price for her piece of land, but still she refused. Finally Queen Minaldevi hearing of this, sent for her, and asked her the reason why she was adamant in not selling her house. The dancing girl replied :

"Oh, Queen, you are digging this lake so that people may remember you for ever. You are a queen, whereas I am merely a dancing girl. But I too wish to have my name remembered for ever. And this is the only chance whereby I can do so. Please therefore I beseech you not to force me to sell my house. Thereby you will further be remembered as a queen who for justice's cause did not use coercive measures."

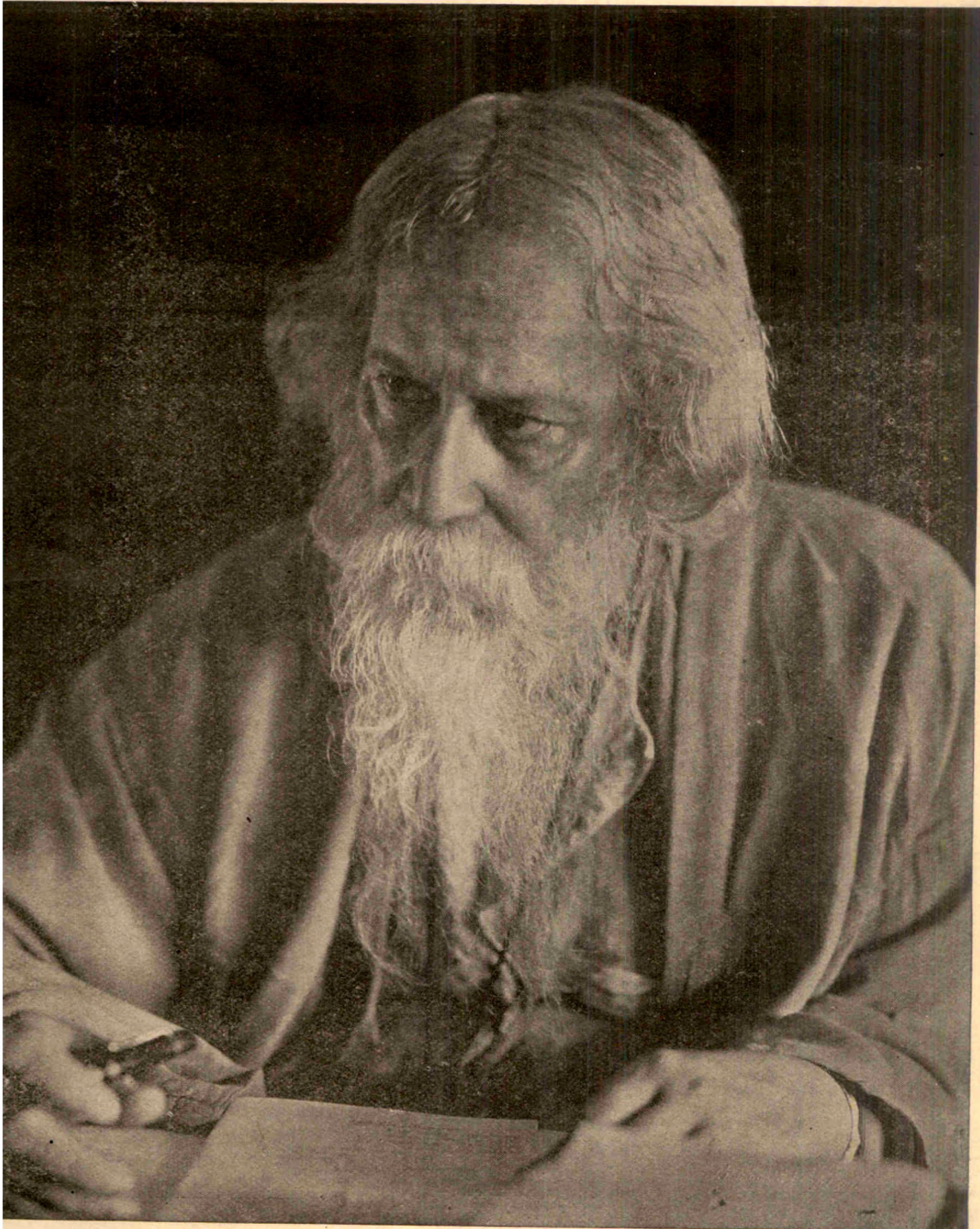
The Queen was very much pleased with her answer, and she ordered not to acquire the said piece of land where the dancing girl's house stood, but to proceed with the work of constructing the lake, with that protuberance. This incident has given rise to a very well-known proverb in the Gujarati language, "If you want to see real justice done, go and see the Malav at Dholka."

There is a small stone bridge, with seats on both the sides, to reach the centre of the lake. It seems that there was a Shiva temple here, since the Solankis were great devotees of Shiva. At present there is no temple, but a small structure, which looks like the front portion of a Shiva temple. The bridge, also is in a tottering condition, and the seats are all practically gone.

From the engineering point of view this lake is worth seeing, especially the arrangement to bring the storm waters to the lake, without any damage being done by



IN MEMORIAM



Rabindranath Tagore

Born 6th May, 1861





Lady Abala Bose



the force of the incoming waters. The intervening well between the passage of the water and the lake has some very beautiful figures carved within it, and they attract attention because of their extreme gracefulness.

(2) The second monument worth mentioning is the mosque of Bilal or Hilal Khan Qazi. It is the oldest mosque in Dholka and was constructed in 1333. It is situated in the northern section of the town. In this mosque the arrangement for female devotees is similar to one found in Alam Chisti's Mosque at Ahmedabad. The arches are of marble and ornamented with carvings, and the 'Mimbar' or the marble pulpit is still in pretty good condition, and is one of the finest in India. The public generally call this structure by the name of Pandava's School.

(3) Then comes the Tanka Mosque situated in the southern section of the town. It was formerly the Jumma Masjid of the town. It was built in 1361 A.D. in the reign of Ferozshah Tughlak. It is also a stone structure. The people call it by the name of 'Bhima's kitchen.' It is reported this mosque was built after demolishing the residence of Vastupal-Tejpal brothers.

(4) Alafkhan's Mosque or popularly known as the Khan Masjid, is situated in the west side of the town, opposite the railway station. This entire structure is of brick and mortar. It has three big domes, and there are very tall minarets on both the sides. It is reported that the first experiment of building such big domes was undertaken over here, and as it proved a successful experiment, a bigger dome was built at Ahmedabad known as 'Dariyakhani's Ghumat (dome),' and the experiment finally ended with the building of the biggest dome in India at Bijapur in the South, known as the 'Gol Gumbaz.'

This mosque was built by Alaf Khan Bhukai, a noble and a bosom friend of Shah Mohmed Begada. Behind the mosque there is a big lake known as 'Khan Talav' and lotus flowers are to be found there. On the north and south of this mosque there are two stone structures at 63 and 40 yards away respectively. Both these structures have 40 stone columns and a stone roof.

(5) The Jumma Mosque of the town is situated in the centre of the city. It is a magnificent, old historical monument, and was built in or around 1485 A.D.

(6) On the northern extremity of the town, on the old highway to Ahmedabad, there is a 'Vav' (a well with steps leading down to the water's edge) and a roofed stone structure with an inscription in it. This

inscription bears the date of 1433 A.D., and it states that this Vav was built by the wife of Ashapal, a Bania by caste and a servant of Muzaffarshah, to commemorate the name of his only son who had met an untimely death. It is further stated in the inscription that the water of this Vav has miraculous property. Today the Vav is in a tottering condition and hence nothing can be done to verify the statement made in the inscription regarding the water.

#### MODERN DHOOLKA

According to the last census of 1941, the Dholka town had a population of 17,600 persons, and today it has exceeded the limit of 20,000. In 1857 five towns of Gujarat were given Municipalities, and Dholka was one of them.

The metre-gauge railway from Ahmedabad to Dholka was extended in 1901, and after a lapse of 25 years it was further extended to Dhandhuka, where it joined the Bhavnagar State Railway branch extended from Botad to Dhandhuka. This gave second direct railway route to Kachhiwar. The present regime has decided to build a metre-gauge railway from Dholka to Baroda, via Sojitra, Petlad and Bhadrin but for the time being this project is suspended.

The famous Vautha fair is held at the Sangam (confluence) of the Sabarmati and Vatrak rivers every year during the month of Kartik on full-moon day. Here meet the waters of seven rivers. The village of Vautha, where this fair is held, is about 7 miles in the South-East of Dholka.

So far as the trade of the town is concerned there is no progress. There is only one ginning and pressing factory, but so far as handicrafts are concerned there are still 700 to 800 hand-looms operated. But owing to competition of the machine-worked textile mills at Ahmedabad, the weavers find it very hard to stand in competition. Now-a-days Chappal manufacture has made appreciable progress.

The industrial city of the magnitude of Ahmedabad having developed in very near vicinity, Dholka has not been able to make any progress.

It is the headquarters town of the Taluka of the same name, with a Mamlatdar's Court, a Sub-Treasury, a Resident First Class Magistrate's Court, a (Junior Division) Civil Judge's Court, a High School, a Municipal Hospital and a Municipal Maternity Home. The present Government has decided to install electricity over here, but so far nothing seems to have been done in the matter.



## PEACE THROUGH POWER

By R. K. SOONAVALA

There is an intangible but most effective and potent change of focus in the discussion of the most important question that is agitating the minds of all the statesmen of the world. It will be recalled by all students of international affairs that after the Hitlerian hordes were forced to surrender, one question was being asked in all the chancelleries of the world: "Will there be another war?" The same question is being asked now in a slightly different form, the difference being subtle but substantial: "When will there be another war?"

Thus the fact that there will be another war is being taken for granted by all the countries of the world. There is a huge shadow of armament factories which is being so elongated that it has shifted from Europe to Asia and is likely to engulf the whole of the globe.

Even within two years after the formal cessation of hostilities the hum and whirr of armament factories and ordnance depots all over the civilised nations of the world was acquiring a pitch and intensity that had all the undertones of war. Over and above this a new technique of war was being forged in the shape of Cold War. We may try to trace the origin of that ghastly phrase but we shall fail. The meaning of that phrase is not to be found in any dictionaries of the world and we have grave doubts whether the meaning of that phrase could be traced in the volumes secretly kept in schools of military strategy. And yet even the ordinary reader of our newspapers knows the meaning of the words "Cold War."

Nor is there any guide to the second more difficult question: "When does a Cold War become hot?" On the answer to that question depends the fate of the whole world. Before I proceed to adumbrate the main thesis of this article, let me try to clear up one main question on which there seems to be a great discussion in India. Our Prime Minister has contributed a new concept in international affairs. His greatest contribution to a global peace is his new conception of complete and effective neutrality. Whatever may be the future of India, we are now committed to that foreign policy which has been shaped by the loving hand of the master, forged by the force of circumstances, imposed upon us by the paucity of our military strength as compared with the other big nations, and dictated to us by the very geography of our country. Let there be no misunderstanding on this main and vital question: "We are committed to this policy for a long time to come."

It is significant that even in the midst of most acrimonious elections, both in England and in America, in the midst of war and after war, the rival parties joined hands on the question of foreign policy. A candidate who criticised the policies of his country in relation to international affairs had no chance of getting votes in England and America. In the heat and discussion on domestic affairs, not a word was said by the contending candidates about international affairs. And the reason is obvious.

The foreign policy of a country is the outcome of many years of past history, integrated by weighty questions of history, geography and politics. Therefore if the foreign policy of a nation was to be subject to the winds and gales of elections, if it was to move from side to side according to the change and flux of party politics, it would wither, it would crumble, it would die.

We then start with the basic, cardinal principle of our foreign policy, namely that we shall maintain, wherever possible, an effective neutrality. On our strength and ability to keep control of international affairs and guide them according to the fundamental concept of our foreign affairs policy, depends the future of India, if not of the whole of Asia. Our greatest contribution towards peace is our strict neutrality.

We then come to the next question: "What is neutrality? Is it the *laissez faire* of ancient days? Is it the isolationism preached by some of the reactionary political philosophers of the U.S.A.? Is it the attitude 'I am not my brother's keeper'?" The answer is an emphatic No. For the way we are shaping our foreign affairs, we have proved to the peoples of the world that ours is a dynamic foreign policy, based on the fundamental concept of strict international neutrality. A masterly intervention in world affairs, within the strict self-imposed chain of neutrality is a new concept in international politics, difficult to grasp and more difficult to appreciate. Yet we have successfully shown that we can do it.

Well then, neutrality, which shall not be inactive, neutrality which shall not be blind, neutrality which shall be dynamic, are the three new concepts in our foreign affairs policy. Now neutrality can have two meanings. One is the narrow, technical meaning as laid down in books of international law. Neutral obligations as recognised by international law may be summarised in terms of "abstention," "impartiality" and "prevention." It is customary for states to



declare their neutrality upon the outbreak of war by a formal proclamation issued by the head of the Government. Just a passing example. On September 5, 1939, President Roosevelt issued what is now known as conventional neutrality proclamation under international law and a second proclamation under the Neutrality Act of 1937 imposing an embargo on the exports of arms, ammunition and implements of war to Germany, Poland, France, Britain, India, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Canada. To give a more recent example, the following note appeared in *The Times of India* of the 17th instant:

"New Delhi, November 15—The Government of India, in pursuance of their policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of Nepal, have issued instructions to the Governments of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal not to allow any movement of armed men as well as arms and ammunition in either direction across the border.

"It was officially stated today that, on receipt of reports of some aircraft having flown over Nepal, distributing leaflets, the Government of India had issued instructions to ensure that no plane left India on such undertakings."

But to be more explicit, to convey to the reader the exact concept of neutrality as recognised by international law I shall quote a passage from a book which has become the bible of international politics in America. Prof. Frederick L. Schuman says in his book *International Politics* at page 171 as follows:

"A state which has declared itself neutral has a right to have its neutrality respected by the belligerents, by abstaining from any participation in the conflict and by preventing its citizens from engaging in certain acts regarded as breaches of neutral obligations. A neutral state may not permit its territory to be used as a base of hostile operations by either belligerent against the other. It may not permit its armed forces to be employed to the advantage of either belligerent, nor may it officially loan money or sell war supplies to warring governments. . . . A neutral state must prevent the enlistment of troops for war purposes on its territory, and it must intern belligerent troops and aircraft forced into its jurisdiction. Neutral governments are likewise obliged to prevent their nationals from fitting out, in neutral ports, vessels designed to take part in the war."

This passage will show what are the rights and obligations of a state which wants to have itself declared as a neutral country in the midst of storms and shadows of war. But we are adopting the meaning of the word 'neutrality' not in the narrow technical sense of international law. Our neutrality is not a policy in war but also a policy in peace.

If then our neutrality (policy) is to be dynamic and not static, global in concept and not merely juristic, then we must have the wherewithal to remain

neutral. And that brings us to the crux of this article. Many of us had the advantage of seeing a motion-picture *Victory through Air Power* (1943) and some of us may have had the advantage of reading a book of the same name by Major Alexander P. de Seversky. Major Seversky has now written a sequel to his first volume entitled *Air Power: Key to Survival* which is on its way to become a best seller in America. A summary of this book has just appeared in *The Reader's Digest* (September, 1950) under the title "The Military Key to Survival." Some of the statements that appear in that book are not only amazing but breath-taking.

It is extremely difficult to summarise his conceptions in simple language but the best we can do is to quote his own words. He says:

"The only strategy which will win any war under the conditions of modern technology is a strategy of global airpower."

Major Seversky very vehemently advocates a strategy for victory, a strategy geared for global command of the air exercised directly from the American continent. But of course we have not the overall superiority of an advanced civilisation, nor have we at present the science, the technology, the industrial know-how, which we suppose is the essential prerequisite of a huge aerial armada. It is also very pleasing to imagine but difficult to conceive of masses of our bombers casting oblique shadows over the globe.

Major Seversky points out the futility of Aircraft-carriers. He also goes on to say that even in the epoch of sea power it would have been folly to try to establish command of a patch of ocean in the face of a superior naval fleet. He says:

"In this aerial age it will be folly no less to try to maintain control of a patch of air in the face of a hostile air fleet."

Thus he rules out summarily *local* air dominance, strategy resting on outlying bases close to the enemy continent than that of America. He thus argues that no strategy for victory can rest on a "stepping stone" approach to the enemy. He says that

"The highly appealing idea that war tied to overseas bases would keep the fighting away from one's own shores is merely wishful thinking."

But in the case of India, we have no such islands to use as fortresses of defence or as bases for attack. Nor have we got a navy which can command any area of any sea in the face of a powerful hostile power. Even if we had a navy it would be useless in the present concept of global strategy which is dominated by aerial technology. The reduction of navies to

3. *Air Power: Key to Survival* by Major Alexander P. de Seversky. Simon & Schuster.

4. *The Reader's Digest*, September, 1950, page 19.

5. *Ibid*, page 23.

6. *Ibid*, page 24.

1. *The Times of India*, 17th November, 1950.

2. *International Politics* by F. L. Schuman. McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc.

secondary roles is imposed not merely by superiority of aerial strategy but by the march of science. This is truly the aerial age of man. The aircraft-carrier which is a sort of double-sexed creature, having the mannish quality of the navy and the stream-lined femininity of aeroplanes, is even now a defunct instrument of war.

It is very significant that the only Aircraft-carrier for America which is envisaged by Major Seversky, which could be anchored off the European continent is the British Isles.<sup>7</sup> He goes on to say that to keep such a "carrier" afloat and operative will call for the exertions of the whole British air force and the entire British population, plus substantial American support. He says:

"The magnitude of the defences that will be required to hold the British Isles as a base is a sufficient measure of the folly of trying to hold flimsy floating bases anywhere within the orbit of a Soviet air power."<sup>8</sup>

We have thus seen that the trend of military thought in America is to substitute aerial global supremacy in place of a mixed strategy of air and naval dominance. But even in America this is only a trend and not a reality. Even Major Seversky has to admit that the premises on which strategy is now being formulated in Washington are fallacious and "have in them the seeds of disaster."

In England though a great weight is being placed in the highly technical advance of jet aircraft, still a mixed strategy of army-navy-airforce is respected. It is worth noting that Mr. Cyril Falls, the Chichele Professor of the History of War, Oxford, who gives a monthly commentary in the pages of the *Illustrated London News* under the column "A Window of the World" stated again and again while commenting on the early phases of the Korean campaign that the Korean adventure had proved to the world that mere air dominance is not a key to victory in a single battle or in a series of battles which make up the sum total of war. But as the campaign has proceeded even he admits the advantage of a powerful aerial umbrella. In the issue of the *Illustrated London News* of October 7, 1950, he remarks:

"This has been very much an infantry and, to a lesser extent, an armoured war. The part played by sea power, is however, quite clear and generally appreciated, but full justice is not done to the part played by the air arm, which seems to be taken for granted. It is as well to bear in mind that in no large-scale war which can be imagined will air predominance on one side be as complete as it has been in Korea, and therefore that in no campaign will land forces be able to operate so freely. The Americans have been fortunate in this respect and it can hardly be doubted that, if conditions had been reversed, they would no longer be on the Korean peninsula. They were able to move as they chose under air cover."<sup>9</sup>

7. *Ibid*, page 214.

8. *Ibid*, page 214.

9. An article entitled "American Initiative in Korea" by Cyril Falls in *The Illustrated London News*, October 7, 1950, page 567.

We have read in newspapers that thousands of bombers were employed by the Americans before making surface advances by ground troops. Through it all was the most amazing spectacle of North Korean troops advancing without the heavily geared protection of the umbrella of air armadas. But ultimately air supremacy did prevail and turned the tides of war, though temporarily. This vindicates the statement of strategy attributed to General Montgomery:

"First of all you must win the battle of air. If you examine the conduct of my campaigns, you'll find we never fought a land battle until the air battle was won."<sup>10</sup>

Hitherto we have not said a word about the third side of the triangle—the ground forces. It was Mr. Minoo Masani who injected into us a pride for our huge population. He starts his book *Our India* by saying that

"One man in every five is an Indian. The other four are let's say an American, a European, a Negro and a Chinese."<sup>11</sup>

With this mass population there would be a natural temptation to develop a huge land army. Both due to natural disinclination and physical disability we are not developing an army of vast proportions.<sup>12</sup> Nor would a huge land army alone help us in a future global conflict.

We are at the germinal stages of the development of our military strength and strategy. We have still to ponder over, and fashion a military machine which could guard our frontiers and preserve our neutrality. The trend of world thought seems to be in development of aerial power. We could then guarantee our neutrality both in theory and in practice. The ultimate preservation of peace national and global is the reality for which our Prime Minister is striving night and day. In our capacity to remain neutral, by development of a powerful air force, discarding the mixed strategy of land-air-naval forces, lies the hope of Asia. The political map of the whole globe is changing from day to day. Governments are crashing, frontiers are changing with regular but awe-inspiring monotony. No nation can afford to remain complacent. The desire for peace alone will not guarantee peace. Our strength and ability to meet any eventuality is the ultimate guarantee of peace.

We do not need a huge air armada, for we have no territorial ambitions, no political appetites. We have no axe to grind, no "isms" to propagate, no wish to impose our political ideology on the peoples residing in other spheres of the world. But we do require a powerful airforce which can effectively guard our sea-boards, which can keep away invading bombers

10. *The Reader's Digest*, September, 1950, page 22.

11. *Our India* by Minoo Masani. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, page 1.

12. See the Prime Minister's statement in the Parliament on November 17.—*The Times of India*, November 18, 1950.



from the skies over the Arabian Sea, the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal.

As we lay stress on aerial strength we can hear dissenting murmurs. We are reminded that we are the followers of Mahatma Gandhi, that we should adopt Satyagraha and non-violence as our political creed, that we should not become crazy in building up mere aerial strength. To that our reply is that Mahatma Gandhi never advocated non-violence at the price of cowardice.

There has been a lot of discussion on the views held by Mahatma Gandhi on the instrument of Satyagraha but we can say without fear of being contradicted that to the father of our nation Satyagraha was the shield of the brave and not a cloud for retreat for a coward. That this was the true meaning of non-violence will be further seen from the views expressed by S. Radhakrishnan. He says in *Mahatma Gandhi*.\*

"Satyagraha or non-violence is not for Gandhi a quiescent or negative attitude. It is positive and dynamic. It is not non-resistance or submission to evil. It is resistance through love."

And then let us see the words of Mahatma Gandhi in *Young India*, September 16, 1927:

"My creed of non-violence is an extremely active force. It has no room for cowardice or room for weakness. There is hope for a violent man to be some day non-violent but not for a coward. I have therefore said more than once in these pages that, if we do not know how to defend ourselves, our

women, and our place of worship by the force of suffering, that is non-violence, we must if we are men, be at least able to defend all of them by fighting."

And he states in *Young India*, September 28, 1934:

"The world is not entirely governed by logic. Life itself involves some kind of violence, and we have to choose the path of least violence."

Therefore the true follower of Mahatma Gandhi would meet force by non-violence but in the last resort after he had exhausted all the avenues of Satyagraha he would greet force by force. And that is why when we assumed power we did not summarily close down all our armament factories or demob our soldiers. That would have been and would be a national suicide in the context of world events. Therefore our exertion should be towards guarding ourselves by an effective air force and not merely savouring pious hopes that none shall attack us.

To summarise, ours shall not be merely a juristic neutrality blind to the ravages of the world, but a dynamic neutrality, active when activity is necessary. Our military strategy shall not be the indiscriminate development of all the three arms of our forces but the most effectual development of air-force geared for a high-tension defence. Our desire for peace should not be a cowardly retreat but a burning love for peace born out of our consciousness that peace alone is desirable. Our love for peace shall not make us immobile, inert, frigid, sterile. It shall make us doubly conscious of our vast heritage. It shall not be the peace of the grave. It shall be in the final summation, *Peace through Power*.

—:O:—

\* *Mahatma Gandhi* by S. Radhakrishnan. Allen & Unwin Ltd., page 353.

## "THE POPULATION OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN"

By TARAKNATH DAS

THE work under review,\* the fifth study of major population undertaken by the Office of Population Research of Princeton University, is the first to deal with an Asian people.

Misconceptions about population growth in Asia are widely prevalent. Hence, it is gratifying to note Professor Davis' statement at the very outset that India's modern population growth is not exceptional, but rather slightly less than the estimated world average from 1850-1940, and less, too, than the average in Europe and North America.

The author comes to the conclusion that theoretically, at the present rate of increase, it will take about 58 years to double the population of India and Pakistan. He raises the very pertinent question:

"Can it (India) actually double its 1947 population in 58 years, the harboring in the year 2005

something like 840 million human beings, more than a third of the world's present population? If so how will she support them? If not, what is going to stop the trend?" (p. 28)

To get an adequate answer to the above question the author in 23 chapters of the book and appendices enters upon a comprehensive study of various phases of human fertility, death rate and efforts for its reduction, social structure and social changes affecting the population problems of India. The author's conclusion is that the solution for India's poverty and for her standard of living will depend upon (a) industrial expansion, (b) increased production from land and (c) birth control practices to be widely spread among the people.

Regarding the actual state of Indian industrial development the author writes:

"Potentialities of this region for industrial development are great; (but) its actual performance in this field seems tragically below what might be expected."

He considers Britain's economic policies during the century and a half of occupation largely responsible:

"England's policy towards her (India), while always mixed with other motives and interests, was the policy of an industrial nation towards an agricultural colony. Such industry as was allowed to develop in India was often for the profit of the citizens of the paramount power. . ." (p. 216)

Professor Davis is careful to exonerate Britain from blame for India's economic vassalage on the ground that

"If the British had not come to rule, some other foreign country would have done so, since India at the time was weakened by political chaos and a feudal economy."

Dr. Davis contends that in all probability British rule did a more efficient and fairer job of governing India than any other foreign nation would have done, but that the enormous task of transforming a people from a peasant economy to an industrial nation in a short time is apparently one that only an indigenous government can perform.

Professor Davis' contentions regarding the British contribution to India's progress casts a rather odd light upon the criticism generally levelled against the Japanese occupation of Korea, for the Japanese role there is quite analogous to the British India. We seem to be confronted here with a double standard of international morality. At any rate, the reviewer agrees with Professor Davis that a subject-nation cannot bring about such an industrial transformation as may affect the interests of an alien conquering power. To effect the much-needed industrialisation of India which was deliberately neglected by its erstwhile British rulers, the people and the Government of India will have to carry out a large-scale, planned program.

India has millions of acres of undeveloped land which can be put under agricultural production. This is particularly necessary in view of the fact that, with the increased population, the acreage in cultivation per person has declined by 15 per cent from 2.23 in 1891-92 to 1.90 in 1939-40. At the same time, as Dr. Davis points out, productivity per acre has not improved and is, in fact, "below that of most

agricultural areas." There is thus ample room for agricultural development to provide for a better standard of living in India, quite as desert land is being made productive in Israel today.

The key to India's population problem seems to the reviewer to lie in this type of increased agricultural production and in intensified industrialization. These are the necessary conditions for decent living standards even in countries with low birth rates. Witness the Scandinavian countries where because both the birth and death rates are low, the actual rate of population increase is about the same as India's. In other words, birth control alone will not solve India's population problem, though Dr. Davis, like most Western sociologists and population experts, emphasizes it as the most important measure to be taken.

A chapter of the book is devoted to the question of the partition of the sub-continent of India. The author, like most of the western experts, thinks that the religious difference between the Hindus and Moslems was the real cause of partition. Yet, even after the partition of India and creation of Pakistan, 40,000,000 Moslems live in the Indian Union without any interference with their religious and cultural life and enjoying equal rights and civil liberties guaranteed by the constitution of the Indian Union. The slogan "Islam will be in danger" under the Government of India where Hindus will be in majority is thus proven to be quite unfounded. It was political pan-Islamism supported by the British Government that was the principal cause of partition of India. This fact is ignored by the author.

As the importance of India and Pakistan in world affairs is growing, this study of their population problems has special value and significance. The work is a mine of information. Excellent maps, graphs and statistical tables, appendices, bibliography and indices will be of great value to students of the problem. In spite of the differences of opinion expressed above, the reviewer regards the study to be one of the best technical analyses of the problem so far published. The author, his associates and the Foundation which supplied the needed funds for the research should be congratulated for this solid achievement.

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\* *The Population of India and Pakistan*: By Kingsley Davis, Princeton, N. J. Princeton University Press. 1951. Bibliography, Author Index, Subject Index, pages 263. \$7.50.







# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

## ENGLISH

**A SHORT HISTORY OF THE SIKHS (Vol. I) :** By Teja Singh and Ganda Singh. Published by Orient Longmans, Ltd. 1950. Pp. 203. Price not mentioned.

This is a valuable contribution to the growing literature of the history of the Indian provincial peoples in recent times. The joint authors, who have already a number of monographs on Sikh history and religion to their credit, claim to have made here "the first attempt to write a history of the Sikhs from a secular standpoint," to show, in other words, that the history of Sikhism was an organic growth with the principle of life remaining unchanged, though it underwent a constant transfiguration (but not transformation) under local influences. In particular, the authors altogether discountenance the view of some contemporary scholars that the development of the Sikh character was one-sided, being peaceful at first and military afterwards. On the contrary, they contend (and herein lies their special claim to originality) that the development of the Sikhs was harmonious and many-sided because of a happy combination of geographical and racial factors (Preface p. iii and p. 2). The authors have based their work mainly on original sources which they have used with proper care and discrimination. Thus in regard to the Persian chronicles which have necessarily been their main source-material for the period of Sikh-Muslim clash, they have made allowance for the partisan character of many of those works. Especially they have referred to "the gross inexactitude which appears almost purposeful at times," that disfigure the English translations of these works, making it necessary for the whole thing to be done afresh by "some one more dispassionate or better-equipped with the Persian texts." (Preface pp. iii-iv).

The book consists of two parts entitled *Religious Foundations* (describing the period of the ten Gurus), *Political Foundations* (relating to the stormy career of Banda), and *Persecution Leads to Power* (giving a factual account of the life-and-death struggle of the Sikhs with the Later Mughals and the Durranis ending in their dramatic conquest of Lahore in 1765). From this summary it will appear that this work deals with the formative period of Sikhism from its origin to its emergence for the first time as a political power. While such is the general interest of the work, its treatment of detailed topics is often marked by refreshing originality. Such is the account of the distinctive features of Guru Nanak's teaching as compared with that of contemporary religious reformers (p. 1 and n), the vigorous criticism of the current authoritative view about the sudden change in the character of guruship from Hargovind onwards (pp. 36-38) and the estimate of the life and work of Banda (pp. 106-108). The book

is written in a clear and easy style which makes it interesting even to the general reader. A good bibliography with works classified under four heads (Punjabi, Persian, Urdu and English) and a full index bring this useful work to a close.

U. N. GHOSHAL

**THE CONSTITUTION OF CEYLON :** By Sir Ivor Jennings. Published by the Oxford University Press. Pp. 262. Price Rs. 10.

This is an authoritative book on the new constitution of Ceylon of 1946-47. The process of development of the present Constitution began in 1943 when at the request of the Ministers under the Donoughmore Constitution of 1931, the British Government issued a Declaration of Policy on Constitutional Reform in Ceylon. Sir Ivor Jennings acted as the Constitutional Adviser. The history of the negotiations has been given in this book and the author, who had a hand in the drafting the Constitution, has used his knowledge to explain the new Constitution. It is not an attempt at a legal exposition, the author's aim has rather been to explain the ideas which underlie the constitution and now the ideas have been carried out. The inclusion of the Constitutional Documents has greatly enriched the book.

D. BURMAN

**FORT WILLIAM—INDIA HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE, Vol. V, 1767-1769 :** *Indian Records (Public) Series.* Edited by Narendra Krishna Sinha. Published by the Government of India. Pp. 14+670. Price not stated.

Thanks to the munificence and generosity of the National Government of India and the labour and perseverance of several scholars under the able guidance of the general editor, Dr. S. N. Sen, documentary materials for rebuilding the history of India under the East India Company are now being again made accessible to the general public. These are letters written just previously to the great famine in Bengal—the terrible *Chhiyattarer Mannantar*. The National Archives Department of the Government of India has resumed the task of rendering real service and thus justifying its existence. Though this is Vol. V, it is published first and others are to follow. We shall anxiously await the completion of this great series and, in the light of the new facts revealed, a complete remodelling of a portion of the history of India.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE

**1. POST-WAR EUROPE. THROUGH INDIAN EYES (Illustrated) :** By Suresh Chandra Banerjee. Published by A. Mukherji and Co. Ltd., Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-4 (four shillings).

2. **I COVER EUROPE:** By J. M. Dev. Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 3-12.

In the first-named book Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee, once a Congress stalwart, who later on shifted to the labour front, and has lately come out of the Congress, gives within a narrow compass his impressions of the Seven European countries he visited in 1948 and 1949. The views expressed by him are in some cases superficial, but they ring with a tone of sincerity characteristic of the man.

Dr. Banerjee has a good word or two for every country he visited. But he seems to be a bit hard on Czechoslovakia where in his opinion there is a grave discontent over the restriction of fundamental rights by the Communist Government. The author found only gloom in the country which was rapidly developing into a totalitarian State. Non-Communists are regarded as enemies by the government. According to not a few Czechs, says the Doctor, the Communists are "even worse than Hitler." Sweden, according to him, is one of the most progressive countries in the world and England the most highly taxed. What the latter has done for education and to keep down unemployment by a well-thought-out plan for vocational education should be an eye-opener to the authorities here. Our rulers and leaders should talk less, and think and work more. Not many will disagree with the author's casual remarks that the Germans are the finest people on earth and that the Congress is not up and doing in the matter of establishing a classless democracy in India. Hard words indeed! But true nonetheless. The proof-reading of the book should have been more careful.

The second book under review describes at some length the author's reactions to what he saw and experienced in England, France, Eire, and South Africa in 1946. The name *I Cover Europe* is therefore a misnomer. The insincerity and hypocrisy of the United Nations and the international suspicion and distrust prevailing in post-war Europe did not escape the journalist-author's discerning eyes. The world seems to be in for another global war. Good sense among nations and the emancipation of the colonial peoples—the "neglected estates" of humanity—are essentially necessary to save the world from the horrors of World War III, the shadow of which is lengthening every hour. Shri Dev speaks of the tendency of the British press to blackmail the Indian National Congress and its leaders in pre-independent days. It is ignorant of India and her problems. Indian news is systematically blacked out. Of Britain's 1577 newspapers, *The Daily Worker*, the organ of the British Communist Party alone, is fair to India. The Parliament too was indifferent to India. The members' galleries were deserted on India debate days.

Shri Dev points out how very similar has been the history of India and of Ireland under England, how perfidious Albion went back on solemn pledges to both, how vivisection has been her parting kick to both. He also describes the striking resemblances between Mahatma Gandhi, India's Bapu, and de Valera, the maker of Eire. The author paid a flying visit to France and found the average Frenchman sympathetic but ignorant of India. Everywhere in Europe the people are ignorant of India, Czechoslovakia and Eire being the only exceptions. Our country "needs to be introduced to the people of the West." The Government of India and the External Affairs Ministry in particular will please note. Shri Dev must be thanked for giving us quite a readable book and some food for thought.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

**THE DRAFT MANIFESTO OF THE INDIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT:** Published on behalf of the Preparatory Committee for the Indian National Youth Movement by Sarama Dutt Mazumdar from 1 Apurba Miller Road, Calcutta, 26. Pp. 37. Price four annas.

This pamphlet of about 50 pages including a Foreword by Sri Niharendu Dutt Mazumdar and the Author's Letter by Anthony Elenjmittan proposes to "state with utmost frankness the case of the Indian Youth" and "seeks to survey the nation-wide issues and problems in the perspective of India's historic past," to quote words from the Foreword. One is tempted to dismiss these few pages of undigested enthusiasms with flippant remarks. But as the writer of this review has yet left a few of the crumbs, he will not adopt this easy method. All the same he cannot say that a "case" has been made for "the case of the Indian Youth" as a separate entity in India's society. The author is a Syrian Christian of Indian parentage, and his virgin enthusiasm for Indian traditions has yet to find its balance. In drawing up "the balance-sheet of the last millenium of India's political slavery," he has not been an authentic historian. To idealize the past is a natural human foible. To characterize the Muslim period of about six hundred years as "one of the darkest blot and liability on Indian nationals" accords ill with the compliment paid to Moulana Azad's and Badshah Khan's sterling characters a line below. These aberrations are all due to the lack of "basic education" in India's traditions, of the dimming of understanding of the causes of India's failure to preserve and defend her freedom; therefore do these make British policy as mainly responsible for Hindu-Muslim estrangement. The author and the class whom he represents appear to forget that *ved-niti* has a longer history than Britain's connection with India; that Hindu and Muslim values of life or deviations therefrom created the fertility on which flourished the seed spread over by Britain.

I devote this amount of space to this small pamphlet because it is a symptom of the mental confusion that has made our youth such easy victims to slogans, victims of a "divided" mind. Unless they can get out of the ivory tower of fashionable ideologies, their Conventions, Congresses or Conferences can only lead to multiplication of futile organizations.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

**SAINTS AND SAGES OF INDIA:** By Prof. Pritam Singh, M.A. With a Foreword by Sir Gokul Chand Narang, M.A., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law. Published by New Book Society of India, Devnagar, Karolbagh, New Delhi. Pp. 152. Price Rs. 3-12.

The learned author is a retired Reader in Economics in the University of Allahabad, and has grown grey in life-long study of the different religions of the world. The book under review contains forty-two biographies of Indian saints—Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Parsee and Christian. The accounts are brief but informative. Short studies of reform movements, such as Radhaswami Sect, Arya Samaj and Theosophical Society are also given in the book. In the five appendices mysticism, new theism, yoga, spiritism, etc., are discussed.

Sir G. C. Narang in his Foreword observes that the author's view regarding the ancient Aryans being polytheistic this book is not likely to find favour with the members of the Arya Samaj in particular. But this criticism appears to me uncharitable and unjustified since the author has duly discharged the duty of a historian. He upholds no view of his own, but records



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unbiased accounts of religious men and movements as a student of history. Even granting that his view is polytheistic Sir G. C. Narang should not be impatient with it, for it is an important tune in the great symphony of Indian religion. The book may be regarded as a pocket dictionary of religious lives. Its cosmopolitan character is sure to appeal to votaries of all religious communities. The frontispiece contains a beautiful picture of Swami Ramatirtha and the book is dedicated to Mahatma Gandhi.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

**OUR BENGAL:** *By Suparna Home. Paramita Prakashani, 77, Dharamtalla Street, Calcutta 13. Price Rs. 2.*

This brochure of 133 pages with profuse illustrations has been written, so we have in the Preface, "with the object of acquainting readers with social and political developments in contemporary India with particular reference to Bengal." A cursory glance through the pages will at once show that no exaggeration has been indulged in, in these words. In the first four chapters, *viz.*, New Age Dawns, Clouds Gather, The Storm Bursts and The Battle Won, the authoress has given in a nutshell the story of Indian Renaissance in Bengal, as well as that of India's struggle for independence for the last one hundred years and more. Bengal has a distinct contribution to our freedom movement, and to the non-Bengali reader this is not known in much detail, as most of the books on the subject have been written in Bengali. Mrs. Home has rendered valuable service by tracing the events in this brochure, for which credit is due to Bengal more than any other province. She has drawn the story to-date. The last or fifth chapter, The City Expands, gives us a running account of the history and constitution of Calcutta with especial emphasis on its cultural achievements, since its foundation by Job Charnock. The book is interesting reading, and will prove useful to the general reader.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

**ROTARY GUIDE TO CAREERS—No. 9 (All-India Services):** *Published by Oxford University Press, Mercantile Buildings, Lal Bazar, Calcutta. Pages 15. Price eight annas.*

This pamphlet is issued under the auspices of the Vocational Service Committee of the Bombay Rotary Club for the guidance of those entering upon their life-work. It gives brief details of the personal and educational qualifications and essential training required for All-India Services and pay-scale of posts, such as L.A.S., I.P.S., I.F.S., Indian Audit and Account Service, Imperial Customs Service, Military Accounts Service, Indian Railway Accounts Service, Indian Postal Service, Posts under the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, etc. This series is likely to be helpful to bright and ambitious youth of the country as it gives them an indication of the various avenues of service-life.

NARAYAN C. CHANDA

**STRAY JOTTINGS OF A ROSE GARDNER:** *By B. K. Kerr. Himalaya Publications, Patna. 1946. Price Rs. 4-8.*

This book contains many useful and valuable hints from a real rosarian, who is very practical and no theorist. He has dealt with several aspects of rose-culture, *e.g.*, cultural hints, hybridization, etc. and given some suggestions for holding such rose exhibitions and their guidance. I am sure every rose-lover will be

profited by its perusal, as the author has dealt with the complicated subject very lucidly and comprehensively. But in these days of fine printing, the pictures should have been more brilliant and the get-up of the book much improved. The price is a bit high. I may suggest that the author would do immense service to the subject, if he takes the trouble of incorporating in the next edition several pictures of the Indian rose varieties, with their proper descriptions for identification, as has been done by J. Ramsbottom in his book *A Book of Roses* (The King Penguin Books, England, 1939).

R. M. DATTA

**LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN INDIA:** *By M. P. Sharma. Published by Hind Kitabs, Bombay. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The principal object for writing this book is to stress the need for reform of the existing form of Local Self-Government in India. This reform, Dr. Sharma of Allahabad University says, has been long overdue.

The local bodies constitutionally stand upon the same foundations as were determined by the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals, and according to him, unless we develop the various social services prevalent in the advanced countries in the West, the "harrowing tragedies of the early days of Western industrialism" are sure to occur in this country.

With this note of caution Dr. Sharma goes on to define the existing functions of the various local bodies, municipalities, district boards and *Panchayats*. He also describes the constitutional structure of local bodies, the present conditions of local services, the system of government control of the local bodies and the different features of local finance.

In making some conclusive observations on the reform of Local Self-Government in this country Dr. Sharma suggests that while Local Government may remain a provincial subject, the Government of India should set up a central organization for the purposes of co-ordination of policy, research and collection of statistics and information for Local Self-Government. He also suggests that the Provincial Governments should arrange for both extensive and intensive publicity for the activities of the local bodies; they should help the members of the local bodies in various ways to understand their powers and duties. He further suggests that Local Government should form a subject-matter for study at schools, colleges and universities.

Dr. Sharma has viewed improvement of the workings of Local Self-Government from one angle only. He could suggest the formation of an All-India Institute of Local Government, the like of which is in existence in Bombay with a restricted scope of activities. This institute will be entirely a non-governmental body, able to criticize undue government interference in local activities. Such interference has been so very much regnant that it is time we pay necessary attention to this problem as well.

SANTOSH CHATTERJI

**THE FOREIGN TRADE OF INDIA 1900-1940: A Statistical Analysis:** *By H. Venkatasubbiah. Published by Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi. Pages 83. Price Rs. 3-8.*

The first part gives an analysis of the study of India's foreign trade from the beginning of this century to the First World War. Then comes the period after the first World War and the various Empire methods and pacts for the furtherance of the Empire trade. The method of British Imperialism was to keep India



as a supplier of raw materials for feeding the British industries at home and utilize India as the market-place for British products. Besides, India had to remain a large exporter for paying home charges and dividends on invested capital and other invisible imports in the form of various commercial services. But even during the British rule we notice various changes in the trend of imports and exports particularly of raw cotton, textile, iron and other goods. The emergence of Japan as a competitor of Britain and slow industrialization of the country had the natural reaction of her trade position with empire countries, as well as countries outside the empire. As the book does not give figures nor discusses the altered position due to Second World War, further reaction on trade could not be given in these pages. The author could not possibly get figures for the entire war years. The second part mainly consists of various valuable comparative tables so very necessary to the students of economics and commerce and also to the statesmen of India who shall have to plan economy and trade for the country. Since the close of the Second World War and inauguration of the International Monetary Fund and International Bank, the international trade has entered a new phase based on national and international economy built upon cautious plans and adjustments. In this new world, the problem of international trade is based more on co-operation than competition in the old sense and as such a study of the past is more useful than a mere historical study.

A. B. DUTTA

#### SANSKRIT

**TATTVOPAPLAVASIMHA** of Jayarasi Bhatta. Edited with Introduction and Indices by Pandit Sukhlalji Sanghavi and Prof. Rasiklal C. Parikh. Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. LXXXVII. Price Rs. 4.

Materialism has found many exponents in India, though it is known as the land of spiritualists. References to and criticism of their views in works of all philosophical systems point out to the importance of their contributions. Students of Indian Philosophy will be grateful to Pt. Sukhlalji and Prof. Parikh for bringing to light in a handsome edition a complete and early work of this system. It critically examines the different epistemological views of the orthodox and non-orthodox systems and shows at length that none of them has been successful in explaining the intricacies of the physical and mental phenomena. It also seems to indicate that the critical method followed by the materialists considerably influenced the protagonists of other systems in the presentation of their views.

In the short but learned introduction, the editors have discussed many important issues regarding the work and its author. They have spared no pains in evolving a correct text and suggesting important emendations when the single MS. seemed to be inaccurate. And the division of the text into paragraphs with suitable headlines has been highly useful.

ANANTALAL THAKUR

#### HINDI

**JEEVANSODHAN:** By K. G. Mashruwala. Translated from Gujarati by Haribhai Upadhyaya. Pp. 396. Price Rs. 3.

**JADAMULASE KRANTI.** By K. G. Mashruwala. Translated from Gujarati by Ramachandra Billore. Pp. 162. Price Re. 1-8.

Both published by Navajivan Prakasan Mandir, Ahmedabad.

Shri Mashruwala is a thinker of unusual clarity and conclusiveness, though so great is his humility that he hedges all his conclusions with the proviso "subject to change in the light of further reaches and ranges of Truth." The two books, under review, embody his thoughts on the true aspirations, aims and activities of human life, on the one hand, and on the urgent problem of an all-round radical change in our present perspective and practice of them on the other. This problem is viewed in the context of contemporary situations educational, economic, political, social and religious. He warns us against the two dangers of facile succumbing to the ideals of other countries without a previous proper analysis and assessment of them in the light of the Eternal Verities, and of accepting unintelligently the traditions and truisms of our ancestors. For, it is bold and brave thinking alone which lends meaning as well as magic to life and endows one with *bhakti* and *shakti*, devotion to, and dynamism of, Truth, thus enabling him to model himself in accordance with the injunctions and instructions of the highest and holiest in him. These two books are indeed of immense help to the educated people, who desire to make their own contribution to the creation of a true kingdom of God on earth. The translators deserve legitimate praise for the excellence of their performance.

G. M.

**ASHRAMKI BAHANONKO:** Edited by Kaka Kalelkar. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. May, 1950. Price Re. 1-4.

These letters of Gandhiji were written during three years preceding 1930 from time to time to the women resident at the Ashram. Their number is 87; and there is an appendix containing notes taken by Maniben Patel from Gandhiji's talks during 1926 when she was a frequent visitor at the Ashram at Sabarmati. Gandhiji could make time to write such letters in order to emphasise bread labour, craftwork, devotion to cleanliness and the cause of purity and also to remove the erroneous idea from the minds of his correspondents that education is literary merely, and to instil in them the idea that true education aims at character-building. Many of these letters were penned on his silence day. The letters were not mere exhortations to any particular code of life, but there was an exchange of ideas, the desire to get as well as give news. The style, moreover, was the man, and I am sure an acquaintance with the book will prove stimulating to many.

P. R. SEN

#### GUJARATI

**ARTHA SHASTRANI PARIBHASHA:** By Vithaldas Mazharlal Kothari. Published by the Navajivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 65. Price fourteen annas.

This is a most useful book in the light of the changes which are being made in the medium of education, which is now to be the mother tongue of the District. There are hardly any works in Gujarati on economics, its theory and practice. The first requisite for its teaching is a large vocabulary of equivalents in Gujarati of English terms. This Mr. Kothari has given, carefully explaining the import and use of each such word or phrase. It is a welcome work, first-class and sound.

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# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## Lesson for India

In the course of an article on Education in Business and Public Administration *Science and Culture* writes editorially :

The enviable prosperity which American business has enjoyed through the application of sound business administration methods is a good example to show what can be achieved in a free enterprise economy. By adopting the policy of "less government in business and more business in government," the Americans have successfully applied the principles of scientific management to the administration of their municipal, public, military and other governmental undertakings also.

The rapid progress which Soviet Russia has achieved by applying for the first time the principles of rational management on a national scale is a very good example to show what can be achieved by a Government in a Socialistic economy. Not only did the Russians draw upon the experience of the American and the Western European countries for technical 'know-how,' but they also adopted the principles of scientific management to successfully execute their plans within the periods scheduled.

The quick recovery which England has made from the devastated condition in which she emerged out of the recent war indicates what can be achieved through a prompt appreciation of the need for better management in a mixed economy. The sincerity with which the British people supported the better management movement in the post-war years, the interest they have shown towards organized 'education for management' and the keenness with which they are studying the American methods of production to increase their productivity as evidenced by the reports recently published by the Anglo-American Council on Productivity should serve as the finest lessons that India can possibly take.

Nowhere the need for better management is more urgent than in a country reduced to the subsistence level of living standards. Never can the need for better management be more urgent than during the period in which a substantial share of the country's limited financial resources are being invested in large-scale development projects and the period in which industrial and business enterprises are taking their birth in such large numbers and in such varied sizes both public and private.

"Never can the way be more open for achievement than now, when habits, and institutions, and ideals, and economies have been shattered, and we set ourselves to the great task of assembling the parts, revealing them, rearranging them, and building a new world that affords life, liberty, assured livelihood, and the pursuit of happiness, commonly shared the world over."

Never can the need for organized education and training for management be, therefore, more urgent in India than to-day. This is the time to regulate the development and growth of a management profession and to prescribe standards of education and training for all those who may wish to enter the field, both in the public and in the private sectors of our economy.

We draw the attention of the public to the following observations of the University Commission (1948-49) on

this subject, in the hope that speedy action will be taken in the light of their weighty recommendations :

"If India is to become an effective industrial country, with high standards of living for the average worker, business must be looked at as a profession and prepared for as thoroughly as any other. The difference between a craft and a profession has been described as the difference between a job and a career. But the difference is greater than that. As in engineering, the technician deals chiefly with empirical skills, while the professional works not only with skills but with natural laws, organized knowledge, and the application of general principles; so in business there is a difference of kind between commerce course and the profession of business. Following the tradition of the requirements of British administration, much of our course in Commerce have been on the craftsman's level. Equipment for business education on a professional level will require careful preparation and substantial support. Such education should not be introduced in a partisan spirit, but should prepare for a high quality of business administration whether for public business, private industry, labour union management, or the management of the business affairs of educational institutions".....

"India inherited a public administration process made up of a vast accumulation of obsolete bureaucratic routine, one of the chief principles of which seemed to be that responsible discretion should not be delegated, but should be tightly held at the top. The admirably high quality of public administration in England was scarcely transmitted to Indian administration. Comparing the operation of this cumbersome, wasteful system with modern, efficient administration, it seems possible that with radical improvement of administration the entire public work of India might be accomplished with less than half its present expenditure. What such a change would mean in relief from financial pressure and in extension of such vital services as education, power development, the extension of irrigation, agricultural production, and in other ways, can scarcely be imagined. Many factors must enter into such a change, but they are interrelated, and an improvement in one factor tends to the improvement of others. For instance, cumbersome, involved, wasteful procedures lead to a sense of irresponsibility and to a lowered ethical tone. On the other hand, clean-cut, intelligible and effective procedures, with clear and reasonable focussing of responsibility, sharpen the sense of personal responsibility, and gives support to ethical standards."

"In the higher levels of government there is need for clear comprehension of broad principles of government and of administration. Those who formulate or give effect to important policies should know what is involved in their action. They should know how similar issues have been met in the past, and with what success. They should understand how the policies they are dealing with will affect other policies and issues."

Industrial, business and public administration represents professions whose efficiency may well determine the progress and prosperity of a country.

"As with any profession, no one person can become competent solely by his own thought and effort. The very

essence of a progression is that it undertakes to organize, to advance and to transmit the whole body of accumulated wisdom, knowledge, standards and skills in its field. Such preparation, with few if any exceptions, calls for organized professional education."

### Cultural Traditions of Afghanistan

H. E. Dr. Najibullah Khan writes in *Pakhtoonistan Fortnightly* :

Afghanistan with an area of 300,000 square miles and about 12 million inhabitants has a history of more than 3,000 years. It has always been existing from the dawn of the human history with a distinct identity between Indus and Oxus and between India and Persia.

The separate existence of this country is confirmed in the works of Greek geographers like Eratosthenes and Strabo. Its historical events and racial formation has been mentioned in the works of historians like Herodotus, Ktesias, Arrian, etc.

Only the ancient names of the provinces of the present Afghanistan in itself are expressive of the historical significance of the country in the past, like Bakhtrians or Bahlīka of the Vedic literature with her central town—Balkh, mother of the cities, Tukharistan or Tālā of the Chinese authors, cradle of the Kushana empires, Arya, Herat of today with all its cultural importance in the antiquity, Middle Ages and modern times; Sakastiana, the present Seistan; countries of the Saka kings with its ancient civilization; Arachosia or Zabulistan of the Middle Ages, the valley of Vedic Hariyati or Arakhtos of the Greeks, the present Kandahar with the role that it played in the history of Central Asia; Gandhara the valley of Kabul river with its artistic importance in the world of Greco-Buddhist sculpture.

Pakhtia, the land of the Pakhtoon tribes and the Parompamis, the heart of the country with the snowy peaks, which is sung in the Vedic hymns, are other such examples.

The names of Kubha (Kabul), Swasti (Swat) and the other places of importance are cited in the different hymns of Rigveda.

Only this enumeration can give you an idea of the land of Ariana Antiqua which is called today Afghanistan. Scholars know that the first Hymns of Rigveda have been sung in Afghanistan and the first rishis were the people who lived at the southern and eastern slopes of Hindu-Kush—mount of rivers.

#### GRECO-BUDDHISTIC ART

From the time of the Indian Emperor Asoka the Maurya, Buddhism entered Afghanistan and developed there and from there spread to China and the Far East. The Buddhist art meeting the Greek art gave birth to the Greco-Buddhist art, which reached its zenith under the Kushans.

The greatest monuments of Buddhism and its Afghan art in Afghanistan are two colossal statues of Bamiyan or Bamikan of the ancient times and the painted frescoes in its caves.

In the Islamic period the cultural importance of Afghanistan did not cease and, on the contrary, Afghanistan or the greater Khorasan of the time became one of the very important centres of Islamic culture.

Scholars, philosophers and poets of Herat, Balkh, Merv-Urrod (ancient Merviana), Zabulistan, Sagistan and other provinces of Afghanistan have a very prominent share in the elaboration of Muslim scientific and literary inheritance; Arabic, Persian and Pushtu were the medium of their expression. There were philosophers like Farabi of the northern boundary land of Afghanistan, Abu-

Maashar Balkhi, Abouraihan Biruni, Avicenna of Balkh and others who have their indisputable place in the world of philosophical speculations.

#### POETS AND MYSTICS

There were great poets and mystics like Ibne Edhem of Balkh, Abdullah Ansari of Herat, Sanai of Ghazne, Nasir Khusro of Kabadian, Busti of Bust, Huiwiri of Ghazne, Maulavi of Balkh, Jami of Herat, Rehman, and Khush Hal Khan of Khattak of Frontier, etc., who are well-known in the history of Arabic, Persian and Pushtu literature. Artists like Behzad of Herat and Banai of Herat and many calligraphers and architects left their masterpieces in the world of painting, calligraphy and architecture.

During the reign of Mahmud of Ghazna, the philosopher and astronomer Abureihan Beruni was sent to India to study Indian Philosophy, religious beliefs, sciences, habits and traditions. In his book *India* Beruni studied the matter not only objectively, but also with tremendous love and passion. Beruni became one of our greatest scholars in the field of classical Indian literature and the ancient sciences of India.

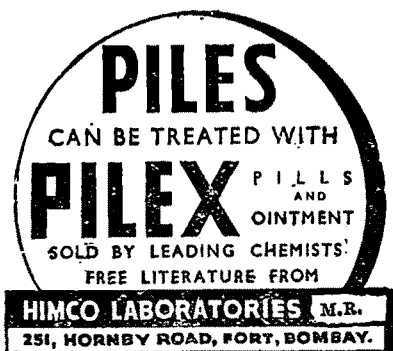
The study of Sanskrit was considered important in Afghanistan of those days, and there is in the Museum of Bombay a coin of Mahmud of Ghazna in Devanagari script. His name is written with the Sanskrit translation of the Islamic motto.

Musaid-i-Saad of Lahore, who belonged to an Afghan family staying in India for many years, and Abul Faraj Rauni of Rauna, are the best specimen of the precursors of Persian literature in India. They were followed in the later years and centuries till recent times by a multitude of poets, philosophers and writers in Persian, like Moin-Uddin Chishti, who settled down in Ajmer, Amir Khusro of Delhi, Nizamuddin Aulia Hassan of Delhi, Faizi and Abul Fazal of Deccan, Bidel of Patna, Mazhar of Gujrat, Ghani of Kashmir, Waqif of Lahore, Ghalib of Delhi and Iqbal of Kashmir, who died a few years ago.

The Indian philosophy and theosophy impressed upon the Muslim minds, like the Neoplatonism of Alexandria and the Christian mysticism in the elaboration of Muslim mysticism, along with the mystical sides of Quoranic teachings.

The contiguity of Afghanistan with India is one of the important reasons that Khorasan became the real heart of Mystical philosophy of Islam in Central Asia and near East.

The Persian language which is called Dari and which became the common language of Persia and Afghanistan is not born in Persia proper. This language had its origin in Khorasan and the Eastern Plateau of Iran, i.e., Afghanistan.





The other language of my country is Pushtu-language which is the direct descendant of the ancient Bakhtrian language—sister of Sanskrit. In Pushtu you will find many Vedic words which are used without the slightest alteration even to-day. This language had its cradle in Ghor and Gharjistan of Middle Ages, and spread eastward to Pakhtia and Indus.

The most ancient written works of this language are dated somewhere in the end of the seventh century A.D. and from those documents it seems that this language at that time, was a very literary and developed one. So we can deduce that the beginning of its written literature was dated at least 200 years back i.e., in the 5th century A.D.

The Pushtu and Persian languages developing side by side in the present Afghanistan and the land of Pakhtoons, i.e., North-West Frontier Province and a part of Baluchistan of to-day, formed the cultural legacy of Afghan nation.

#### FOLK SONGS AND DANCES

The folk songs, stories and dances as well as customs and dresses in Afghanistan are more or less varied from province to province and, in some cases, even from valley to valley.

Pushtu folk songs have a different kind of metric rhymes and rules of versification from the classical Persian or Arabic verses. They reflect the life of the tribes in all its glory and beauty and also in all its poverty and hardship.

The martial character of the Afghan people is a fact. They have resisted foreign domination all through their history. The struggle of the people during these 3,000 years, defending their freedom and soil against the Assyrians, nomads of the North, Persians, Greeks, Chinese, Arabs, Tartars and the great Moghuls of India and last of all against the British and Tzarist Russia, is very well-known to students of Asian history.

In the beginning of the 19th century, Afghanistan found itself between two antagonistic and conquering powers: (1) Great Britain and (2) Russia. The internal condition of the country was very bad then with feudalism and wars among the princes of the ruling dynasty.

From 1880 to 1900 the Afghan Government was busy with the establishment of a central power and in removing feudalism. During that period boundaries were drawn and the fiscal and economical policy of the Government was shaped and civil and military organisations were brought into existence. From 1900 to 1919 modernisation of the country started slowly and the first school and newspaper were established.

In 1918 after the third Anglo-Afghan war, Afghanistan freed itself from the restrictions imposed on it in the domain of its foreign relations. So it is only from 1919

that my country entered on the modern basis in the family of nations and formed its modern constitution.

From 1919 to 1929 Afghanistan continued its progress, depending on its own resources, facing all the difficulties created by different factors and with many uprisings and reactionary insurrections.

#### NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONS

Since 1930 Afghanistan of to-day has been progressing on the basis of a national constitution and a national policy. The first constitution of a constitutional monarchy with a responsible Government to the Parliament, composed of two houses, has been formed. The compulsory free education till the end of higher studies at the expense of the Government has been established.

The national economy of the country with the establishment of national and State banks and Co-operative Societies has taken shape. New roads, new dams, new canals and new towns have been constructed. The industrialisation of the country has begun and the cottage industries are being encouraged.

The campaign against illiteracy has been speeded up all over the country. The University of Kabul and other institutions of higher education have come into being.

All these things have been done without any investment of foreign capital.

#### Andre Gide

On 20th February, 1951, at his Paris residence Andre Gide breathed his last at the ripe old age of 82 after a protracted illness. *The Present* observes :

The Nobel Laureate in literature 1947, Gide was a remarkable literary figure of modern Europe. His towering influence upon modern European literature has been dominating for a considerable space of time and possibly it will continue to impress upon the literary figures yet to be born. We, in India, are hardly familiar with his creative genius and overall influence, which really have an overwhelming superiority over contemporary literateurs.

Gide is probably the most controversial literary figure of the modern age. Among his readers there are two very strong and opposite groups—one group admiring his penmanship and observation and the other totally rejecting his thought-models as immoral, vulgar and mischievous. The critical approach of the latter group seems to have a motivated origin. Gide was anti-Soviet and was consequently an anti-communist. His impressions on Soviet Russia where he had been on an invitation were not very appreciative. In his two booklets, *Return from the U.S.S.R.* and *Afterthought on U.S.S.R.*, he has expressly mentioned his anti-communist sentiments. This resulted in his being treated as a renegade and monster by the staunch supporters of Soviet Russia, and even in our country we are very much inclined to consider him to be so due to an all round anti-Gide propaganda.

Yet his anti-Soviet mentality was not the only reason why he was and still is disliked by some people in his homeland and abroad. From the very start up to his last days Gide was a revolutionary in the field of literature. "To cultivate the art of being disagreeable—unpalatable to the reader, to disturb, that is my role,"—this he proclaimed at the start of his literary career. The assertion was bold and provoking, and had undoubtedly far-reaching consequences. The critics could not tolerate his desperate attitude and the readers his "disagreeable and unpalatable" elements. Yet it was he who exposed truths of human life, so long unseen and undiscovered. He trekked through the untrodden ways and evidently suffered from the remarks of those who were either unable or reluctant to travel the

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path. Gide was, of course, conscious of his critics. About the "fundamental disloyalty of some critics," he wrote in his Journals :

"I fear I shall soon have to struggle against a false image of me that is being built up, a monster to which my name is given, which occupies my place, and which is terrifyingly ugly and stupid."

We are sure his struggle did not prove futile ; otherwise, he would not have been awarded the Nobel Prize in literature.

A strong liking for variety and diversity is inherent in Gide's writings. The characters of his books are abnormal, desperate and sometimes dangerous. Desultory mind is the true human mind—this was his accepted view of life. He never aspired after creating a stereotyped man, regulated by the laws of morality. He often vindicated the so-called immoral activities of man and proved that moral laws of society and its consequent restrictions hamper the greatness in a man. Remove his bindings, give him a free life, he will prove a superman.

It is most natural that such an attitude towards society would hurt the critics, and Gide had to suffer scathing criticisms. His critics even pleaded for legal steps against him. To defend him Bernard Shaw had to write :

"There is much that is unpalatable in Gide. But who is there to deny his extra-ordinary greatness, his intellectual height."

During his literary career for about half a century, Andre Gide wrote about fifty books. His best novel is probably *The Immoralist*, wherein he gave a strong blow to the moral laws of the human society and proved their futility. *Straight is the Gate* is a novel of "young love blighted and turned to tragedy by the sense of religious dedication in the beloved." The magnificent contribution of Gide is his *Journals*, which depicts his career of twenty-six years. An unkind critic of his own self, Gide has put down in it his reminiscences, his struggle within himself and the search for his own mind. Unless the *Journals* were published, the real Gide would have been obscure.

The world should admire Gide, the author of the *Journals* and not Gide, who was only a Nobel Laureate.

### Does it Belong to the Jews?

England's 'Stone of Destiny,' as the newspapers call it, which has disappeared from Westminster Abbey is one of the most ancient religious relics in existence to-day. Writes a correspondent in *The Mahratta* (Poona):

In the "Old Testament" of the Christian Bible (Genesis, verses 44-49) we find: "And Jacob took a stone and set it up for a title. And he said to his brethren, 'Bring hither stones' and they gathering stones together made a heap and they ate upon it. And Laban called it the 'Witness Heap' and Jacob the 'Hillock of Testimony,' each of them according to the propriety of his language. Laban said, 'This heap shall be a witness between me and thee this day' and therefore the name thereof was called Galaad, that is, 'The Witness Heap'."

Further, Genesis Chapter XXXII, verses 23-30, are as follows :

"And when all things were brought over that belonged to him, he (Jacob) remained alone, and behold a man wrestled with him until morning. And when he saw that he could not overcome him, he touched the sinew of his thigh, and forthwith its rank. And he said to him: 'Let me go for it is day.' He answered: 'I will not let thee go except thou bless me.' And he said: 'What is thy name?' He answered 'Jacob.' But he said: 'Thy name shall not be called



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Jacob but 'Israel,' for if thou hast been strong against God, how much more shalt thou prevail against men?' Jacob asked him: 'Tell me by what name art thou called?' He answered: 'Why dost thou ask my name?' And he blessed him in the same place. And Jacob called the name of the place Phaniel, saying, 'I have seen God face to face and my soul has been saved'."

Jacob-Israel, the father of the twelve sons, who in turn were each the father of one of the twelve tribes of 'Israel,' each tribe taking its name from the son of Israel, who was the head of that particular family, hence 'Jacob' or 'Israel' as he became, is the original father of the Jewish people, and is daily mentioned in their prayers.

**Jacob's Stone:** This stone was carried by the 'Childran of Israel,' as the Jews were called throughout their wanderings, until the break-up of their nation after the fall of Jerusalem in B.C. 587 at which time the Prophet Jeremiah with a remnant of the Jewish people or that branch or tribe which were the sons of "Judah" (one of the 12 sons of Jacob), journeyed to Egypt. (Jer.: 43-4-8 in the Bible). From Egypt, ancient history has it that Jeremiah proceeded to Ireland, having with him Tea Tephi, one of the daughters of Zedekiah, the last king of the Davidic line to reign in Jerusalem. The Prophet also took with him 'David's Stone.' [Here history gets confused with legend, as very old Irish legends tell us that Jeremiah also took, with him the 'Ark of the Covenant,' which, according to these stories, lies buried somewhere in the hill of 'Tara' (strangely 'Tara' is also a Jewish name and not an Irish one).] Again, according to tradition, it was the ships of

the Israelite tribe of 'Dan' which conveyed Jeremiah and Tea Tephi to Ireland where Eochaid, an Israelitish prince had just been elected Hermon of all Ireland. This prince promptly fell in love with Tea Tephi and made her his Queen.

Irish history tells us that in later times, one king of Ireland was invited to Scotland where he was crowned 'King of Scotland,'—and for the coronation he took with him the ancient 'Stone of Jacob.' In later years when the wars between England and Scotland were fought, England captured this stone, realising its great significance, for all old legends of the Irish and Scots have it that whichever country possesses this stone and her king are crowned upon it, that country will hold the balance of World Power.

When Ireland was fighting England for her independence, during the time of the Sinn-Fein risings, and even earlier, there were countless plots to get this Stone into Irish possession. But, Irish Independence was achieved, apparently so also did their intense desire for the possession of this Stone decline. Now only Scotland is left still attached to the 'United Kingdom' and so Scotland too has, from the time of England having taken away the Stone, periodically plotted to recapture it for her own. But from the Nation to whom this stone rightfully belongs, we hear nothing. For until the Jewish people once more possessed their own country, it was useless to claim their own. But now that the country of 'Israel' is once more, the rightful home of this stone is with the Jewish people.

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

**Andre Honnorat**

(1868—1950)

We reproduce below from *UNESCO Courier*, a very interesting sketch of the life and activities of Andre Honnorat, founder of the "University City of Paris":

Parisians in the early twenties were somewhat loath to take their visitors on a tour of the city's southern borders. A muddy street was all that separated the pleasant "parc Montsouris" from the dismantled fortifications where, amidst rubble and debris, the vacant lots of suburbia aimlessly awaited the speculators and their blocks of tenement houses. Beyond, midst the smoke and dirt of factories, lay the "red belt" as Parisians called it, a mass of corrugated iron or tarred makeshift hovels, sunk in the pitiless depths of misery.

To this barren waste a man sometimes came to ponder, a distinguished-looking man whom passers-by took to be an architect or a poet. In point of fact he was the Minister of Education. Yet the passers-by were not mistaken, for Andre Honnorat was both a poet and a builder. He used to wander through the brambles and the rubble, a tall figure under the heavy skies. His gaze seemed to miss the ruins and the hovels; in their stead he saw a spacious city, with buildings bordering on tree-lined avenues, on wide sports grounds. Down these avenues, through the broad gateways, came groups of young men and women, laughing, talking together in every known tongue.

## AN INSTRUMENT OF PEACE

This was Andre Honnorat's dream: a city planned entirely for students, the pupils of the world's most cosmopolitan school—the University of Paris. Striding

over the fortifications with a friend, the Minister was no longer a mere dreamer; he became a prophet: Honnorat could almost count the students and mapped his "city" down to the last detail.

In the centre, he planned to build an International House, and a vast Hall-Library to replace the humble 11th century church, traditional meeting-place of the "nations" of Paris University, which the mediaeval students in their poverty had dedicated to Saint Julian the Pauper.

The thousand-year-old Sorbonne never failed to arouse the Minister's enthusiasm: his first gesture upon taking office had been to restore to the University the autonomy which Napoleon had accomplished. The Sorbonne of which he dreamed was more than a seat of learning and research, it was to become an instrument of peace. The future of peace . . . the idea obsessed Honnorat; he dwelt upon it in all his speeches, at every meeting: "Do you believe that all the problems which war has brought before the human conscience can really be solved by Government action alone? Is not the best solution to teach the peoples to understand each other; and to teach such understanding, what better way can be found than to bring the elite of the younger generation into contact with one another?"

## ENTHUSIASM STIMULATED FRIENDS AND BENEFACTORS

For the general public the Minister of Education was little more than a respected politician. His career was fairly typical of that of many French public servants. Coming of a poor family, he had started life as a journalist and later had been secretary to several ministers. For forty years he represented his native "departement," the mountainous Basses-Alpes, first in the Chamber and later in the Senate. Yet his friends knew Honnorat to be an extraordinary man. He was simple, loyal, sincere. These qualities alone would probably not have distinguished him. But the nobility of his character, the warmth of his human sympathy and his power of vision were truly exceptional.

This creative imagination, which of all human gifts is perhaps the most rare, might have been enough in itself to account for the statesman's extraordinary achievements. A University City in the heart of the "red belt"! The very idea dismayed "serious" people. Yet, in the space of a few years, the dream was to come true. By 1925, the now famous "foundations" were being erected. They were to house hundreds and later thousands of students. Gardens had replaced the rubble and debris, and sports grounds were planned.

The venture owed a large measure of its success to Andre Honnorat's gift for making friends. He never once applied for Government subsidies. His enthusiasm was such that he was always able to stimulate generosity in others and the Cite Universitaire came into being in much the same manner as the mediaeval cathedrals, thanks to the donations of countless benefactors: Jean Branet, David-Well, Emile Deutsch de

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### Goethe: A Universal Mind

Leonard B. Gray writes in *Unity*, November-December, 1950:

November 7, 1775, was a great day in a little German town, in the life of Germany's greatest writer, and in the history of literature, for on that day Johann Wolfgang Goethe entered Weimar.

Oh, those glorious first few months Goethe spent in Weimar! How exciting they were for the central figure and for the townspeople who were entranced by the irresistible spell this fascinating and incomparable young man cast upon them! The little provincial town was shaken out of its dull conventionality and complacency. Aristocratic society to which the newcomer was first introduced became alive and agog. Indeed, life for everybody was stirred, toned up, and lifted out of its regular course. People everywhere idolized, lionized, and worshipped the newly famous poet partly because of the startling things he had written but chiefly because the magnetic man himself was far more interesting than his writings. They read and reread *The Sorrows of Werther*, his recently published work, that was running like wildfire over much of Europe.

In all history we have read or heard of no lionization of a writer equal to this save that given by Edinburgh to Robert Burns when he appeared in that city with the halo of sudden fame around him. The two enthusiastic receptions were alike in that they were aroused more by the poets' personalities than by their poetry. That given by the large city with its huge population and larger number of learned and distinguished men was more widely spread and more glamorous, but this in the German town—being localized in a smaller area with fewer interests and novelties to attract the attention of the people—was probably more intense. Indeed, the latter centered around a poet who was then and always much more of a man than a poet—was unparalleled in its intensity.

We describe those first few months of Goethe's life in Weimar not chiefly to present a bit of interesting history, but rather to describe Goethe and the extraordinary effects that his sudden fame and his personality had upon people. The poet was then in the full bloom of his fair youth. Seldom, if ever, was there a more magnificent and magnetic young man. He looked so strong, muscular, imposing, and manly that most people felt with Napoleon, who said after first meeting the poet: "There's a man for you." And not a few felt like Lavater, when he said: "You would idolize Goethe. He is the most fearful and amiable of men. He is the incomparable, the fearfully exalted among men." And like Heine, when he

said of the youth, "From top to toe genius, power, strength, a heart full of feeling, a mind full of fire and equipped with the wings of the eagle. Resistance is impossible; he carries everything along with him." It was impossible for strangers to keep their eyes off him, some have testified, and not to feel that an extraordinary youth had come into their midst when he entered a room. It was easily observed that in any company he carried the conversation without trying to do so.

Yes, Goethe was then in the full bloom of his fair youth and in the full bloom of his first fame and popularity among the masses. Seldom again was he to be popular, for his fame henceforth was to be restricted chiefly to the intellectual few. Schiller was to be more widely read and is today, an ex-Nazi youth recently told me, more popular in Germany. But at that time everybody was reading our poet. Young men all over Germany were wearing the Werther costume. In public markets Werther was shown painted on cloth or canvas. In a few years three French translations of the poet's first great work were to appear, and Napoleon was to take it with him on his campaign to Egypt in 1798 and read it seven times, and study it so carefully that he could discuss it point by point with the author in 1808.

How interesting and significant is Goethe's own account of how he came to write *Werther* and why this piece of writing leaped into such meteoric popularity! The effect had come upon many German young people, the poet tells us in his autobiography, a weariness with life which not infrequently led to suicide. This weariness was due in no small measure to the serious nature of the German mind which leads to a contemplation of the transient nature and worthlessness of earthly possessions and of earthly existence itself. Also, the serious, sensitive youth was unusually troubled and pained by the unceasing return of its faults. And this seriousness and disgust with life on the part of the German youth at that time was greatly increased by much reading of English literature which, especially in its poetry, was full of earnest melancholy. Serious English poetry, especially that of Shakespeare, undermining the worth of human nature, was suitable to the peculiar type of German mind just then and it was by far the favorite of the German youth. Particularly Hamlet and his soliloquies haunted the minds of Goethe and his young friends. Almost everyone, it seemed, knew the chief passages of the play by heart and loved to recite them. Frustrated and tortured by unsatisfied passions and by what they considered harsh and confining surroundings, such reading greatly assisted not a few German young people to imagine that their lot was worse than it actually was, as one person expressed it before *Werther* appeared:

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To griefs congenial prone,  
More wounds than nature gave he knew;  
While misery's form his fancy drew  
In dark ideal hues and horrors not its own.

Thus the mind of young Germany was perfectly conditioned to respond to the particular chord Werther would strike. Goethe himself found that he was in this psychological predicament, and he considered various ways of committing suicide, the chief being with a handsome, well-polished dagger which he laid by his bedside every night.

At last a combination of circumstances touched off the poet. Just when he was suffering most from his attachment to the wife of one of his friends Goethe heard of the death of Jerusalem occasioned by a similar attachment. Prohibiting the visit of friends and casting out of his mind everything except this subject and almost unconsciously like a somnambulist without any prearranged scheme of the whole, the poet poured out his long pent-up feelings like the bursting forth of a mighty stream and wrote *Werther* in four weeks. And then like a man who has made a great confession Goethe felt freed of his "stormy element," as he put it, healthy-minded and happy again, and ready for a new life.

The book exactly hit the temper of the times. It was a match that blew up an immense mine, that suddenly brought demands, unsatisfied passions, and imaginary wrongs to an eruption. Its success was quick and immense. It was read by high and low. It spread like a raging fire across the continent and to foreign lands. It treated the theme of an unhappy love affair in such a way that it expressed the passions and yearnings of an entire age. Countless people felt that for them was portrayed the right and wrong of their overflowing hearts in their relations to the harsh workaday world and to their strivings for freedom amid the confining circumstances and frustrations in such a world.

Not a few people claim that *Werther* is Goethe's greatest work, while perhaps the majority give the laurels to *Faust*. Anyway, the poet was never again to hit the popular mood so precisely. Among the great poets Germany's greatest was one of the few along with Byron and Burns to be suddenly clothed with fame in early youth.

After graduating from Strasbourg on August 6, 1771, Goethe went home to Frankfort to practise law which he did very little. During those years his lifelong tendency to become easily excited by new interests and to throw his energies in many directions was the most intense. When a subject took strong hold of him he would shut himself off from people and write for days at a stretch, as he did when he wrote *Werther*. Then for a considerable period he could not produce anything at all, even when he most wished to do so, and often he would suffer from ennui. To keep life zestful and to exercise all his faculties he was obliged, he tells us, to devote the intervals when Nature (spelled by him with a capital N) ceased to influence him, to worldly occupations. Evidently he regarded creative writing as the expression of his true nature or Nature expressing itself through him, and not a worldly occupation. He would travel extensively for weeks, especially with distinguished men such as Lavater and Basedon. Then he would give himself to a long and thorough study of some historical or scientific subject. From it he would quickly turn to the writing of a critical article. With extraordinary exuberance of spirit and love for fun-making he would throw himself into some gay social affair. Tiring of this he would roam the countryside in solitary walks at times with feelings of melancholy and depression. Vigorous activity and lifelessness, intense study and intense creative writing, love-making and fellowship with boon companions, joyousness and dejection alternated in him, often rapidly. No wonder his friends said that he could not be expected to act like anyone else. But all the time with his manysidedness, with his historical

range and perspective, and with his seeing the varied life about him with every pore of his skin he was forming the universal mind that is one of the great amazements of history.

Also, during his last few years in Frankfort, we note Goethe's growing reference to interior truth, a characteristic of the German mind, Emerson said, but unusually developed in our poet. Back in his student days at Leipzig that tendency to write out of himself had begun. After much floundering about in his consideration of many types of subject-matter and of many methods of writing, he was compelled, he says, to seek for everything within himself. This habit of putting his delights, his troubles, his inspirations, in fact all things that took strong hold of his mind, into poems came to its full blossoming in Frankfort. Finding his motivating force, his suggestions, and his material in himself is what largely sets Goethe apart from Shakespeare and the greater Greek poets who for the most part took what happened to other people as the primary motive of their works. Our German poet poetized his own joys and woes. Nearly every one of his characters was his own mouthpiece. *Werther* was Goethe at one time in Goethe's life. *Faust* was the essential Goethe all through Goethe's life. Since the poet reacted intellectually and emotionally so strongly to a many-sided life, felt so widely and deeply and richly within himself, his writing out of his own mind and heart accounted in no small measure for the universality we find in his writings.

That his writing out of himself did not prevent him from being objective is both an evidence and a cause of Goethe's universality. We admire his detached and disinterested way of looking at a thing. He could regard a matter purely for what it was in itself, apart from preconceived ideas that he and others held about it, free from bias, from any wish to make it other than it was, from



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any desire to use it for a special interest or cause. And so he could say, "Whatever is useful is only a part of what is significant," and make a character in *Wilhelm Meister's Travels* say, "We do not want to establish anything or to produce any outward effect, but only to enlighten ourselves."

Unable to see that he related every fact or cause to universal nature and judged it by its ability to promote universal truth, many Germans regretted his lack of intense nationalism and called him unpatriotic. Unable to get him to adopt their particular religious beliefs and ways of life, many called him unreligious, and even anti-religious. Those who ridiculed the Bible got no sympathy from him, while he offended the narrow-minded literalist by urging honest investigation of the Bible. And he was probably condemned by most religious sects for commending a person who was trying to found a sect to be called Hypsistari, or communion of those who would choose the best out of all religions. This universal mind saw segments, partialities, half-truths, political parties, nationalities, and religious sects with their limitations and judged their worth in their relations to universal truth. It belonged to no particular age or country or race or religion but to the best in all. How men are divided, Goethe thought, by religions, patriotisms, and politics! So he greatly rejoiced, especially during the latter years of his life, in the growing cosmopolitanism of art and science as one of the most healthy and promising signs of the time. High above all frontiers this great humanist would raise the common human ideals of the good, the true, and the beautiful. He would unite the best men of all lands in a common zeal for the exaltation of letters, science, and art. Enlightenment would spread from such men, he believed, and gradually permeate the masses.

There are always people who think they know what is best for other people. There were such people in Goethe's day and they tried their best to keep our poet in the narrow track they had set for him. They urged

him to get out of state affairs and they tried to laugh and ridicule him out of scientific experimenting and writing. Partly because they thought that in science a poet was out of his realm and partly because they were not ripe for his advanced scientific theories, the scientists of his day, except a few great ones, either ignored or scorned Goethe's scientific writings. To be sure, they did have some reasons, for the poet did make himself ridiculous in his claim that he had disproved Sir Isaac Newton's discovery that by the aid of a prism glass white light can be broken up into prismatic hues. But our poet-scientist did, however, make some important and far-reaching discoveries in geology, mineralogy, meteorology, osteology, and biology, and he was remarkably anticipatory of modern ideas in botany. Linnae, the great Swedish botanist, was the dominant thinker in this branch of science at that time, and most people went along with him when he declared that so many thousand species had been brought into being on Creation Day, that each rigidly adhered to its type, and that the work of the botanist was merely to register and describe these unchanging species. But Goethe forecast one of the chief principles of evolutionary botany in finding both centripetal and centrifugal tendencies at work, that is, inner tendencies or impulses to keep the type and also, in different surroundings, tendencies to diverge from the type, and that under the influence of some surroundings the species did actually change. And so this great poet showed himself to be an advanced scientist in believing in historical evolution at least twenty years before his great contemporary, Jean Baptiste Lamarck, propounded the theory. Indeed, for his time, Goethe's grasp of living nature was extraordinary. This original, independent thinker in science was given his deservedly eminent place when Helmholtz, a distinguished German physiologist, wrote, "To Goethe belongs the great fame of having first conceived the leading ideas to which science in those days was tending and through which its present form is determined."



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Anyway, at least we see the universal man in the wide, rich culture that Goethe derived from the best in all ages and manifested in his varied and great accomplishments as poet, novelist, art critic, translator, editor, lawyer, counsellor of state, dramatist, theatre manager, actor, and scientist.

With the influence of Spinoza, his favorite philosopher, upon him, our German thinker held that God and nature are identical. In one of his poems in a short series called *Gott und Welt* he wrote: "God must be one who moves the world within, nature in Him, Himself in nature holding," and again, "There is a universe within the soul." So far as God was a person, He was identical with Goethe's own personality, the very inmost core and essence of that. While he greatly admired Christ as man and teacher and shared much of the religion of the New Testament, he had little use for the religion embodied in abstract propositions and creeds. His position was near to that developed by Hellenism and the neo-Platonists. To him the religious life was one of balance, calmness, serenity, free from strife and discordant elements, lived in complete harmony with the divine cosmic order.

Goethe was olympian. He stood on the mountain heights. Not in the power of any mood or passion, not as the servant of any particular dogma or cause, with no axe to grind or private interest to promote, he looked calmly and disinterestedly from the lofty heights and with mental superiority surveyed the systems of thought and the human life of the ages as they were. To be sure, he was not always on the heights. He was a manly man who heartily enjoyed the game of life in its myriad forms, especially such practical matters as conducting state affairs and managing a theatre. And yet there was that original, independent stamp upon his writings that comes chiefly from a man who gets away from life and calmly views it from a distance. This combination of letting life pour through him as he intensely and richly lived it and of solitary, aloof looking at life accounts for his profound depth and wide range that Carlyle admired so much. This combination accounts for his keen penetration into the minds and souls of men and for his dealing with the spirit of life, as he did especially in his novel *Wilhelm Meister*, while so many other writers dealt merely with the costume and condition of life. This combination accounts largely for his being such an inexhaustible fountain of knowledge and wisdom, for his being, as few men have, the incarnation of humanity and of the ages.

To Emerson's claim that Goethe was the soul of his age, we would add that he was the soul of the ages. His perspective ran over all history and he wrote about universal and timeless matters. How he bewildered the people of his day by being at various times the poet of passion, the superb creator of character, the keen investigator, the royal sage, and nature's serene and great interpreter! And he amazes us today by his universality that greatly helps to lift us out of our limitations and to free us from the bondages that religious bigotries, racial prejudices, and intense nationalisms so often put upon us. Goethe encourages us to have large minds, to seek truth honestly and eagerly from all sources, and to follow the truth we find.

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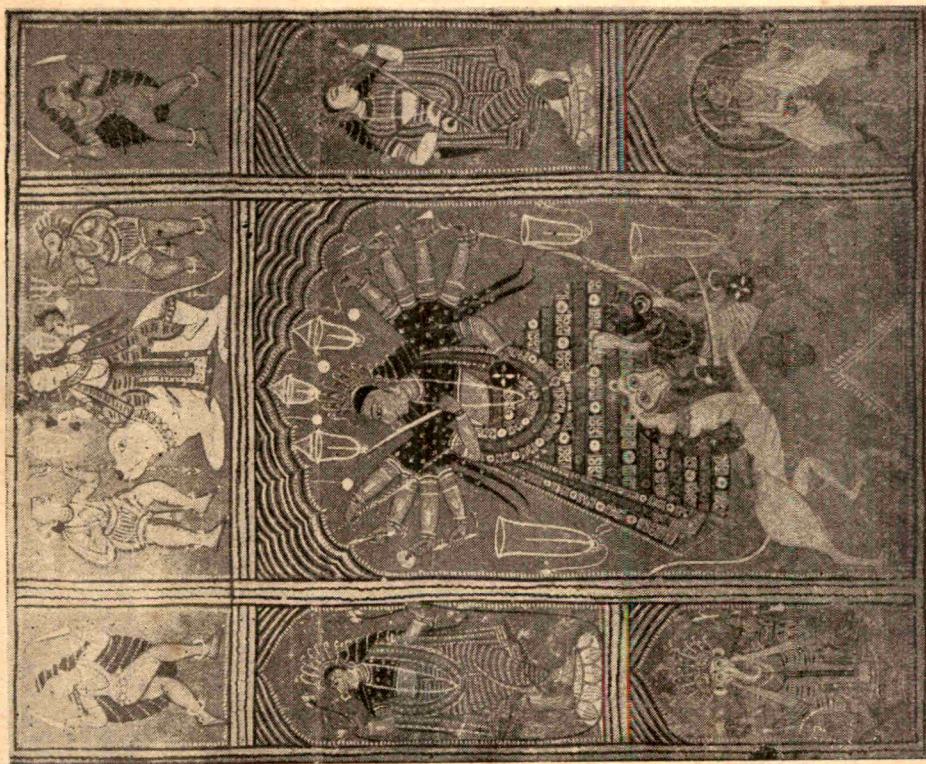
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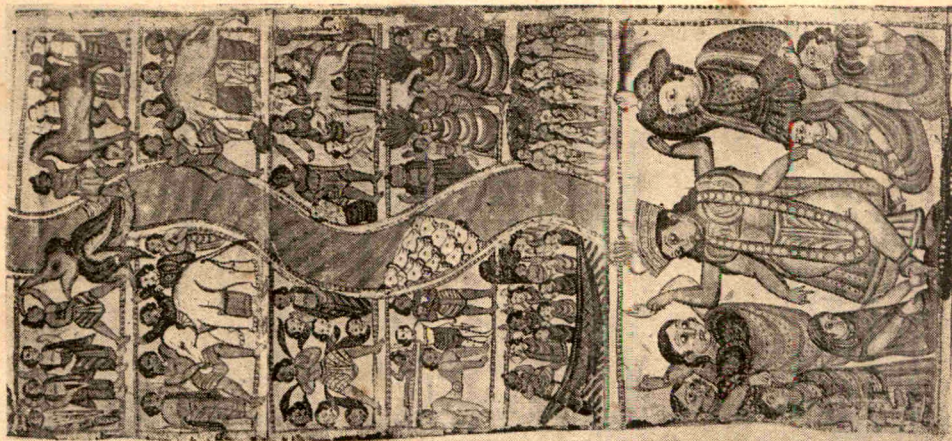
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# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### *Freedom, the Constitution and the Press*

There is a story in our Sanskrit classics about three scholars who were returning home after having mastered alchemy, occult sciences, etc. When they entered a big and gloomy forest, a fourth man, older than the others but not so full of learning, joined them for company and protection. And so they proceeded, the scholars deep in argument and the elder steeped in his thoughts.

When they were deep in the forest, they came upon a heap of a large skull and big bones, evidently picked clean by vultures and scattered. The little group stopped and there was much speculation as to of what animals those remains were. Then said the youngest : "Behold, I know of a *mantra* that will assort and put together the bones in their proper places."

And so he took up some water in the cup of his hand, uttered some incantations and sprinkled the water on the bones. And forthwith the bones moved to their proper places and the full skeleton of a huge animal was apparent to all.

Next spoke another scholar : "Behold, I know how to clothe these bones with flesh and skin, as will be shown to you."

And he in his turn took up water in his hands, pronounced some incantations, and sprinkled the water on the skeletal remains. And, lo and behold, the bones were covered with flesh and skin, and a gigantic carnivore of fearsome aspect lay there, plain to the eye, awful even though lifeless.

Then spoke the third, full of learning and wisdom : "This is but child's play, for behold, I will bestow this animal with life."

The fourth man who so far had been a silent spectator now spoke up in alarm : "Stop, stop, think what might happen if this fearsome monster came alive."

But the scholars were too full of learning and

too much imbued with arrogance and so the first two urged the third to prove his learning. The fourth man in terror took to flight and had barely managed to climb a tree when the carnivore came to life with a thunderous roar and tore to bits and devoured the feckless learned ones.

If we put our Constitution drafters and makers and our learned men of the Law Courts in the role of the three scholars and the common citizen of the Union of India as the fourth man, then it would truly illustrate our present Constitutional muddle.

Millions of words have been uttered and millions more would be, but as yet no one seems to have any clear idea about the issues involved. There is so much talk about "Freedom," but has any one so far defined how much freedom there exists today for the common man ? He is being freely looted by the blackmarketeer and the few miscreants—or alleged ones—who are apprehended are being set at liberty by the High Courts of Litigation. He is prevented from exercising his common rights at every step, either by official obstructionists or by organised disruptionists and again all judgments go against him, for officialdom must be held sacrosanct and the disruptionists have champions galore in our High and Supreme Courts of Justice. Bribery and corruption is on the increase and the course of the law and that of justice is becoming "curiouser and curiouser" instead of being "Apparent," as it should be by all the laws and customs of democracy.

Today the hankering for power and applause seems to have afflicted all who are in the public eye. No one seems to be able to weigh the consequences of such chaotic speech and thought. Freedom in the absolute would mean converting the Constitution into the Law of the Jungle, where only the richest and the most lawless of the strong ones will survive. On the other hand, absolute power in the hand of bureaucracy will bring in autocracy of the despot.



Meanwhile the debate is on and therefore we shall have to postpone a critical survey for a subsequent issue. For the present, we can only put on record what has transpired so far, with a few comments.

Dr. Ambedkar has put his Cabinet's case in an admirably lucid fashion. We may not agree with all his arguments but there is no ambiguity. He has made it clear that the Bill has come because of the opinion of the Learned in Law that the Constitution is like the Laws of the Persians and the Medes, once written it should last for ever—until disaster overtook the nation, hide-bound in law like the Persians and the Medes. He has further made it clear that though as a lawyer he is bound to obey, he is not bound to respect such decisions.

In this we fully agree. Law to the common logically thinking man is an instrument for obtaining social and personal justice. And justice must be apparent, to the same common citizen and not merely to the vastly learned. And if the Law fails to fulfil its purpose, it must be discarded despite whatever may be written, said or argued. Now let us turn to the debate.

Three main changes have been made in the Constitution Amendment Bill by the Select Committee. By the insertion of the qualification "reasonable" before the proposed restrictions of freedom of speech and expression, the Committee has sought to make justiciable any legislation on the subject which the Parliament may adopt. An extension of the scope of the clause in the Bill seeking to protect backward classes is recommended by specifying "advancement" generally instead of limiting application to social, educational and economic fields. Care has been taken, by means of the third change, to ensure that future state legislation for acquisition of estates becomes immune from judicial challenge only after receiving the President's assent. Although the insertion of the word "reasonable" softens the rigour of Section 19 as sought to be amended, it is evident from the minutes of dissent that the change does not go so far as the critics of the amendment desired. In extending the scope of the amendment to Article 15, relating to backward classes, the Committee has been guided by the Supreme Court verdict on the "Communal G. O." of Madras. Special reference is therefore made to Article 29(2) which forbids discrimination in admission to educational institutions maintained by the State or receiving State aid on grounds only of religion, race, caste and language. According to an additional clause in the proposed Amendment, Article 29(2) shall not prevent any State "from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes."

Amendment to Article 19 has been the most controversial. The Standing Committee of the A.I.N.E.C. had led a deputation to the Prime

Minister and had some correspondence with him. In his letter the President categorically stated that "we hold that the proposed amendment to Article 19(2) practically nullifies the fundamental right of freedom of the Press guaranteed to the citizens under the Constitution." But at the Parliament he agreed with the Prime Minister that the change made by the Select Committee in introducing the word "reasonable" had considerably removed the sting in the original draft. According to him, this was a substantial gain and he "expressed appreciation of the spirit of accommodation shown by the Minister."

This matter of the "Freedom of the Press" should have been put before an emergency session of the A.I.N.E.C. for a clear discussion as to what are the intrinsic constants of this freedom, since the matter is of so grave national importance. The Press, in general we must say, has been ignored. The Press as it is today have themselves merited this slight. Throughout the war, and earlier during the Civil Disobedience Movement, there were a large number of newspapers which refused to voice truth and stand for fundamental rights. During the 1942-movement, a large majority of the newspapers of this country did not hesitate to print the Government advertisement that "Congressmen were goondas." *Today while oppression of the vilest kind has been let loose on the Bengali-speaking people of the Manbhum District in Bihar, not one of them has raised its voice in defence of the poor oppressed people. Satyagrahis of the purest type, one time co-workers of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, are being assaulted by hired "goondas," and the truest followers of Gandhiji are being sent to jail on trumped up charges of rioting and theft, taking advantage of the fact that Satyagrahis as they are, they will not defend themselves. One-sided trials are being held within the four walls of the jail. Terrorisation on a mass scale has been let loose. The Bihar Government have refused to recognise the 'Satyagraha' movement against oppressive laws and orders in the province and is trying their best to give it the colour of ordinary crime. Their latest actions show that falsehood and villainy have no limit. This is going on under the very nose of our Press Lords without any protest. We know it for certain that the Satyagrahis have sent all materials to many newspapers but nothing have come out, ostensibly for fear of losing circulation of a few copies. If this be the character of the Press, if this be their concern for fundamental rights, we must say that we of the Press do not deserve any protection. Some of us will not need any, because of having proved in the past, as in the present, that there shall be no cause for any action from the Government. The few daily, weekly or monthly journals who have so long stood for civil liberties and fundamental rights might be exposed in the future to repression as they have been in the past. They know how to take care of themselves, and they will fight.*



### Prime Minister's Speech on the Bill

Sri Nehru said, Government had given the "most careful thought and scrutiny to the problem" and brought forward this Bill because, "We thought if these changes are not made, not only great difficulties would arise as they have arisen in the past few months, but perhaps some of the main purposes of the very Constitution may be defeated or delayed."

The Prime Minister said, this Bill was not a very complicated one, nor was it a big one. Nevertheless, it was of "intrinsic and great importance, because anything that deals with the Constitution is important and anything that deals with the fundamental rights incorporated in the Constitution is of great importance."

Therefore, in bringing this bill forward, Government did not do so "in a spirit of light-heartedness, nor in haste but after the most careful thought and scrutiny given to the problem," he added. "We have been thinking about this matter for several months, consulting people, State Governments, Ministers of Provincial Governments, consulting a number of members of the House, referred to various committees and the like, taking such advice from competent legal quarters as we could obtain."

"So, we have proceeded with greater care than we could possibly give to it. We have brought forward now, after all that care, a Bill in the best form that we could give to it, because we thought the changes mentioned in the Bill are necessary, and of course, desirable, because we thought that if these changes are not made, not only great difficulties would arise as they have arisen in the past few months but perhaps some of the main purposes of that very Constitution may be defeated, or delayed."

"There had been criticism not only in our country as there should be, but also in some foreign countries, where some of our friends have got into the habit of criticising us for whatever we might do. When we seek peace they criticise us; if we do something else, they say we are not doing the right thing. So there has been a great deal of criticism and we welcome this criticism, because in a matter of this kind the greater the scrutiny the better."

He said, it was not the desire of the Government to hurry the matter through. He had mentioned an early date for the report of the Select Committee. "I do not myself know how the prolongation of this Bill, —a relatively small Bill however important it may be—enables us to give greater thought to it."

Various types of criticism had been raised. One rather curious criticism was that this House having been elected on a narrow franchise, not being representative of the country or the organised will of the community, was not justified or competent to deal with such amendments. These very people raised the criticism about the right not of this House, but of its

predecessor, the Constituent Assembly in drafting the Constitution, because they were elected on certain franchise.

"Now that Constituent Assembly which has become part of this history of India is no more; but we, who sit here, nearly all of us continue that tradition, that link. In fact, it is we, who were in the Constituent Assembly and drafted it. Now to say that we are not competent to touch the work we did is rather an odd argument."

Government had come up here naturally because after the experience of one and half years or so, they had learnt much, they had found out some error of judgment or possible interpretation to be put on what they had provided for.

"The House would remember that when the Constitution was considered, an Article was proposed that within five years any change in the Constitution should be relatively easy. Why? Because it was thought, and rightly so, that after a little while many little things would come to notice which they should rectify with relative ease. Rather unfortunately that Clause was dropped."

"Nevertheless, so far as this House was concerned, it could proceed in the manner provided for in the Constitution to amend it if this House so chose."

"Now there is no doubt that this House has that authority. I am not talking of legal, or constitutional authority, but moral authority because it is, roughly speaking, this House that drafted the Constitution."

"It was they who actually hammered it into shape after years of debate, and now they had come to this House for amendment because they had noticed some lacunae. Some difficulties had arisen because of various interpretations."

"It had been pointed out by the judicial authority that some lacunae existed. So far as interpretation of the Constitution is concerned, it is the right and privilege of the highest court of the land to do it and it is not for us as individual or even as Government to challenge that right. Judiciary must necessarily stand above, shall I say, political conflicts of life or political interpretation. They have interpreted it in the light of law and we respect them."

"We must obey them. *But having followed their interpretation, it is our business as Parliament to see whether the purpose we aimed at is fulfilled. If it is not fulfilled, then the will of the community does not take effect. If the will of the community does not ultimately take effect, then serious difficulties may arise at any time. At a time like this when powerful and dynamic forces are at work, when changes take place not only here but in other parts, we cannot think of anything static in the world.*

"Nevertheless, it becomes our duty to decide whether the Constitution was or is rightly interpreted and whether it is desirable to change it here and there to give effect to what was our intention. Therefore, I



come before the House not to challenge any judicial interpretation, rather to take the assistance of the House in clearing up doubts, in removing certain difficulties which have prevented us from going ahead in measures of social reform."

"This House know very well that there are many kinds of Constitutions in the world. There is Constitution which is not written, for instance, the Constitution of the U.K. where Parliament is absolutely supreme and can do and say what it likes and that is the law of the land and no court can challenge it however they may interpret it.

"Then there is the written Constitution, like the Constitution of U.S.A., where the Constitution to some extent limits the authority of the legislature in so far as certain fundamental rights or other provisions are concerned. Now in U.S.A. by a long course of judicial decisions healthy conventions have been laid down and the power of the legislature has been widened somewhat because of the interpretations by high judicial authority and because of those conventions the extreme rigidity that perhaps a written word might have given to it has been made more flexible in the course of generalisation.

"I have no doubt that if we live through a static period, gradually these conventions would arise here too, relaxing that extreme rigidity of the written word and that our courts would help in relaxing that rigidity. But, unfortunately, we have no time. It is barely a little more than a year since we started functioning under this Constitution and to begin with, therefore, it is only the word in all its rigid aspect that apparently counts and not the many inner meanings that we sought to give to it.

"But we are deprived of that slow process of judicial interpretation and development of conventions which the other countries with the written Constitutions have gone through like U.S.A.

"Therefore, because we live in these rapidly changing time we cannot wait for that slow process. We have to give a slightly different shape to the written word. In effect we are doing what in the normal course judicial interpretation might have done and probably would have done and we come up before this House for that purpose.

"Now a great deal has been said about the desire of this Government to put any kind of curb or restraint on the freedom of the citizen or Press or of groups. First of all, may I remind the House that this Bill only perhaps clears up what the authority of Parliament is. We are not putting down any kind of curb or restraint. We are removing certain doubts so as to enable Parliament to function if it so chooses and when it chooses. Nothing else happens when this Bill is passed except to clarify the authority of Parliament.

"May I also point out to this House that we in this Government and we in this House have not got

a very long life. This session is coming to a close and after this session there is likely to be a brief session again before the General Elections take place in the country.

"Even the present Parliament will give place to another, larger one, perhaps different one. The Government may give place to another and whatever changes we may make in the Constitution today, it is highly unlikely that this Government or this Parliament will take advantage of them by passing laws to that effect unless some very severe crisis, national or international, arises.

In fact, therefore, it is not this Government that is trying to seek power or consolidate itself and certainly I repudiate the suggestion which has been made here and there that any of these amendments are meant to be utilised for political or party purposes. We do wish when we walk away from this present scene before the election or after to leave something for the succeeding Parliament and for the younger generation that will come up—something that they can wield and handle with ease for the advancement of India and not something which will come always in their way and deflect them from the set purpose we have in view. Therefore, it is from this point of view that we have put forward this Bill."

Continuing Sri Nehru said that if they had examined the various proposals made in the Bill, they would find that a number of amendments were secondary in importance not concerning any vital matters or principles. For instance, one of the Articles laid down that this House should meet twice a year and the President should address them. Now a possible interpretation of that was that this House had not met at all this year. It was an extraordinary position considering that this time this House had laboured more than probably at any time.

The amendments to Article 87 and also to Articles 174 and 176 of the Constitution were somewhat secondary in importance. They related to the functions of the President in Parliament and that of the Governors in State Assemblies. So also the amendments to the Articles 341 and 342 related to the function of the President where, there is no Rajpramukh at all. The amendment to Article 372 related taxation laws and so also the amendment to Article 376 enabled the Government to appoint as Chief Justice a person who was not a citizen of India. These were the minor of the amendments proposed.

"But the really important provisions which I am putting before this House," Sri Nehru continued, "relate to Article 19, Article 31 and also to Article 15 of the Constitution."

Dealing with Article 15 first, the Prime Minister stated that it had been proposed to add certain provisions to that article. It had been considered



desire to add them in the light of the experience of working the Constitution.

"The real difficulty before us is this : The Constitution has laid down certain Directive Principles of State policy and, if I may point out, the Constitution has also laid down certain Fundamental Rights.

"While the purpose behind the Constitution was not to effect any conflict between the two sets of principles, somehow or other the working of either is to some extent hindered by the static element in the Fundamental Rights. We have therefore to find out some way.

"The amendment which I seek to move is no solution of this basic problem and what the amendment proposed to give is to give authority to Parliament or to the future Parliament to deal with the matters as they arise.

"I may also point out that we should try to remove possible impediments in the way of implementing the Constitution. It is suggested by some that it is proposed to devise a method of bringing about some kind of communal element by a number of these amendments. I want to make it perfectly clear that so far as we are concerned and our Government is concerned, we do not wish to have any element of communalism anywhere. But you have to distinguish between the backward classes who are specially mentioned in the Constitution. You have to help them in order to advance them educationally and economically.

"But sometimes this intervention by the Government or a party presents difficulties, because we have to give a certain type of education, technical or other, to the backward classes. The question therefore is that we should give some encouragement, some reasonable encouragement, to their education and give representatives of the backward classes who otherwise would not come up at all. Therefore, there is no question of Government giving any special assistance to any community on the ground of religion, etc.

Coming to another difficulty in the working of the Constitution, Sri Nehru said that difficulty related to the interpretation of Fundamental Rights and the protection of individual and personal liberty.

"The question now to be considered is this : in the protection of individual liberty you would give also individual group inequality. In that case you come to a conflict. Is it the guarantee of Directive Principle of the State policy or the moral advance of the group in general that constitute a more rapid advance possible and in which way there is less and less inequality or more and more equality.

"Now, if any kind of individual liberty is treated as very important, then an appeal is made to the continuation of the existing inequality. Then there is difficulty; there is a conflict between the rights of individuals and the relation of individuals to the society.

We shall have to deal with those cases and I feel the present amendment of mine seeks to give authority to Parliament to deal with it."

#### ARTICLES 19 AND 31

"Then we come to two important articles of the Constitution, which this Bill proposed to amend. They are Articles 19 and 31. Article 19 deals with Fundamental Rights. It is said that this Government seeks to curb or restrict the freedom of the Press. Members are fully aware of the state of affairs today. I do not think there is any country in the world today and at the present moment which offers so much freedom for any one in regard to publication of news and views as in India. I have often given expression to my appreciation of the way in which journalists and newspapermen have conducted their functions in this country; and I would like to say the same about them every now and then. But I have also to draw the attention of the House to the ways in which less responsible newspapers are conducted."

"It has become a matter of daily occurrence," he added, "that some of these news-sheets are often indulging in creating insecurity and disunity in the country and day after day they indulge in this general degrading of not only intellectual quality but also in the degradation of moral standard." (Cry of shame, shame).

"I do not consider it merely as a political problem. I do look at it as a moral problem. How are we to preserve our moral standards if such news-sheets by indulging in such moral deterioration day after day carry on their poisoning effect and demoralise the younger generations in the colleges and schools.

"It is true that everybody should have the freedom to carry on his own views; but freedom is also associated with certain responsibilities and obligations."

"It must also be realised by members in the House," Sri Nehru continued, "that it is the duty of the Government to protect the freedom of the country from external invasion by use of the Army or Navy or Air Force at its command. But I may also say that this type of control does not alone solve the problem while individual responsibility to preserve that freedom is not fully realised. It has to rely on both the resources, the resources of armed strength and individual moral strength, which in my opinion is most effective.

"Therefore, it is not that I want to impose any controls on the expression of free and individual opinion. But the moral standards of the country also have to be kept in view. Intelligent people think that morals are as important as any other force towards the progress and preservation of the group or of the individual. But unfortunately, there is a total lack of this restriction on our part. I am not concerned about the election. But if there is no sense of responsibility and obligation, what are we to do? How are we to stop the corroding influence that is gradually increasing? That is my difficulty."

The present amendment, Sri Nehru continued, is only an enabling measure. It really clarifies the powers of Parliament in regard to such matters when its authority happens to be challenged.

"The principle underlying this bill therefore," Sri Nehru explained, "does not deal with any particular group or individuals. The measure is only an enabling one clarifying the power of Parliament. To what extent and in what manner that had to be done I do not know."

"Now one of the difficulties that I have referred to is the difficulty in dealing with the Press," Sri Nehru said. Press is one of the vital organs of modern life, more especially of democracy. The Press has got tremendous powers and tremendous responsibilities. The Press has to be restrained and restricted in its tone. But at the same time, the Press should have some authority to carry on their functions also independently."

Striking a personal note the Prime Minister said, in his younger days he too had something of a journalist in him and therefore, whatever he said about the functions of a journalist was out of practical experience. He appreciated the extent of their powers and the difficulties under which they had to function. He also understood the difficulties with which journalists are faced.

"But what is a Press if it does not represent the national opinion?" Sri Nehru asked, "Is it the great organised public opinion that had to be taken as the Press of the country or some two sheets of paper that is brought out overnight without any regularity and which is fully used for blackmailing certain people?" Nobody in the country, he felt, would support such kind of Press which failed to appreciate its obligations and then its functions in a proper and adequate manner. Therefore, there was then necessity for imposing a limit to the licence which was being indulged in order to poison and vitiate the entire atmosphere of the country.

Coming to the amendment to Article 19(2) of the Constitution, Sri Nehru said it contained three different aspects which were, friendly relations of India with foreign countries, public order and incitement to offence.

Nobody in the country or in the House need apprehend, he continued, that by the proposed amendment the Government of India wanted to stifle criticism. What was contemplated was only to enable Parliament from time to time to determine what was best suited to the maintenance of good relations with foreign countries and to prevent the deterioration of such friendly relations as quickly and rapidly as possible. That power to devise those steps had been proposed to be given to Parliament under the amendment, and that was necessary for the preservation and maintenance of the friendly relations with foreign countries that India had at present.

The other two things contemplated by the proposed amendment, were public order and incitement to offence. Again, those were principles over which there could be no serious controversy.

"In this connection I may just mention," Sri Nehru said, "of the coercive parties which made use of the powers of authority in Hyderabad and Telengana. We could not wait for the development of democratic methods. We were faced with a challenge to authority and that challenge had to be taken up."

The other article which the Bill proposed to amend is Article 31, Sri Nehru said. That article, he said, had recalled to his mind a gamut of pictures that he had dreamt of. That was the question of abolition of zamindari, and bringing about a system of land and agrarian reform. If at all the Congress stood committed to anything, it was the abolition of zamindari and agrarian reforms. Of course, many other countries had also effected such agrarian reforms rather quickly and rapidly, with or without payment of compensation or payment of nominal compensation. Here in India also they had to deal with the question quickly, for the stability of the State.

But the Article 31 of the Constitution gave rise to a difference of interpretation in the courts of law and the amendment proposed sought to clarify the power of Parliament in regard to this matter.

"Many of us who were responsible for drafting the Constitution," Sri Nehru said, "were lawyers. Nevertheless, lawyer represents litigation. Somehow, therefore, we have to find a way out so that this magnificent Constitution of ours is not kidnapped by the lawyers."

Sri Nehru said that from a recent article on India by an American author he read, the American author had put India's problems in five words. Those five words were—land, water, babies, cows and capital. There was much truth in those five words. Unless they solved the problem of land, no stability could be established in the country either socially or economically. That was why he had brought in the Bill to amend Article 31, of the Constitution, he said.

### *Amendment of the Constitution*

The following is the full text of the Constitution Amendment Bill :

Be it enacted by Parliament as follows:

1. *Short Title*—This Act may be called the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951.

2. *Amendment of Article 15*—In Clause (3) of Article 15 of the Constitution, after the word "children," the words "or for the education, economic or social advancement of any backward class of citizens" shall be added.

3. *Amendment of Article 19 and Validation of certain laws*—(1) In Article 19 of the Constitution—

(a) For Clause (2), the following clause shall be substituted, and the said Clause shall be deemed to



have been originally enacted in the following form, namely :

(2) Nothing in Sub-Clause (A) of Clause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it imposes, or prevent the State from making any law imposing, in the interests of the security of the State, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said sub-clause, and, in particular, nothing in the said sub-clause shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it relates to, or prevent the State from making any law relating to, contempt of court, defamation or incitement to an offence."

(B) In Clause (6), for the words beginning with the words "nothing in the said sub-clause" and ending with the words "occupation, trade or business," the following shall be substituted, namely :

"Nothing in the said sub-clause shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it relates to, or prevent the State from making any law relating to,—

(1) The professional or technical qualifications necessary for practising any profession or carrying on any occupation, trade or business, or (II) the carrying on by the State, or by a corporation owned or controlled by the State, of any trade, business, industry or service, whether to the exclusion, complete or partial, of citizens or otherwise."

(2) No law in force in the territory of India immediately before the commencement of the Constitution which is consistent with the provisions of Article 19 of the Constitution as amended by Sub-Section (1) of this Section, shall be deemed to be void, or ever to have become void, on the ground only that, being a law which takes away or abridges the right conferred by Sub-Clause (A) of Clause (1) of the said Article, its operation was not saved by Sub-Clause (2) of that Article as originally enacted and notwithstanding any judgment, decree or order of any court or tribunal to the contrary, every such law shall continue in force until altered or repealed by a competent Legislature or other competent Authority.

*Explanation*—In this Sub-Section the expression "law in force" has the same meaning as in Clause (1) of Article 13 of the Constitution.

#### NEW ARTICLES

4. *Insertion of new Article 31 A—after Article 31 of the Constitution*: The following Article shall be inserted, and shall be deemed always to have been inserted, namely :

✓31 A. Saving of laws providing for acquisition of estates, etc.—(1) Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions of this part, no law providing for the acquisition by the State of any estate or of any rights therein or for the extinguishment or modification of any such rights shall be deemed to be void on the ground that it is inconsistent with, or takes away

or abridges any of the rights conferred by, any provisions of this part.

(2) In this Article,—

(A) The expression "estate" shall, in relation to any local area, have the same meaning as in the existing law relating to land tenures in force in that area ;

(B) The expression "rights," in relation to an estate, shall include any rights vesting in a proprietor, sub-proprietor, under-proprietor, tenure-holder or other intermediary and any rights or privileges in respect of land revenue."

5. *Insertion of new Article 31 B.*—After Article 31 A of the Constitution as inserted by Section 4, the following Article shall be inserted, namely :

✓31 B. *Validation of Certain Acts.*—Without prejudice to the generality of the provisions contained in Article 31 A, none of the Acts specified in the Ninth Schedule nor any of the provisions thereof shall be deemed to be void, or ever to have become void, on the ground that such Act or provision is inconsistent with, or takes away or abridges any of the rights conferred by any provisions of this part, and notwithstanding any judgment, decree or order of any court or tribunal to the contrary, each of the said Acts shall continue in force until altered or repealed by a competent Legislature."

✓6. *Amendment of Article 55.*—For Article 55 of the Constitution the following Article shall be substituted, namely :

"55. *Sessions of Parliament, Prorogation and Dissolution.* (1) The President shall from time to time summon each House of Parliament to meet at such time and place as he thinks fit, but six months shall not intervene between its last sitting in one session and the date appointed for its first sitting in the next session.

(2) The President may from time to time—(a) Prorogue the House or either House, (b) Dissolve the House of the People."

7. *Amendment of Article 57*—In Article 57 of the Constitution :

(1) In Clause (1), for the words "every session" the words "the first session of each year" shall be substituted ;

(2) In Clause (2), the words "and for the precedence of such discussion over other business of the House" shall be omitted.

✓8. *Amendment of Article 174.*—For Article 174 of the Constitution, the following Article shall be substituted, namely :

"174. *Sessions of the State Legislature, prorogation and dissolution.* (1) The Governor shall from time to time summon the House or each House of the Legislature of the State to meet at such time and place as he thinks fit, but six months shall not intervene between its last sitting in one session and the date appointed for its first sitting in the next session."

12. The Governor may from time to time—(a) Prorogue the House or either House; (b) Dissolve the Legislative Assembly."

9. *Amendment of Article 176.*—In Article 176 of the Constitution,—(1) in Clause (1), for the words "every session" the words "the first session of each year" shall be substituted; (2) In Clause (2), the words "and for the precedence of such discussion over other business of the House" shall be omitted.

10. *Amendment of Article 341.*—In Clause (1) of Article 341 of the Constitution, for the words "may, after consultation with the Governor or Rajpramukh of a State," the words "may with respect to any State, and where it is a State specified in Part A or Part B of the First Schedule, after consultation with Governor or Rajpramukh thereof," shall be substituted.

11. *Amendment of Article 342.*—In Clause (1) of Article 342 of the Constitution, for the words "may, after consultation with the Governor or Rajpramukh of a State," the words "may with respect to any State, and where it is a State specified in Part A or Part B of the First Schedule, after consultation with the Governor or a Rajpramukh thereof," shall be substituted.

12. *Amendment of Article 372.*—In Sub-Clause (A) of Clause (3) of Article 372 of the Constitution, for the words "two years" the words "three years" shall be substituted.

13. *Amendment of Article 376.*—At the end of Clause (1) of Article 376 of the Constitution, the following shall be added, namely: "Any such judge shall, notwithstanding that he is not a citizen of India, be eligible for appointment as Chief Justice of such High Court or as Chief Justice or other judge of any other High Court or of the Supreme Court."

14. *Addition of Ninth Schedule.*—After the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution, the following schedule shall be added, namely:

*Ninth Schedule (Article 31B):* (1) The Bihar Land Reforms Act, 1950 (Bihar Act XXX of 1950), (2) The Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act, 1948, (3) The Bombay Maleki Tenure Abolition Act, 1949, (4) The Bombay Taluqdari Tenure Abolition Act, 1949, (5) The Panch Mahals Mehwasi Tenure Abolition Act, 1949, (6) The Bombay Khoti Abolition Act, 1950, (7) The Bombay Paragana and Kulkarni Watan Abolition Act, 1950, (8) The Madhya Pradesh Abolition of Proprietary Rights (Estates, Mahals, Alienated Lands) Act, 1950, (9) The Madras Estates (Abolition and Conversion into Ryotwari) Act, 1948, (10) The Madras Estates (Abolition and Conversion into Ryotwari) Amendment Act, 1950, (11) The Uttar Pradesh Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act, 1950.

#### OBJECTS AND REASONS

During the last fifteen months of the working of the Constitution, certain difficulties have been brought to light by judicial decisions and pronouncements

specially in regard to the chapter on Fundamental Rights. The citizen's right to freedom of speech and expression guaranteed by Article 19(1)(A) has been held by some courts to be so comprehensive as not to render a person culpable even if he advocates murder and other crimes of violence. In other countries with written Constitutions, freedom of speech and of the Press is not regarded as debarring the State from punishing or preventing abuse of this freedom. The citizen's right to practise any profession or to carry on any occupation, trade or business conferred by Article 19(1)(G) is subject to reasonable restrictions which the laws of the State may impose "in the interests of the general public."

While the words cited are comprehensive enough to cover any scheme of nationalisation which the State may undertake, it is desirable to place the matter beyond doubt by a clarificatory addition to Article 19(6). Another Article in regard to which unanticipated difficulties have arisen is Article 31. The validity of agrarian reform measures passed by the State Legislatures in the last three years has, in spite of the provisions of Clauses (4) and (6) of Article 31, formed the subject-matter of dilatory litigation, as a result of which the implementation of these important measures, affecting large numbers of people, has been held up.

The main objects of this Bill are, according to amend Article 19 for the purposes indicated above and to insert provisions fully securing the constitutional validity of Zamindari abolition laws in general and certain specified State Acts in particular. The opportunity has been taken to propose a few minor amendments to other Articles in order to remove difficulties that may arise.

It is laid down in Article 46 as a directive principle of State policy that the State should promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and protect them from social injustice. In order that any special provision that the State may make for the education, economic or social advancement of any backward class of citizens may not be challenged on ground of being discriminatory, it is proposed that Article 15(3) should be suitably amplified. Certain amendments in respect of Articles dealing with the convening and proroguing of the sessions of Parliament have been found necessary and are also incorporated in this Bill. So also a few minor amendments in respect of Articles 341, 342, 372 and 376.

#### ANNEXURE TO BILL

The following is the annexure to the Constitution of India (First Amendment) Bill introduced in Parliament by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru:

#### EXTRACTS FROM THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

*Article 15:* (3) Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for women and children.



**Article 19 : Protection of certain rights regarding freedom of speech, etc.:** (1) All citizens shall have the right (a) to freedom of speech and expression; (b) to practise any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business.

(2) Nothing in Sub-Clause (A) of Clause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it relates to, or prevent the State from making any law relating to, libel, slander, defamation, contempt of court or any matter which offends against decency or morality or which undermines the security of, or tends to overthrow, the State.

(6) Nothing in Sub-Clause (G) of the said Clause shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it imposes, or prevent the State from making any law imposing, in the interests of the general public, reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said Sub-Clause, and, in particular, nothing in the said Sub-clause shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it prescribes or empowers any authority to prescribe, prevent the State from making any law prescribing or empowering any authority to prescribe, the professional or technical qualifications necessary for practising any profession or carrying on any occupation, trade or business.

**Article 85 : Sessions of Parliament. Prorogation and Dissolution.** (1) The House of Parliament shall be summoned to meet twice at least in every year, and six months shall not intervene between their last sitting in one session and the date appointed for their first sitting in the next session.

(2) Subject to the provisions of Clause (1), the President may from time to time—(a) Summon the Houses or either House to meet at such time and place as he thinks fit; (b) prorogue the Houses; (c) dissolve the House of the People.

**Article 87 : Special address by the President at the commencement of every session.** (1) At the commencement of every session the President shall address both Houses of Parliament assembled together and inform Parliament of the causes of its summons.

(2) Provision shall be made by the rules regulating the procedure of either House for the allotment of time for discussion of the matters referred to in such address and for the precedence of such discussion over other business of the House.

**Article 174 : Sessions of the State Legislature, prorogation and dissolution.** (1) The House or Houses of the Legislature of the State shall be summoned to meet twice at least in every year, and six months shall not intervene between their last sitting in one session and the date appointed for their first sitting in the next session.

(2) Subject to the provisions of Clause (1), the Governor may from time to time—(a) Summon the House or either House to meet at such time and place as he thinks fit; (b) Prorogue the House or Houses; (c) Dissolve the Legislative Assembly.

**Article 176 : Special address by the Governor at the commencement of every session.** (1) At the commencement of every session, the Governor shall address the Legislative Assembly or, in the case of a State having a Legislative Council, both Houses assembled together and inform the Legislature of the causes of its summons.

(2) Provision shall be made by the rules regulating the procedure of the House or either House for the allotment of time for discussion of the matters referred to in such address and for the precedence of such discussion over other business of the House.

**Article 341(1) : Scheduled Castes—**(1) The President may, after consultation with the Governor or Rajpramukh of a State, by public notification, specify the castes, races or tribes or parts of or groups within castes, races or tribes which shall for the purposes of this Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Castes in relation to that State.

**Article 342(1) : Scheduled Tribes—**(1) The President may, after consultation with the Governor or Rajpramukh of a State, by public notification, specify the tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities which shall for the purposes of this Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Tribes in relation to that State.

**Article 372 (3) (A) :** Nothing in Clause (2) shall be deemed—(a) To empower the President to make any adaptation of or modification of any law after the expiration of two years from the commencement of this Constitution.

**Article 376 (1) : Provisions as to Judges of High Courts—**(1) Notwithstanding anything in Clause (2) of Article 217, the Judges of a High Court in any province holding office immediately before the commencement of this Constitution shall, unless they have elected otherwise, become on such commencement the Judges of the High Court in the corresponding State, and shall thereupon be entitled to such salaries and allowances and to such rights in respect of leave of absence and pension as are provided for under Article 221 in respect of the Judges of such High Court.

### *Opposition's Objections*

Referring to the proposed amendment of Article 19 of the Constitution, Dr. Mookerjee remarked that the changes are fundamental and they go to the very root of some of the vital provisions of the Constitution, not only the constitution of this country, but the constitution of any country in which people are anxious to retain freedom and liberty of thought and action.

This is a challenge which the Prime Minister has thrown up to the people of India. Does he feel, asked Dr. Mookerjee, that he is incapable today to carry on the administration of the country unless he is clothed with more and more powers to be arbitrarily utilised so that his will may be the last word on the subject?

Referring to the Prime Minister's observation that the Bill was a permissive measure giving power to Parliament, Dr. Mookerjee asked: Was the Parliament being really trusted? Was not even in the matter of considering this amendment to the Constitution a party whip issued on Congress members?

Speaking about the vulgar and the gutter Press of which mention had been made by the Prime Minister, Dr. Mookerjee pointed out that already adequate provisions existed in the Constitution to proceed against them.

As regards public order and incitement to crime also, the existing laws, preventive as well as penal, were quite adequate to meet the requirements of the situation.

As regards the question of foreign relations, Dr. Mookerjee said he was not aware of any precedent in any part of the civilised world where by law under the provisions of the Constitution criticism of foreign Powers is taboo. This proposed amendment would create an impossible situation; even any reasoned criticism of a foreign Power or any reply to any scurrilous writing or propaganda by a foreign country against India might not be permitted under this provision. Dr. Mookerjee cited in this connection a book written in Chinese issued by the present Chinese Government which contained filthy abuse of India, her culture, her leaders starting from Mahatma Gandhi and ending by saying that England is the following dog of America and India today under Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's leadership is the running dog of Britain.

He felt that a situation had not arisen yet when any change in Article 31 was called for.

The Prime Minister had assured that it had not been brought forward in a spirit of lightheartedness nor in haste and that he had consulted various people. But any changes in the Constitution which might be considered by Parliament had to be considered not in secrecy by Government and its chosen people but opinion must be obtained from the people at large outside.

It was most unfair, complained Pandit Kunzru, that the House should have been called upon to consider a measure of this description without having been supplied with any materials on which a correct judgment could be based.

The most important of the changes related to Article 19, and these changes were so drastic and sweeping, that it would bring the provisions of Article 19 on the same line as those of the Preventive Detention Act, the only difference being that one is preventive while the other will be punitive.

The addition of 'foreign relations,' 'public order' and 'incitement to crime' would constitute so fundamental a change in the right of free speech and free expression, that it would amount to complete abrogation of those rights.

The Prime Minister, said Pandit Kunzru, had made a surprising statement that the amendments proposed would merely enable Parliament to make laws in regard to Fundamental Rights and did not affect the existing posi-

tion. But Fundamental Rights, asserted the speaker, are meant, not to confer powers on Parliament, but to protect the rights of individual citizens against the tyranny of changing majorities of Parliament.

Referring to proposed changes about State acquisition of zemindary, Pandit Kunzru observed that these amounted to virtual repeal of Article 31 of the Constitution.

The Prime Minister, he observed, should have chosen a simpler and more straightforward course rather than the indirect and cumbersome process he had adopted of deleting Article 19 and Article 31 of the Constitution.

The reason behind the extraordinary course of amending Article 31 without waiting for the verdict of the Supreme Court was a political purpose with the coming elections in view, remarked Pandit Kunzru.

Lala Deshbandhu Gupta expressed grave disappointment that the freedom of the Press, which though not specifically mentioned in the Constitution, but nonetheless, guaranteed through freedom of expression, was now being taken away. The amendment of Article 19 of the Constitution had been proposed in a light-hearted manner and there was no occasion for this measure. This country, which had inherited the largest number of repressive laws on the statute book, was given complete freedom of Press under the sovereign Constitution. Let not that distinction be sullied now, appealed Lala Deshbandhu.

He joined issue with the Prime Minister that the Bill would not affect the existing position, and asked: Would not the many oppressive and obnoxious laws, such as the Press Emergency Powers Act, Section 153 I.P.C., Section 144 Cr. P.C. and other similar laws, be automatically revived with the enlarging of the limitations attached to the Fundamental Rights under Article 19 of the Constitution?

### *Dr. Ambedkar's Explanation of the Bill*

Dr. Ambedkar said: "I have carefully studied both these judgments of the Supreme Court and with all respect to the Judges of the Supreme Court I cannot help saying that I find this judgment to be utterly unsatisfactory."

The Law Minister who initiated the debate with a well documented speech lasting one hour and 40 minutes gave an illuminating exposition of the legal and constitutional position with copious references from American constitutional interpretations, and British Common Law, and put up an able advocacy of the Bill.

He said that in the course of the debate yesterday Pandit Kunzru had said that the Government had done great injustice to the House by not explaining the necessity and the purpose of the various Clauses in the Bill and that some one on the side of the Government should discharge this duty to the House.

"I do not know that any member in this House will believe that a person of the intelligence of Pandit Kunzru does require explanation of the Bill."

Dr. Ambedkar continued: "However, as Pandit Kunzru had expressed the wish of many members of this House, I think it incumbent on my part to intervene in



this debate and clarify the position so as to dispel two arguments which have been used in the course of the debate, namely, that there is no necessity for the amendment of the Constitution, and secondly, the Government could wait for the public opinion of the country for such a long time and not rush through this measure."

Coming to Clause 2 of the Bill, the Law Minister explained that the Clause proposed to amend Article 15 of the Constitution. The necessity for such an amendment had arisen on account of the judgment recently delivered by the Supreme Court in two cases which came up before them from the Madras State.

One case was *Madras State vs. C. Hampakam Dorai Raj* and the second one was *Venkataraman vs. The Madras State*. In the latter case the question involved was the interpretation of Article 16 (4) of the Constitution and in the case of *Hampakam vs. Madras State* the question involved interpretation of Article 29 (2) of the Constitution.

In the one case the question involved related to the reservation of certain number of posts for the so-called backward classes in public services and in the other case the question involved was the reservation of backward classes in educational institutions.

Both the questions were commonly known in Madras and elsewhere as the Communal G. O. of the Madras Government.

The argument on which the Communal G. O. of the Madras Government was declared as void was based on the interpretation of Article 29 (2) of the Constitution, which did not have the saving Clause like the one attached to Article 16 (4) of the Constitution.

The House will remember, Dr. Ambedkar continued, that in Article 16 (4) special provision had been made to enable the Government to give suitable representation to backward classes in the services. Such a provision is not found in Article 29 (2).

With regard to Article 16 (4) the Supreme Court came to the conclusion that it involves a discrimination on the ground of caste and, therefore, it was invalid.

"I have carefully studied both the judgments of the Supreme Court," continued Dr. Ambedkar, "and with all respect to the judges of the Supreme Court I am convinced that the judgements are utterly unsatisfactory."

Sri Naziruddin Ahmed at this stage raised a point of order as to whether it would be right for any Minister or member to criticise the judgment of the Supreme Court, which would amount to a disparagement of the Supreme Court.

The Speaker asked Dr. Ambedkar whether what he meant by 'unsatisfactory' was 'unsatisfactory' from the point of view of the proposals before the Government.

Dr. Ambedkar: My views is that the judgment does not appear to be in consonance with the Article of the Constitution. That is my submission.

The Speaker: I am afraid the Hon'ble Minister will not be right in thus criticising the judgments of the Supreme Court.

Sri Rajagopalachari: I think in the Hon'ble Minister's mind a doubt has arisen on account of the judgments of the Supreme Court.

Dr. Ambedkar: My view is that in Article 29(2) the most important word is 'only'. This means that no distinction should be made only on the ground of religion or caste, etc., the emphasis is on the word 'only'. It does not exclude any distinction being made on grounds other than those mentioned in this Article and I respectfully submit to the House that the word 'only' does not seem to have received the same consideration as it should have.

With regard to Article 16(4) Dr. Ambedkar continued, my submission is this: That it is really impossible to make any reservation which would not really exclude somebody out of it. It is to be borne in mind that there is no Hindu, who has no caste; he is either a Brahmin, Kumbakar or other. There is no Hindu without a caste. Consequently, if you make a reservation in favour of the so-called backward classes, some other castes have to be excluded.

Therefore, in the circumstances of this country it is impossible to avoid reservation without excluding some people who have got a caste, he said.

"On this point, therefore," Dr. Ambedkar continued "I don't think personally that the judgment of the Supreme Court is a very satisfactory judgment. In this connection I should like to state notwithstanding what the House knows and what I have been telling the presiding judges when I was a lawyer, I am bound to obey the judgement; *but I am not bound to respect it*. This liberty every lawyer enjoys and I must have the right to tell the judge that his judgment is wrong; and I am not prepared to give up that right."

"It has to be borne in mind," Dr. Ambedkar went on, "that Article 46 of the Constitution embodied in the directive principles of State policy have put an obligation upon the Government to do everything possible, in order to protect the welfare and interests of the country and in regard to the backward classes and such other classes who are for the moment unable to stand for themselves, for instance, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

"It is, therefore, incumbent not merely on the Government but upon this Parliament as well to do everything possible to see that Article 46 and the intentions behind that Article are fulfilled and if that fulfilment is to be given I cannot see how one can escape the amendment proposed so as to prevent Article 29(2) and 16(4) being interpreted in the way in which they have been interpreted. That is why the necessity for amending Article 15 of the Constitution.

"Now I come to the provisions of Article 19 in discussing which considerable excitement arose in the minds of members.

"First I propose to say that in amending Sub-Clause 3(1) of the Article it is proposed to add three new heads. They are, friendly relations with foreign States; public order and incitement of offence.

"The question is asked, what is the necessity for introducing the three new heads. The necessity for introducing them has arisen out of certain judgments which have been delivered both by the Supreme Court as well as by the various provincial High Courts."

As instances, Dr. Ambedkar quoted the judgments in the case of Ramnath Thapar, Brij Bhushan's case, Master Tara Singh's case in the East Punjab and several other cases in the Punjab, Patna and Madras High Courts.

In these cases, which involved the validity, Dr. Ambedkar continued, in view of the provisions contained in Sub-Clause 2 of Article 19 of the Constitution, courts had already held that none of the Acts involved were valid although they might have been valid before the Constitution came into existence and all those laws were now null and void in the light of the Fundamental Rights.

"I would ask the House to consider what is the effect of these decisions of the Supreme Court and various provincial High Courts on the citizens. If many of the Sections of these laws were to be held as void as have been recently declared by the High Courts and Supreme Court what would happen to the country?"

Dr. Ambedkar particularly referred to Section 4 of the Press Act under which provincial governments had power to enforce certain restrictive measures on freedom of Press and expression if there was an incitement or encouragement or even a tendency to that for committing offence or murder and violence.

If the decision of the Supreme Court and the provincial High Courts were to be upheld, would members of the House be content that everyone in the country by virtue of the Constitution would have the right to preach murder and violence? How could then public order be maintained? How could then the security of the State be maintained? Therefore, it should be open to Parliament to make laws for the maintenance of public safety and the security of the State. If there were no such power to Parliament, in view of the interpretation of the Constitution by the Supreme Court and provincial High Courts, unfettered freedom of speech and expression would only create public disorder in the country, he said. That is clearly the justification for amending Article 19 of the Constitution.

#### U. S. CONSTITUTION COMPARED

Comparing the Fundamental Rights in the U.S. Constitution and the Constitution of India, the Law Minister stated that although there was no apparent restriction in the freedom of speech and expression in the American Constitution, the Supreme Court of the United States had interpreted those fundamental rights consistently with reference to the security of the State. Limitations on the Fundamental Rights had been imposed in practice if not explicitly mentioned in the text of the Constitution at least by implication. Nobody in the United States claimed that the Fundamental Rights were absolute or that the Congress had not the power to limit or regulate them.

"In our country," went on Dr. Ambedkar, "we are in

the midst of a paradox. We have Fundamental Rights. We have limitations imposed on them; and yet the Supreme Court and the various Provincial High Courts have said that we shall not limit the Fundamental Rights."

What was the attitude that the Supreme Court had taken in this country in interpreting the Constitution, he asked. *The Supreme Court had said that they would not recognise the doctrine of "Police Power" which was prevailing in U.S.A.* The reason why the judges of the Supreme Court did not propose to adopt the doctrine of "Police Powers" was that the Constitution had incorporated specifically the heads in Sub-Clause (2) under which Parliament could impose restrictions on the Fundamental Rights as to the freedom of speech and expression.

As the Parliament had expressly laid down the heads under which these limitations would be allowed they themselves would not add anything to any of the heads.

*"Therefore, as the Constitution itself does not authorise Parliament to make law for the purpose of public order, according to them, Parliament has no capacity to do so and they will not authorise parliament to do this."*

#### PRESS LAW

In the case of Press Emergency Law, they had also said the same thing. "Personally, I take the view that there is ample scope for recognising the doctrine of implied powers and I think our directive principles are nothing else than provisions which contain implicitly in them the doctrine of implied power."

"These directive principles," he emphasised, "are nothing but obligations imposed by the Constitution upon the various Governments in this country that they shall do certain things. If these are the obligations of the State how can the State discharge these obligations unless it undertakes to legislate to give effect to them. If the obligations necessitate the imposition and enactment of laws it is obvious that the fundamental principle of the Directive Principles implies that the States with regard to matters mentioned in the Directive Principles have the implied powers to make laws."

"Therefore, my contention is this that so far as the doctrine of implied powers is concerned, there is authority in the Constitution itself to permit Parliament to make legislation although it may not specifically be covered by the provisions contained in the Chapter of Fundamental Principles."

"On account of the decisions of the Supreme Court that this Parliament has no capacity to make law in certain heads, the question before the House is, can we allow the situation to remain as it is as created by the judgments or will we endow Parliament with power to make law? At this stage I do want to make a distinction and I do so for the reason that Dr. Mookerjee said that we are taking away the freedom of the people:

"I think it is necessary to make a distinction between the capacity to make a law and the enactment of a particular law. The question whether any particular law encroaches upon the freedom of the people is a matter which can be discussed when the law is made. Today we



are not dealing with the law. We are only dealing with the capacity to make law."

#### FOREIGN STATES

Taking up the third category, namely, friendly relations with Foreign States, the Law Minister said at present they had a law enacted in 1932 dealing with the matter. It was true that law had not come for adjudication before the Supreme Court or any High Court and it had not so far been declared ultra vires.

"But in view of the Rules of interpretation adopted by the Supreme Court that nothing was within the capacity of Parliament to legislate unless that particular head of legislation was mentioned in Sub-Clause (2) and as friendly relations with Foreign States did not find a mention in Sub-Clause (2), I do not think it requires an astrologer to predict that when the question comes before the judiciary they will follow the same rule.

"It was for this reason they had thought it necessary to include a new head of friendly relations.

"There was some amount of confusion in the minds of people about the meaning of the phrase 'maintenance of friendly relations'. Most of the members were under the impression that if this category was added they would not be in a position to criticise a Foreign State. That was a complete misunderstanding of the position. It did mean nothing more than the extension of the principle of libel and defamation, that they should not do anything, say anything or circulate anything which would involve a Foreign State in any kind of ignominy."

#### TRADE AND PROFESSION

Clause (3) (ib) sought to amend the article relating to trade and profession. It permitted a State to make different classification between private persons carrying on trade and the State carrying on the same trade. The necessity for the introduction of the amendment arose on account of the judgment of the Allahabad High Court regarding the U.P. Government's scheme of nationalisation of motor transport, under which certain territory was monopolised by them and certain other territories were left to private bus owners.

Clause 4 of the Bill introduced a new Article 31A. What the Article suggested was to permit a State to acquire what were called estates, and, secondly, if any legislation was undertaken to acquire an estate, nothing in the Fundamental Rights should affect such legislation.

#### POWER TO PRESIDENT

Great objection had been taken to the procedure in which certain laws had been saved by the ninth schedule. Prima facie, it was an unusual procedure. All the laws fell under Article 31A, i.e., they were laws which were interdicted to acquire an estate. Whenever a law was made for the acquisition of an estate, neither the principle of compensation nor the principle of discrimination should stand in the way of validity. From the point of view of sentiment there might be objection but from the practical point of view, "I do not understand how they should not be declared legal." The only other method would be to give power to the President to

revise these laws and restrict them and to bring them strictly in conformity with the provisions of Article 31.

Amendment to the Article 372 had extended the power of the President to make adaptation of any existing laws for another year. On account of pressure of other business it had not been possible for the Government to examine all the existing laws in order to find out how many of them were not inconsistent with the Constitution. The period of the adaptation had been extended by one year so that means might be found out in order to see which laws were not inconsistent and a consolidated order might be issued hereafter.

Amendment to Article 376 was to enable Government to deal with the cases of four non-national Judges continuing in service from one High Court to another.

#### Nehru's Reply to Criticism

The State or Parliament, Sri Nehru maintained, had the right to impose restrictions on individual freedom in the interest of public order or friendly relations with other States.

Sub-clause (2) of Article 19 itself lays some restrictions on the statement of freedom of speech and expression, but this was merely indicative and not by any means an exhaustive list of restrictions, stressed the Prime Minister.

Referring to revival of the old repressive laws that had been invalidated by the Constitution, the Prime Minister said that there was not much fear in the present day context of things of misuse of these laws which were already half dead. He hinted that all these laws might be suitably revised, although he was not quite categorical about it.

Prime Minister Nehru said that he had brought forward the Bill with full conviction and wished to proceed with it. Not only members of Parliament but newspapers in India and even in foreign countries, he said, had talked about this Bill having introduced all kinds of restrictions on the Press and individual. One member had described the measure as one treating the Constitution as a scrap of paper.

Was it even good sense talking this way about this measure, saying that this swept away the right of the people and that the executive was arming itself with all kinds of powers? These had nothing to do with this measure. He would ask the House to understand the measure as it was and not to import other considerations. He wanted the House to consider the measure coolly and dispassionately.

"I do affirm with full faith" said the Prime Minister, "that far from changing the Constitution these amendments give full effect to the Constitution as we intended it to be (cheers). I say with full faith that what is implicit in the Constitution, what we discussed then again, and again in the Constituent Assembly and what is implicit in every Constitution, is said here in the course of the amendments. This measure had nothing to do with making fresh laws. That is for the Parliament to do—

for this Parliament or some other Parliament that may succeed it. Therefore, to talk of the executive trying to grab power is completely outside the mark. Whatever it decides, it has to decide in terms of the Constitution."

Speaking about the amendment to Article 19 (2), namely, introduction of the words "friendly relations with foreign power, public order and incitement to offence," Sri Nehru said that in his speech he dealt with only the principle underlying them and not the wording. He had no doubt that if better wording was suggested, it would commend itself to the Select Committee. He would rather lay stress on the principle underlying it and not the wording. As regards the legalistic aspect of the measure, there were better lawyers than he who could deal with it more effectively. This morning the House heard a "very able, exhaustive and illuminating address from my colleague and Law Minister," and he would therefore put before the House the broad approach to the question only. Article 19(2) itself was a restriction on the bald statement in 19 (1) (A).

#### NO COMPLETE FREEDOM

"There is no such thing as hundred per cent freedom for individuals," remarked Sri Nehru, "to act as he likes in any social ground. This idea of individual freedom arose in the days of autocracy in every country where autocratic ruler or group of rulers suppressed individual freedom. In democratic society the idea of individual freedom should always be balanced with social freedom and relationship of individuals with social groups. The basic concept of individual freedom was given in Article 19(1) and Clause 2 was a restriction on the bald statement of freedom."

Sri Nehru contended that the restrictions in 19(2) "are not the only possible restrictions," but was an indication of restrictions that might legitimately arise. There were hundred and one social restrictions on individual freedom and the restricting sub-Clause (2) did not contain an exhaustive list. Normally speaking, it might not have been necessary to say very much about it: but because some doubt was cast about "other implied necessary and inevitable" restrictions, it became necessary to make it clear.

*Every State had to defend itself against external and internal enemies. No constitution could possibly take away that right of the State. It could only take away the right of undue and unfair exercise of such powers.*

The amendments, Sri Nehru said, did not make an iota or atom of real change in the Constitution. They only sought to bring about what was implicit.

Referring to the use of the words "friendly relations with foreign powers," Sri Nehru said that there was no act at present covering restrictions in regard to this matter. But whether there was an act or not, however much an individual might enjoy freedom, if he did something which might result in a war, it was a very serious matter. No State in the name of freedom could submit to action which might result in a wholesale war and destruction. It was an implied power of the State to stop

anything like that happening. It might be that the State might do something wrongly or rightly; but no one could take away the power of the State to prevent a great catastrophe happening.

Sri Nehru said that in view of India's policy of friendship with other nations, it became necessary that "we should not encourage activities which will lead to the injuring of our relationship with other powers."

Some members had referred to the bitter criticism of individuals and governments by Peking Radio and some newspapers abroad. He thought that some Indian newspapers had sometimes used strong language, but he did not wish to interfere. But a time might come when they might shoot off the danger mark or injure the international interest or relationship with those powers. It was then for Government to come in and the Parliament should determine to what extent it should go.

#### PUBLIC ORDER

As regards public order, Sri Nehru said that they were merely indicating the power of Parliament and removing certain doubts, cast by the judgment of the Bihar and the Punjab High Courts. It was quite possible ultimately in the course of time that certain conventions regarding interpretations could be established by the Supreme Court which would remove doubts from the public mind. At present, doubt persisted.

Even if the Supreme Court brought certain measure of uniformity, it would be confined to a particular issue. It could not be brought in the course of two or three months. It was desirable in public interest to define clearly the policy which was implicit in the Constitution. The word "incitement to offence" no doubt covered a wide field, covering both minor and major offences. But he would remind the House that they were not enacting any law. At the moment, they were dealing with the broad powers of Parliament. It was difficult to make a list of offences, the incitement of which could be restricted, and incorporate the list in the Constitution as a schedule. When Parliament dealt with a specific law, the members would see to it that there was no opportunity for misuse of the provision by Government.

As regards the laws which the Bill would revalidate, Sri Nehru said that to what extent a particular law was valid or not would depend upon whether it was valid or not in terms of the Constitution as amended. But looking at the practical aspect of the question, India had been functioning for over three and half years as an independent country, while those judicial pronouncements had come only in the course of the last few months. But Government had hardly ever used most of those laws. Parliament could put an end to them or have something in a revised form as it chose; but, from the practical point of view, those acts were not alive. And, if not wholly dead, were half dead. Generally speaking, there need be no fear of any misuse of them.

#### FREEDOM OF PRESS

"So far as I am concerned and Government are concerned," said Sri Nehru, "we believe firmly in the freedom



of the Press. But there is another matter. We talk of freedom of the Press, but how much freedom of the Press have we got today. One thinks that the freedom of the Press only means suppression or lack of suppression by Governmental authority. But when huge Press chains spring up, preventing all individual freedom of the Press, when practically the Press in India is controlled by three or four groups or individuals, how much freedom of the Press is there? (Loud cheers).

Sri Deshabandhu Gupta: "The remedy is to dissolve those chains.

Sri R. K. Sidhva: "Pass my Bill."

Coming to the validation of Zamindari Abolition Acts, Sri Nehru said that the object of the Constitution was deliberately to take away the question of zamindari and land reform from the purview of the courts. The Bihar High Court applied to land reform Article 14, which said that the State should not deny to any person equality before the law or equal protection of the laws.

The majesty of the law, said Sri Nehru, was such that it looked with an even eye on the millionaire and the beggar. Whether a millionaire stole a loaf of bread or a beggar, it sentenced him alike.

But the millionaire had not much incentive to steal a loaf of bread, while the starving beggar might perhaps have and this business of equality before the law might very well mean, as it had come to mean often enough, making rigid the existing inequalities before the law. But that would be completely opposed to the whole structure of the Constitution.

True, the Allahabad and Nagpur High Courts held a view contrary to that of the Bihar High Court. But the important point was that there was confusion and doubt. "Are we to wait for this confusion and doubt gradually to resolve itself while powerful agrarian movements grow up?" he asked.

This question of land reform, he said, was most intimately connected also with food production. Neither the poor zamindar nor the poor tenant could do anything about it if there was uncertainty and instability. Therefore, "these long delays and arguments and repeated appeals and all that are dangerous from the State's point of view, the security point of view, the food production point of view and from the individual point of view; whether it was that of the zamindar or tenant or any intermediary."

#### AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 15

Referring to the amendment to Article 15, Sri Nehru said: "For my part, this amendment is not intended to be a communal amendment or to help in any way a communal approach to this problem. But we must distinguish between a communal approach and the approach of helping one of our backward brothers and sisters. Although it is my amendment, thinking about it I do not particularly like the words "backward classes of citizens." I hope the Select Committee may find a better word.

It is the backward individual citizen we should help. Why should we brand groups and classes into backward and forward. It is a fact that certain groups and classes

are backward, but I do not wish to brand them as such. Perhaps a group or class which deserves greater sympathy from this House are the tribal folk.

Sri Nehru continued: "We have many of our colleagues here representing the Scheduled Castes and they help us, not only in our work, but keep us up to the mark in regard to the necessities of the Scheduled Castes. But we have very few persons in this House who speak for the Scheduled Tribes. Therefore, it should be the particular concern and care of this House to look after the interests of the Scheduled Tribes and to advance them in every way (cheers). When we add these words, or may be any other words, to Article 15, we certainly include the Scheduled Tribes."

#### NATIONALISATION

As regards the amendment necessitated by the Allahabad High Court's judgment on nationalisation of public transport services in Uttar Pradesh, Sri Nehru said, "We have been following a mixed policy. We encourage private enterprise and at the same time, we extend the activities of the State in regard to these matters. This is a process which is going on all over the world; even in a country like the U.S.A., which is more committed to the individualistic and particularly capitalist form of State than any other country. In countries situated like India, where private enterprise, howsoever you might encourage it is limited in its scope and resources, inevitably the State has to come in and the State must have the power to nationalise completely or partially."

Sri Nehru said that he was rather surprised when Pandit Kunzru asked why Government wanted to make these changes when there was the Preventive Detention Act. Sri Nehru said that surely, Pandit Kunzru and the House did not like the use of the Preventive Detention Act all the time or, at any time for the matter of that "unless one is compelled by some circumstances to do it for a short while. So to make that as a stand-by is a dangerous thing. We want to put an end to it, not to use it as far as possible."

#### Manbhum Satyagraha

The 30th April issue of the *Sakti* (Strength) and the 13th May issues of the *Nava-Jagaran*, the Bengalee-language journals published from Purulia (Manbhum) and from Jamshedpur respectively has tried to make us understand the cause or causes of the Manbhum Satyagraha Movement and the Jharkhand Movement respectively. In pp. 4, 5 and 6 of the former is published a statement, dated 24th April last, of Shree Atul Chandra Ghosh, Director of the Satyagraha Movement, describing how officialdom in Bihar has been allowed to run amuck. *The leaders of the Satyagraha Movement, one-time colleagues of Babu Rajendra Prasad in our fight for freedom, have been charged with theft and rioting; the Bihar Police lathi-charged a Satyagraha meeting at Jhaldah; later we came to know that Ministers were present at some of these meetings, and, it has been asserted that they encouraged the police by their silence on these occasions.*

The report in *Nava-Jagaran* (New Awakening) spoke of the conference held at Ranchi on the 28th and 29th April last with a member of the Central Legislature as chairman. The conference reiterated previous resolutions demanding the setting of Jharkhand Province or State out of Bihar to be constituted by the major portion of the Santhal Pergannahs and Chota-Nagpur. In course of the main resolution passed at this conference, the words "Biharee Imperialism" were used, indicating the common link between the Satyagraha Movement and the Jharkhand Movement, though these were separately organized under the leadership of persons who were not generally agreed on principle except that of impatience with wrong.

The present controllers of the Congress regime in Bihar are opposed to both these movements. For, if these succeed, their rule of grab will end. Therefore, have they raised the cry of what has come to be known as "Provincialism" or "Linguism"—both the words being cover for maintaining their grip on the power and profit of the State. This has been brought in pp. 8 and 9 of *Nava-Jagaran* where Shree Sailajananda Pal illustrated his contention by instancing the state of things in the Chalbhum Sub-Division: 70 per cent of its population are "tribals"; the "higher" class have Bengalee as their mother-tongue; the "lower" class follow them generally.

This writer also refers to "Biharee Imperialism" to explain part of discontents prevailing in the area, and says that the use of these words demonstrate that Biharee leaders have failed to conciliate the minorities, including the "tribals." We are sorry to have to comment on this sorry development. We have made no secret of our sympathy for the Jharkhand Movement and allied Movement for the setting up of "Linguistic" States as affording the most easy method for building up the peoples' culture based on the language which they learn from their mother. Gandhiji had early in his career recognized this fact. And it was his initiative that divided India on linguistic principle. His successors have miserably failed, and created difficulties that maim them for many a forward move. The sooner they recognize their error the better for all concerned.

### The Two Pictures

While the Indian public has for sometime been doing its best and worst to expose the many sores in their body politic, to present themselves as great sinners against some "inner light," we are upheld by the thought that we are not worse than others in the world. The *Newsweek* (New York) of April 8 last has an article entitled "Time for a Moral Spring Cleaning?" which is illuminative.

"Like a drunk the morning after, the United States woke up last week with a frightful hangover, took a quick look at the mirror, and shuddered. Harry S. Truman said that what it saw was only an optical illusion. And yet that bleary face in the mirror looked so much like the face of corruption that millions of Americans were revolted.

There had first of all been revelations of favoritism in the RFC, and then along had come the disclosure of Federal job selling in Mississippi. And now the Kefauver inquiry had uncovered scandalous alliances between the underworld and big-city political machines.

Was the nation disintegrating morally? As conservative a commentator as Anne O'Hare McCormick, famous foreign correspondent of the *The New York Times*, felt impelled to ask the question. But the fact that she asked it—and that millions of Americans were asking it—gave a clue to the answer. For a nation which could be shocked by itself probably was a nation with sufficient inner strength to reform.

It wasn't question of passing a law or throwing a couple of crooked politicians in jail. Democratic Sen. J. William Fulbright of Arkansas pointed out that the shenanigans in the RFC, which his committee had uncovered, were not illegal. They were immoral. To Fulbright, the appalling thing was that no one in this agency seemed to recognize the immorality.

Calling for a moral revival in government, Fulbright declared:

"This question of the moral strength of our people is not just an internal domestic matter. It has grave possibilities in our international relations. Without confidence in their government, the people will not make the sacrifices necessary to oppose Russia successfully. [Arnold J.] Toynbee, in his well-known historical study, demonstrated clearly how the vast majority of great civilizations have been destroyed, not as a result of external aggression, but as a consequence of domestic corruption.

"A democracy can recover quickly from physical or economic disaster, but when its moral convictions weaken it becomes easy prey for the demagogue and the charlatan. Tyranny and oppression then become the order of the day."

"The brightest aspect of the situation was that Americans had begun to realize its seriousness." Mrs. McCormick said: "The outside observer of this buoyant, teeming, restless land, buzzing with talk and electric motion, could call it many things, but not decadent."

We turn to the Soviet Union, the Mecca of Communists. Within four years of Lenin's victory discontent with the leadership and material conditions had broken out. Many will find parallels between Lenin and Nehru in their dilemmas. We cull this story from what an eminent British historian and jurist, Leonard Schapiro, said:

"Next to Lenin, who had by then almost retired from public life, the best known figures in the revolution and in the civil war were Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Kamenev and Rykov. Fifteen years after Stalin's appointment as General Secretary all these men and many more had been hounded to their deaths as traitors, leaving Stalin as the undisguised autocrat of all Russia. It was no accident.

This, Stalin's first really important appointment, certainly put into his hands all the weapons he needed to consolidate his own personal supremacy by eliminating his personal rivals. But the emergence of



the dictatorship of one man over the Party was an inevitable consequence of the circumstance of Stalin's elevation.

The appointment of the new General Secretary by the Central Committee elected at the 11th Party Congress in 1922 marked the end of a bitter struggle inside the Party. It had begun in 1920. The end of the civil war found the Russian Communist Party in a state of ferment. The ruthless dictatorship of the small Control Committee headed by Lenin had been tolerated while the struggle for survival lasted. But after the defeat of all armed opponents of the Bolshevik dictatorship, the rank and file of the Party began to assert themselves. They complained that all local initiative in the Party was being stifled and that they were expected to carry out orders without having any say in Party policy. They criticised the growing bureaucracy, the selfishness and corruption of Party leaders, and their indifference to the interests of the workers. They resented the fact that appointment from the centre to party organs was replacing local election. The small Communist minorities who controlled the trade unions by chicanery and by force, were clamouring for more power and for greater independence regarding Party control.

But the discontent with the Party leadership within the Party was nothing compared to the hatred of Communist rule outside the Party. The peasants rose in thousands and were with difficulty put down by the Red Army. In Kronstadt the sailors of the Baltic Fleet mutinied against the Party dictatorship.

A clear gulf divided the revolt inside the Party from that outside it, in the country as a whole. The dissident Communists wanted more freedom for themselves: they had no intention whatever that it should be extended to anyone else, to the Socialist Parties, for example, who commanded a growing support in the trade unions and among the peasantry. (Zinoviev in 1921 admitted that any free trade union election would give a 95 per cent victory to anti-Communist, Moderate Socialist Parties).

Yet, had the discontented Bolsheviks paused to think, they might have recalled that as far back as 1902 Lenin had already formulated his Party policy: the small disciplined leadership, the obedient rank and file, implicit obedience to the Party line, the surrender of all personal judgment. Now, in 1920, having followed Lenin to the violent victory of a small minority over the great majority, they revolted against the main factor in that victory.

So far as the Socialist Parties were concerned, their opposition was to dictatorship as such. While they were able to voice their opinions, they demanded freedom for all Socialist Parties. Their demands echoed throughout the weary country.

Lenin was faced with clear alternatives: either he could yield to the demand in the country and modify the rigours of his dictatorship, or he could preserve

that dictatorship by restoring strict discipline in his Party, and by quelling the opposition throughout the country to his rule with the aid of increased terror. He unhesitatingly chose the latter course. His policy in 1921 was at the time and has been ever since portrayed by Soviet historians and their echoes in the West as designed to save Soviet Russia from counter-revolution.

It was, however, not counter-revolution which then threatened the Communist dictatorship, but ordinary, moderate trade union and agrarian Socialism. The anti-Communist White Armies had been defeated by November, 1920. The threat of Allied intervention no longer existed.

*The new policy began early in 1921 with the wholesale imprisonment of the Socialists still at large and the final suppression of the Socialist Parties.* The next step was the re-organization of the Communist Party itself.

At the 10th Party Congress in March, 1921 Lenin eliminated from the secretariat of the Party three men of comparatively moderate views—Serebriakov, Krestinsky and Preobrazhensky. They favoured more freedom of discussion inside the Party and stricter control over the Party officials. They were replaced by new men of Lenin's choice, headed by Molotov, a close associate of Stalin since 1912. The year of office revealed that these new men were not up to the task.

At the Party Congress in 1922, the delegates still dared to be openly critical of the Central Committee and actually outvoted it on a proposal that three of its severest critics should be expelled from the Party. Their offence had been that they complained to the Communist International of the treatment which they were receiving in Soviet Russia. Such "indiscipline" called for the sternest measures, and the best man for the unsavoury task was Stalin. There is nothing to suggest that his appointment in April, 1922, as General Secretary was otherwise than with Lenin's full approval.

Where Molotov had failed, Stalin before long succeeded. The party of obedient automata which he built up by a system of espionage, terror and control of key appointments, was realisation in practice of Lenin's dream of 1902. The many veterans of the revolution who revolted against Stalin's system in the years which followed, found, too late, that control of the party machine gave him all the power he needed to brand criticism as indiscipline, and indiscipline as treason. Their fate was predetermined on 4th April, 1922."

In India, Communists are found loud in their protest against Congress dictatorship. They should be reminded of this episode in their spiritual home's history, and some of the more impulsive amongst our Socialist party leaders should stop to

think before they feed the people further with their adulterated communism.

### "Social Action"

We desire to thank M. Lallemand of the Indian Institute of Social Order, Poona 1, for sending us the first number of this Magazine. From a glance through its pages, we get the impression that it stands for certain values which the Communists have been doing their worst to debase. The writers are not stand-patters; one of them, N. Nevett, takes a detached view of this danger. He quotes Douglas Hyde, an ex-Communist, as saying: "The most evil thing in communism is that it claims some of the best men and moulds their minds and twists their consciences so that they can be used for the worst." This is indeed a great tragedy and will be repeated among us unless our young men and women can be inspired with a noble cause.

All the same he points to the real danger:

"One is saddened to find that none of the contributors on leaving Communism found peace and tranquillity and are once again left with a terrible void in their life. Unlike the Communists who are doubly anchored, they are left drifting, like ships in cross currents with no definite port in view. But it is false to state that 'the true ex-Communist can never again be a whole personality.' This he could be were he to embrace a belief which would fulfill his aspirations for social justice; true liberty, and happiness."

### Sri Aurobindo's Politics in Pondicherry

Now that Sri Aurobindo is beyond the controversy of Indian politics, it is worthwhile having a record of his ideas on the same, as these were indicated by him to Joseph Baptista, a devoted adherent of Lokamanya Tilak. The letter he wrote on January 5, 1928, has been publicized by the U. P. I. News Agency on April 20. Sri Aurobindo wrote:

"I came to Pondicherry in order to have freedom and tranquillity for a fixed object having nothing to do with the present politics—in which I have taken no direct part since my coming here, though what I could do in my own way I have constantly done—and until it is accomplished it is not possible for me to resume any kind of public action. But if I were in British India I should be obliged to plunge at once into action of different kinds. Pondicherry is my place of retreat, my cave of *tapasya*,—not of the ascetic kind,—but of a brand of my intention. I must finish that, I must be internally armed and equipped for my work before I leave it."

In the matter of work itself Sri Aurobindo wrote: "I do not at all look down on politics or political action or consider I have got above them. I have always laid a dominant stress and I now lay an entire stress on the spiritual life, but my idea of spirituality has nothing to do with ascetic withdrawal or contempt or disgust of secular things. There is to me nothing secular; all human activity is for me a thing to be included in a complete spiritual life, and the importance of politics at the present time is very great. But my line and inten-

tion of political activity could differ considerably from anything now current in the field. I entered into political action and continued it from 1905 to 1910 with one aim and one alone, to get into the mind of the people a settled will for freedom and the necessity for a struggle to achieve it in place of the futile ambling Congress methods till then in vogue."

The letter, which was in reply to Mr. Joseph Baptista's communication asking Sri Aurobindo to give a lead by taking up editorship of the organ of the Party that was to be a Social Democratic Party also reveals Sri Aurobindo's idea about Social Democracy. He said: "Now I believe in something which might be called Social Democracy, but not in any of the forms now current, and I am not altogether in love with the European kind, however great an improvement it may be on the past. I hold that India having a spirit of her own and a governing temperament proper to her own civilisation, should in politics as in everything else strike out her own original path and not stumble in the wake of Europe. But this is precisely what she will be obliged to do if she has to start on the road in her present chaotic and unprepared condition of mind. No doubt people talk of India developing on her own lines, but nobody seems to have very clear or sufficient ideas as to what these lines are to be. In this matter I have formed ideals and certain definite ideas of my own, in which at present very few are likely to follow me, since they are governed by an uncompromising spiritual idealism of an unconventional kind and would be unintelligible to many and an offence and stumbling block to a great number."

### Gandhi Smarak Nidhi (Memorial Fund)

It is a happy decision that the Trustees of this Fund have taken to spend their one crore twenty-one lakhs of rupees within a period of ten years. It shows that they have faith in their own people instead of holding within their fist the fund that was created to better them, mentally and materially. As a part of this new scheme they have decided to construct four Gandhi Memorial Museums at Delhi, Wardha, Sabarmati and a suitable place in South India.

We have our doubts about the utility of such museums. And we are glad to notice that our feeling is echoed by our contemporary of the Allahabad *Leader* which we share with our readers:

"Even today the ruins of the monasteries, Stupas and stately columns, erected by Ashoka, represent the glory that was India under Buddhist influence, centuries ago. The Gandhi Memorial Museums will keep the memory of the Gandhian era ever green in the mind of posterity. The Saint of Sabarmati and Sewagram and the Martyr of Delhi, will live in history for centuries without any tangible memorials. But the Gandhi Memorial Museums, if they become live institutions for the study and propagation of Mahatma Gandhi's principles of life, can contribute a lot to the moral and spiritual redemption of humanity. The proposal 'to make all necessary arrangements for the suitable protection and preservation of places,' associated with Gandhiji should be implemented as a sacred duty of the nation. But the real spirit of Bapu lives in his message of constructive work, for



which there is ample scope in the villages. The construction of Memorial Museums should, therefore, be accompanied by vigorous constructive work in the villages, if the nation wants to pay its real homage to the memory of Bapu."

### *The MacArthur Difficulties*

The world does not appear to appreciate the difficulties that have been precipitated for the Atlantic Powers by MacArthur's dismissal. The London *Daily Express* Washington correspondents quoted at the third week-end of April headlines appearing in the American press which shows that they have been feeling very sore over the affair. Some samples are given below:

"Impeach Truman before we become a British Crown colony.

"Suggest Britain give Hong Kong to Red China too.

"Remove Britisher Acheson and all his pink friends.

"We are victims again of another Munich and English commercialism.

"A double-column front-page editorial of the *Times Herald* said: 'Morrison of Great Britain greeted the news of MacArthur's dismissal with the statement that the way is now open for discussing a ceasefire in Korea. The bribe is ready. Anything to save Hongkong.' The editorial said that Mr. Truman's 'mean and small mind' is dominated (among a list of others) by 'the British Socialists' eagerness to sacrifice every principle to save their Hong Kong trade.'"

"There has also been a flood of newspaper cartoons, continues the correspondent. One shows a jovial Stalin leaning out of a window of the Kremlin waving a front page of the news on Gen. MacArthur and shouting: 'We Wonski.' Another shows a new great seal of the U.S.A.—an eagle with an Acheson moustache grasping a 'betrayed MacArthur' in one claw, 60,000 American casualties in the other and the front door of 10 Downing Street pinned on its chest."

"In hundreds of daily newspapers across the U.S.A. Americans are reading that 'the greatest scandal in history' is to be traced in London.

"Columnist Walter Winchell who makes this charge says: 'The forces which caused MacArthur's dismissal are in London. London blackmailed the White House with threats to break up the Atlantic Alliance. The White House caved in. By a secret agreement between the U.S.A. and Britain the Chinese Nationalist Government was to be thrown to the wolves.'"

In Japan there appears to be a feeling of real concern. Emperor Hirohito broke a 2600-year tradition by personally presenting himself at Gen. MacArthur's Headquarters and expressing his people's reaction to an unthought-of phenomenon.

The *Nippon Times* says: "The feeling of loss and bewilderment is still strong among the Japanese people at the prospect of having to part with the great leader who has been the wise counsellor and adviser during the entire period of Japan's growing pains as a democratic nation."

### *"A Word to Business"*

"Businessmen must have received a rude shock when Mr. A. D. Gorwala, former Director of Civil Supplies, Bombay, instead of criticising the Government as usual, turned his guns on them and told a few stinging home-truths. Giving his impressions of his recent country-wide tour, Mr. Gorwala said that "everywhere the common people believed that today business was synonymous with dishonesty and such an opinion was 'deleterious to the future of business in India.'" He warned business men that unless they ran their business on honest lines and forced the dishonest among them to do it too, destruction would overwhelm them all and engulf the rest of the people, good and bad. This sort of thing, Mr. Gorwala said, was not only ruining us but would make the younger generation dishonest and unscrupulous. Also corruption, he added, would concentrate economic power in the hands of a few, defeating the object of economic equality and at the same time sowing seeds for its own destruction.

"Gone are the days when businessmen labouriously built up goodwill and jealously guarded the good name of their firms. The war years and the post-war period saw an undignified scramble for grabbing as much money as possible resulting in blatant exploitation, profiteering and scandalous tax-evasion, with the result that the name of the businessmen is mud in the common people's opinion. As Mr. Gorwala has pointed out, not one business association has even passed a resolution denouncing the evil of tax-evasion and urging its members to pay taxes promptly. These associations do not exist merely for demanding rights and privileges but there is also a certain responsibility on them to enforce high standards of business ethics. It is the duty of the law-abiding section of the business community, who want to maintain business integrity and standards as high as possible, to expel these unsocial elements from their ranks if public confidence is to be restored in them."

The above, quoted from the *Bombay Chronicle* of a recent date should enable Big Business to appreciate the writing on the wall. Dr. Gorwala is no wild-eyed agitator anxious to confiscate other people's property. His words come from a friend.

### *Somnath Temple*

Our Rastrapati, Babu Rajendra Prasad, laid amid pomp and ceremony the foundation-stone of this famous temple in Saurashtra. The modern Indian is not impressed by these restorations of image worship, though they appreciate the poetry found in it. This habit of the sceptic found expression in the word-picture of a correspondent on the journey to the ceremony as he described one of the leading figures, India's Food Minister, as "a romanticist of ancient glory" who found in the "history of the Aryans" a vast "source-book for his novels and plays." He brought out "the irony" of the thing that this revival of a 12th century scene (Christian Calendar) was made through means of "most modern of vehicles—an airship." The topic is discussed in the same spirit though it

"enshrines racial memories" much as it has excited the Pakistani Press which senses in this ceremony an insult to a Pan-Islamist hero—Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni.

### *Food and the Refugee*

The "refugee" problem created by the partition of India has a special character of its own. But the worsening food situation has heightened it, and given its solution an urgency. But the Assam Government has failed to implement the Centre's policy. This has come out in course of a telegram sent by Dr. Choitram Gidwani which exposes the Assamese obscurantists. Doctor Choitram P. Gidwani, who recently undertook a tour of Assam, has sent the following telegram to the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, after the Prime Minister's broadcast on the food situation:

"I have visited Assam recently. Displaced agriculturists stated, large areas of waste land suitable for paddy cultivation were available there, but were not being allotted to them owing to the discriminatory attitude of the Assam Government. This land settlement policy was announced in the Press Note issued by them on May 6, 1949. This Note stated that the question of settlement of refugees on Government lands which have been surveyed and have been found insufficient to settle landless people of the province is out of question altogether. Such a policy has resulted not only in hindering the rehabilitation of displaced agriculturists, thereby causing misery to them, but also affects the 'Grow More Food' campaign. Request that you may kindly take all necessary steps to see that this policy is reversed in the national interest."

### *Ireland to be United?*

Eire has refused to join the Atlantic Pact and to place her naval ports and air bases for the defence of West Europe. Thus has she set Washington and London a-thinking whether it was at all wise to force division on Ireland. A London news, dated March 17 last, throws light on the subject:

"Secret diplomatic moves have been taking place between Britain, Northern Ireland and the Eire with a view to settling all outstanding problems between the three countries, including that of partition."

"The U. S. Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Acheson, is reported to be playing an important part in these negotiations. He is likely to meet Mr. Macbride, Eire's Foreign Minister, in New York in a few days."

"Mr. Attlee, presumably under U. S. pressure, is anxious to find a solution that would put the whole of Ireland at the service of the Atlantic Pact nations in the event of a third world war."

"Discussions towards this end have taken place in secret in Dublin and in Whitehall, with Mr. Richard Stokes, Minister of Works, prominent as an intermediary."

"A possible solution is a Federated State of Ireland, with each of the two States responsible for its own territory, but with an overall direction to which both States would be a party."

### *Man-power Work of International Labour Organization*

A report prepared by the International Labour

Office for submission to the meeting of the Organization's Governing Body reviews its migration and other man-power activities.

It has been summarized in the *I. L. O. News Service* of April, 1951.

"The report described the work of the ILO's Italian Migration Field Mission at Rome, the Migration Field Mission which was established at Bonn in November, the Asian Field Office on Technical Training at Bangalore, India, and the Latin-American Manpower Field Office at Sao Paulo, Brazil."

"The report disclosed that a Migration Field Office would be opened shortly at Vienna to facilitate and develop migration, especially of Volksdeutsche, from Austria. It also described a project for a man-power field mission in the Near and Middle East."

"The Bonn Mission, the report revealed, was negotiating with the Federal German Government in an effort to find suitable candidates to emigrate to Canada for work in hard rock mines. The ILO's assistance in recruiting European workers for these jobs had been requested by the Canadian Metal Mines Association."

"A wide range of technical assistance work in the migration and manpower fields was described in the report."

### *Nisith Chandra Sen*

The death at 71 of this eminent lawyer will be mourned by a large circle of friends.

Nisith Chandra did not confine himself to law alone. Early in youth he came under the New School of politics associated in Bengal with Bipin Chandra Pal and Chittaranjan Das. He was the son of Chandi Charan Sen, author of *The Begums of Oudh*, a classic in Bengali language. And imbibing the air of freedom in his family of Brahmo traditions, as a student at London where he had been sent to qualify himself as a barrister, he, along with the late Rajat Nath Roy, Surendra Nath Haldar, Bijoy Chandra Chatterjee, decided to devote himself to the new politics. As a defender in courts of revolutionary patriots he followed C. R. Das.

More than thirty years later he was elected Mayor of Calcutta, filling the position made worthwhile by C. R. Das, J. M. Sen-Gupta and Subhas Chandra Basu.

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# WHERE AGGRESSION PAYS AND WHERE IT DOES NOT

## It Pays in Kashmir : It Does Not in Korea

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"Aggression cannot be allowed to succeed. It cannot be appeased, rewarded or ignored. To meet it squarely is the price of peace."—Secretary of State DEAN ACHESON : Major Foreign Policy Speech : April 18, 1951.

*"If history has taught us anything it is that aggression anywhere in the world is a threat to peace everywhere in the world. When that aggression is supported by the cruel and selfish rulers of a powerful nation who are bent on conquest it becomes a clear and present danger to the security and independence of every free nation."*—President TRUMAN : Radio Address to Americans on U. S. policy in the Far East : April 11, 1951.

EVENTS are moving fast in the world—almost with supersonic speed, as it were—and high-ranking Generals and satraps are falling like ninepins. Some of "the Captains and the Kings" of yesterday are to-day no more than mere names—or will be when the smoke clears away and the dust settles down. This is not to suggest, however, that they will not possess a "nuisance value" (of a kind not totally unfamiliar to us) until even their most perfervid admirers and fanatical partisans will be driven, by the inexorable stress of circumstances, to see the utter futility of it. Reputations once lost cannot, normally, be revived by any amount of artificial respiration. He who had been, until a few weeks ago, a sort of White Mikado of Japan no longer bestrides the narrow world like a Colossus. In the manner of the fabled Mulciber he has been thrown, by an angry Jove (or, rather, Harry), "sheer o'er the crystal battlements" of heaven; and has, with dramatic suddenness,

"Dropt from the zenith like a falling star,  
On Lemnos the Aegean Isle."

### "THE CAESER OF THE PACIFIC"

Nor can anyone legitimately complain that the Aristotelian requirements of tragedy have not been fulfilled in this instance. I is no mean altitude from which General MacArthur has been hurled down. There was, as must be admitted by friend and foe alike, something Roman in his proud sweep to power—something Roman, too, in the swift tragedy of his eclipse. He has had what in modern nomenclature is called a tremendous build-up: legends have sprung up about him, and it is not inconceivable that in other days poets would have erupted into verse and celebrated his triumphs in some

"Stretched metre of an antique song."

Legends, however, do not always approximate to exact truth. Personally I cannot bring myself to believe that he belongs to the race of military giants, the Rommels and Rundstedts of the last war or the

Hindenburgs and Ludendorfs of the last war but one. Luck, I am certain, has played a none too inconsiderable part in the extremely colourful career of this much-boasted "Caesar of the Pacific."

As a soldier, then, it is my conviction that his skyrocketing into fame was the result more of a favourable concatenation of circumstances than of incontestable genius or of unrelenting toil. Auto-suggestion may have had its share, too. He has all along been flamboyant to a degree: he has always loved to strut with the mien of a conqueror. The time has never been when he has not looked upon himself as "a man of destiny." But the snag about "men of destiny," if we examine the matter closely, is that a point not seldom arrives in their glamorous lives when the evil portion of their destiny assumes the dominant role—the good, apparently, having exhausted itself, having become a spent force. During such dark periods the mechanism of their fate is, so to speak, in reverse gear; and the ultimate result is scarcely in doubt. In our hero's horoscope that dark period must be deemed to be in the ascendant now.

### "HIS FINEST HOUR"

Some meed of praise, however, cannot justifiably be withheld from him even by his most captious critics for his meritorious work in Japan after the conclusion of hostilities. That was, without question, "his finest hour." As the overlord of a vanquished nation he evinced qualities rare in a soldier, and, to be perfectly candid, not too common even among administrators "to the manner born." No wonder that the Japanese have showered such a wealth of affection upon him. He had been magnanimous towards them—extremely so, in fact—and magnanimity invariably pays handsome dividends, although few politicians appear to be aware of this pregnant truth.

To that extent—and it is no small extent—General MacArthur has shown himself to be a much abler politician than most professional ones. The Japanese—

of all people—are no fools and if they adore him (as they undoubtedly do) they certainly must have abundant reasons for doing so. His final parting from them was very, very poignant, indeed. Honesty compels us to recognise him as one of the world's authentic statesmen. So far as his administration of Japan is concerned one may graciously acknowledge that the hour had produced the man.

#### MY THEME

But neither the life and development nor the decline and fall of General MacArthur is the theme of my present article. The theme of my present article is far other. It is nothing less than the monstrously glaring disparity in U.N.O.'s reaction to the North Koreans' aggression in Korea and Pakistan's aggression in Kashmir; and it has to be borne in mind that while the first has not *yet* been satisfactorily proved the second cries out to heaven to be avenged—Pakistan herself, the United Nations' Commission in Kashmir, and Sir Owen Dixon, the ex-Mediator of the Indo-Pakistan dispute about that enchanted land, having all agreed that there *had been* such an aggression. There are, and can be, two opinions as to who were the aggressors in Korea—the North Koreans or the South Koreans. Yet the United Nations plunged into war in that region, and plunged into it with lightning speed, throwing the helve after the hatchet, as it were. They acted first—time, obviously, being of the essence of “cold war” strategy—secure in the belief that reasons could be concocted for their action afterwards. Apart from other considerations the very alacrity of their action in Korea gives rise, justifiably, to the suspicion that the whole affair had been pre-arranged, had been stage-managed, and that they had been waiting only for some signal, so to speak, to get going into action. This aspect of the matter needs stressing because there has been so much “democratic” ballyhoo about the North Korean aggression. Within so few as 24 hours of that so-called aggression the United Nations passed a resolution condemning it with bell, book, and candle, and issued orders for their troops marching into Korea to punish the aggressor and to restore the *status quo*; and there are stories afoot that General MacArthur marched his soldiers into Korea *even before* the passing of that resolution—which, presumably, is the most fitting answer of the “democracies” to “totalitarianism.”

It is now nearly four years since our friendly neighbour aided and abetted the tribal raids into the lovely Valley of Kashmir; and not only has Pakistan not been named the aggressor but, *very nearly*, India, the complainant in the case, has been pointed out, by the World Organisation, as the villain of the piece. *This* is the theme of my present article.

#### THE SUPER-“DEMOCRATS”

But General MacArthur finds a place in it, not only because his sudden fall from grace has a “topical”

value of primary importance, but also because in any detailed discussion of the theme I have chosen for myself he figures prominently both as the Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations' forces in Korea and as the undisputed leader of that super-“democratic” camarilla within the general “democratic” set-up which unreservedly sponsors the waging of a “totalitarian” war against “totalitarianism,” regarding no means unworthy of that pre-eminently worthy end. In effect, they wish to start the universally-dreaded World War III on their own account in order (forsooth!) to forestall the Communists from originating it on theirs. The idea, evidently, is that a new global war is not a detestable thing in itself; and that it can even be a highly meritorious thing—provided, of course, that it is the “democracies,” and not the “dictatorships,” that are responsible for it. It is a moot point, if a scrupulously fair debate is conducted on this interesting topic whether the “dictatorships” are really panting and perspiring for an “over-all” war; and it may not, in this connection, be quite out of place to record the fact that, while hundreds of thousands of soldiers of the much-vaunted “democracies” are fighting in Korea, not a *single* Russian soldier has, as yet, been alleged, by the Soviet's stoutest opponents, to have taken part in the current battles there.

#### THE POT AND THE KETTLE

The crushing reply to this is not that, though this contention is correct, the hand behind the Korean imbroglio is none other than the Kremlin's. It is a two-edged argument, and those who employ it ought to be the first to recognise that it may very well recoil on their own heads. I am, let me interpolate, neither a Communist nor a crypto-Communist and I am not taking upon myself the odious—or the odoriferous—task of defending the Soviet against its traditional enemies. But I am, I hope, a fair-minded person and it is my firm conviction that, in this disgusting “cold war” business, Russia has been more sinned against than sinning. I believe that there are many others besides myself who share this view: the age-old practice of giving a dog a bad name and hanging him can be carried too far. The Russians, doubtless, have much to answer for before the bar of heaven: but (let me say it *sotto voce*) so have the *soi disant* champions of the “democracies.”

It is high time that the pot ceased calling the kettle black: more particularly when, on occasion, the pot has been stripped of all its pretensions and shown to be the blacker of the two. The denunciation, in unmeasured terms, of the Soviet Union by the “Western democracies” has, of late, assumed the dimensions of a veritable racket. But these stalwarts, in the excess of their crusading zeal, seem well-nigh to have forgotten that it is not possible to fool all the people all the time. Too much cleverness has its



dangers no less than too little. After the unmentionable atrocities (and probably we have not been told the half of them) committed by the Americans and the South Koreans in Korea they (these stalwarts) have for ever lost the right to cast a pebble, let alone a stone, at the Communists and their "fellow-travellers." They had better begin by trying to remove the beam from their own eye before attempting to extract the mote from the eye of their opponents.

#### KASHMIR : LATEST

The Kashmir dispute, after a nerve-wracking delay of nearly four years, has now reached the penultimate stage. During this long interval many of us have, I suppose, contrived to learn by heart the salient points connected with it. Even I, the least dependable as regards such Gargantuan feats, of memory, have, perhaps, managed, *malgre lui* to store away a few relevant details of this much-discussed controversy in some dark corner of my brain. To discuss it anew would be perilously akin to flogging a dead horse. In addition, it is my belief that all this learned lore has become, from the Indian point of view, a sheer waste of energy. Learned or unlearned, it is the brutal truth to say that we have lost all along the line. "What avails the sceptred race, what the form divine?" What avails our being cent per cent right? The question is no longer one of right or wrong. The question has been removed from the plane of moral values to that of the exigencies of "cold war" strategy. Lake Success has ceased to be U.N.O. forum. It has become a subservient tool in the hands of the United States and judges each issue presented before it not on its intrinsic merits but as it fits into the design of the aforementioned strategy. Everything else goes by the board. The U.N. is but a handmaiden of the U.S. and the U.S. is interested only in one object—the outwitting of the Soviet Union by herself and her extensive ring of satellites. That being so the Indo-Pakistani dispute over Kashmir takes on a much wider significance than it originally possessed: it has, so to speak, "broken its birth's invidious bar" and has attained the status of an international complication. When our beloved Pandit took the matter to the U.N. four years ago, in the confident anticipation that his troubles would at last be at end, he could scarcely have visualised the maltreatment it was ultimately to receive at its hands. Looking at the shape in which it has now emerged and contrasting it with its pristine form he may very well be led to exclaim, with the old lady in the ballad:

"O deary me! this is none of I!"

#### THE ORIGINAL ISSUE

The Pandit has reason to be chagrined: he has been the victim of his own "pathetic fallacy"—the "pathetic fallacy" of placing implicit trust in Pakistan's *bona fides* as well as in the *bona fides* of Western statesmen: the same, be it remembered, that

had been instrumental in partitioning our country by way of a parting kick. With that exasperating *penchant* of his of being excessively amiable before the *wrong* kind of people he took the Kashmir issue to Lake Success when there was absolutely no obligation on his part to do so and when he could have solved it out of hand, as it were. *He simply could not let well alone.* He asked for trouble—and has got it, in abundant measure. The "pathetic fallacy" of believing that wrath can be turned away by soft words has repeatedly been proved to be impractical, yet he appears not to have taken the lesson to heart. Even goodness must have an edge, said Emerson. Voltaire similarly gave it as his confirmed opinion that magic words and incantations would surely bring down a flock of sheep *if there were a sufficient quantity of arsenic behind them.* Our distinguished Prime Minister, obviously, does not share this view. But even a worm will turn and he was constrained to utter the following words on the floor of our august Parliament on March 23 in answer to the latest resolution passed by the Security Council on Kashmir.

#### THE PANDIT HITS OUT

Replying to the debate on demands for grants to the External Affairs Ministry he took occasion to characterise the latest Anglo-American resolution as a "fantastic theory" and lashed out against Kashmir being regarded as a "no-man's land," the sovereignty over which was indeterminate. As such, he said, it was unacceptable to India. It departed from the earlier U. N. resolutions, all of which clearly accepted the legal accession of Kashmir to India. It was fundamentally "wide of the mark." It ignored the past, was based on a wrong approach, and was "dangerous and distorted." He declared that Kashmir was "juridically and politically" an integral part of the State of India. India, he maintained, could not agree to a vacuum being created in Kashmir "for the sake of satisfying Pakistan or her sympathisers." Nor could she agree "to leave Kashmir unprotected or ungoverned or allow any outside authority, civil or military, to take charge of the country." He stoutly defended Kashmir's accession to India. It is something arising from the Indian Independence Act and the negotiations that preceded it and is fully in accord with all that has happened in relation to many other States. This accession, he reminded his critics, took place when India was still a Dominion of the Commonwealth and the Act of Accession was accepted on behalf of the Crown by the then Governor-General, Lord Mountbatten. Apart from accession, he proceeded, it has to be remembered that India today is a continuing entity "taking over the rights and liabilities that rested in the old India."

#### THE CRUX OF THE MATTER

One excellent point he made was that, irrespective of accession, we should have had the obligation to

protect the people of Kashmir against aggression. Kashmir has at no time been recognised as a State under international law but has throughout been an integral part of India. "The partition made no difference to our responsibilities in regard to Kashmir as long as it did not deliberately accede to Pakistan." He legitimately complained that so much heavy weather was being made over the proposal to have a Constituent Assembly in Kashmir *the while turning the blind eye to the continuous threat of war that is being hurled upon us by Pakistan from day to day.* The sting, however, is in the tail, and Pandit Nehru deserves our encomiums—in full measure—for the following beautiful outburst :

"We went to the U. N., not to determine the accession issue or where the sovereignty lies. We did not go there to seek arbitration; but to complain about the aggression of another State, which was likely to lead to international complications and probably affect international peace. *Evidently the sponsors of the joint resolution before the Security Council have a short memory and have forgotten how the matter came up before the Security Council and the history of tragic events that preceded it.*"

His Parthian shot was this :

"The U. N. utilised the position of our having made a reference in this matter to *widen the scope of its enquiry* and, despite the protest of the Kashmir Government, we, in order not lower the prestige of the U. N., gave every facility to the U. N. Commission; *but until this moment neither the U. N. Commission nor the Security Council has suggested that the question of accession was arguable.*"

All this wanted saying very badly and it has now been said. *Rem acu tetigit.* If only Panditji's speeches and statements had always been to the point as this was !

#### FRESH LIGHT

The Anglo-American resolution could not have been other than what it was if we bear in mind the consistent co-operation that Britain and, latterly, America, have extended to our friendly neighbour. Readers of Mr. E. M. Forster's celebrated novel, *A Passage to India*, would not have failed to mark his pronounced bias in favour of his Muslim hero, Dr. Aziz, and his equally pronounced antipathy towards the Hindu, Prof. Godbole. This bias for the Muslims and this antipathy towards the Hindus is almost endemic in them. We should feel that there was something inherently wrong, something poignantly unnatural, if things panned out otherwise. They did—once—just once—when Mr. Attlee delivered his historic speech in the House of Commons on March 15, 1946, warning the Muslim minority in our midst against disrupting the unity of our country; and we know how soon he was made to eat his words.

The British attitude towards Kashmir is partly explained by a remarkable reference to it by General

Sir William Morgan who is on tour in the United States explaining Britain's defence programme. He is now Chairman of Britain's Research Policy Committee. Speaking in New York of the possibility of trouble in the Persian and Iraqi oilfields he declared, with almost a lump in his throat, that there was not nearly enough British military strength in that area. He went on :

"We cannot lose that oil. If there is a showdown we will have to find something from somewhere to go and sort it out. In the old days we just sent up an Indian brigade. We cannot do that now. India and Pakistan are so busy arguing with each other that they have no men for anything else. *That is the main reason for sorting out Kashmir.* We must get Pakistan and, probably, Indian help, too."

This statement, it is clear, fairly lets the cat out of the bag. So long as Kashmir is allowed to continue as an apple of discord between them, pinning down their military forces and retarding their economic development, it brings up an inevitable weakening of Britain's position—*materially* in the Middle East, and *diplomatically* in her relations with Russia as well.

#### MR. JAMES BURNHAM'S THESIS

The recent Cultural Congress at Bombay has spotlighted the personality of the American publicist, Mr. James Burnham, even if it has spotlighted nothing else. He is the author of the book, *The Coming Defeat of Communism*, which has been published both in England and in India. In the English edition but not in the Indian, we find his views on Islam which may throw some much-needed light on the Anglo-American reaction to the Kashmir dispute. Mr. Burnham writes :

"The Mahomedan faith has proved a difficult barrier to the Communist ideology and Communist methods of action . . . The strategic significance of the Mahomedan areas is striking. Not only do they comprise the greater part of the Near East but also much of the northern coastland of Africa, Pakistan and sections of China and Indonesia."

He goes on to postulate :

"*A special attention to Islamic relations is, therefore, not only necessary from the defensive point of view of holding further Communist advance. It offers also major offensive possibilities.*"

No wonder the scales have been heavily tilted in favour of Pakistan. India does not fit into the "cold war strategy" as Pakistan does.

#### THE DICE ARE LOADED AGAINST INDIA

From the foregoing extracts it will be evident even to the meanest intelligence how the dice have, from time immemorial, been loaded against the poor Hindus and in favour of the Muslims. The case of the former has always gone by default ; and much more so after the dastardly partition of our beloved Motherland on the basis of the pernicious "two-nation" theory, as



a result of which, after losing a sizable chunk of it to the intransigent minority in our midst, the identity of the Hindus has been swamped and submerged by a massive tidal-wave of "secularism" the like of which has never been witnessed anywhere. In the Security Council the word of the British on the affairs of our "vast sub-continent" is regarded as almost sacrosanct and their influence, on the Americans in particular, has been devastating. They have thus been able to spread the infection of their age-old bias towards the Muslims far and wide. They are supposed to be the unchallenged and unchallengeable "experts" on the conditions that obtain over here. The political instinct of the British is marvellous, is in a class alone, and they have consistently banked upon the Muslims being their born stooges. This penetrating insight of theirs into Muslim character has, ere now, yielded them handsome dividends.

#### CASTOR AND POLLUX

Nor, to be perfectly candid, has it yielded less handsome dividends to the Muslims themselves. It has thus been a picturesque two-way traffic. They remind us, in the intensity of their devotion to each other, of Castor and Pollux, the Dioscuri,—always the emblem of twin friendship translated to the stars. Our distinguished Prime Minister should have remembered this when he so gratuitously took the Kashmir issue to the U.N. It was a blunder of the very first magnitude: nor have we, I venture to suggest, seen the last of its repercussions. We have lost Kashmir as irretrievably as we have lost Pakistan. *We have lost Kashmir in another sense as well.* Those who have been reading Sheikh Abdullah's intriguing speeches and statements—especially his more recent ones—with the care and the attention that they so eminently deserve must be forgiven if they evince no great enthusiasm for Kashmir's continuing to throw in its lot with India. If I have correctly understood his homilies to the Yuvaraj and the people of Jammu the eventual fate of Kashmir need cause no undue perturbation in the minds of the Hindus. Even at the time of the memorable "police action" in Hyderabad no Hindu could have "talked at" the Nizam and the Prince of Berar as Sheikh Abdullah has seen fit to "talk at" the Maharajah of Kashmir and the Yuvaraj. The moral is plain as way to parish church.

#### MUSLIMS ENJOY "PRIVILEGED SANCTUARY"

The Muslims have thus, from *auld lang syne*, been enjoying a sort of "privileged sanctuary" in the eyes of their patrons, the British. They may well chant of them the celebrated lines of Burns to the Earl of Glencairn :

"The bridegroom may forget the bride  
Was made his wedded wife yestreen;  
The monarch may forget the crown  
That on his head an hour has been;  
The mother may forget the child  
That smiles sae sweetly on her knee;

*But I'll remember thee, Glencairn,  
And a' that thou hast done for me!"*

That is, if, by birth and upbringing, they are a grateful people. But Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, by his open wooing of Moscow a year or so ago, has aroused the suspicion of not a few wary observers that the maiden will confer her favours on the highest bidder and on none else. But the head of the Kremlin is a man of no less guile and appears to have spurned her brazen advances. She is, therefore, back in the Western camp, pursuing her amours as of old.

#### ARGUMENT *Re* MAJORITY

Pakistan's friends have been tirelessly advancing the argument that, the vast majority of people in Kashmir being Muslims, the territory is Pakistan's by prescriptive right, as it were. But this is an argument that cuts both ways, and, unfortunately, we have not had the gumption to take advantage of it. Hyderabad enjoys a preponderating majority of Hindus but the British have never, to my knowledge, suggested to the Nizam that he should, therefore, put himself out of the way and restore his kingdom to its rightful owners. On the contrary, when, at long last, our Government screwed up its courage to the sticking place and embarked on its "police action" in September, 1948, the British did not hesitate, even for a moment, to reveal to the world where exactly their sympathies lay. Nor, when that "police action" came to a successful end, did either our Government or our people "talk at" the Nizam or the Prince of Berar as Sheikh Abdullah has recently "talked at" the Maharajah of Kashmir and the Yuvaraj.

Talking of majorities, in undivided India the Hindus far outnumbered the Muslims; but that did not prevent the Muslims from hectically clamouring for partition so that they might have an entirely separate "homeland" for themselves or their sworn allies, the British, from giving them their full-throated moral support. The inference is irresistible that the Muslims stand to gain either way—whether they are in a majority or in a minority. And when everything else fails our "secularism" can be relied upon to step in and shower favours upon them with no niggardly hand. They are the modern "blessed people."

#### AGGRESSION

There is one more point to be discussed before I conclude my article. It is that of aggression. Now-a-days we hear and read quite a lot about it. The American press, platform, and pulpit, in particular, are full of it. When American meets American that is the staple of conversation. Not their own aggression, of course. The answer to "What is 'orthodoxy'?" is, as we all know, "Our own 'doxy'." But with "aggression" it is apt to be different. Aggression is what the *other* fellow commits. And, needless to say, it cries out to

be avenged! What *we* do is just to try—with atom bombs, if necessary—to repel it so that the world may be made safe for democracy. Sometimes, no doubt, things may so pan out that, anticipating aggression from the other side, we are compelled, in sheer self-defence, to commit a little aggression ourselves. That is part of military strategy—in “cold wars” no less than in “hot.” But the essential difference remains. Defensive aggression is poles apart from offensive aggression. It is the adjective that counts, not the noun. It may even be that the first is more “bloody” than the second. But that simply cannot be helped: we shall have either to like it or to lump it. Playing for safety we generally pretend to like it.

#### THE TRUMAN AND ACHESON DICTA

The two passages I have appended at the top of my article by way of “mottoes” tell their own tale. Their authors are top-ranking politicians. President Truman is the head of the most powerful State in the world and Dean Acheson is second in command to him. As such their words carry far. They are, indeed, worth their weight in gold. Being the men that they are must be considered to have spoken only after mature deliberation. Except in our own hapless country those who occupy positions of responsibility are not given to “thinking aloud.” Therefore, if Mr. Truman and Mr. Acheson spoke in the way they did they must be taken to have known what they were about. They assert that aggression should be fairly and squarely met. They are thoroughly convinced that the Communists are the aggressors. I have suggested, earlier in my article, that the question of who committed aggression in Korea in June last, the North Koreans or the South Koreans, is not as simple as it, no doubt, sounds to the Americans and their coadjutors. The North Koreans have complained that it was their brethren in the south who committed it. *A thing does not necessarily become true because, for their own reasons, the Americans believe it to be so.* Some of us—including myself—are equally convinced that it was the South Koreans, at the instigation of their masters, the Americans, who precipitated the Far Eastern crisis. But we are more reasonable than the Americans and we content ourselves with saying that the point has not, up to the moment of going to press, been satisfactorily proved. Before there had been any chance of its being satisfactorily proved action had begun—with no little assistance, to put it mildly, from these same Americans. No amount of

ballyhoo from Washington will convince an impartial student of public affairs that the Korean war started from the North Korean side.

#### WHAT ABOUT PAKISTAN'S AGGRESSION?

What I wish to drive at is that, *in a context where doubt still lingers about who is the guilty party*, the Americans and their comrades-in-arms, “the Western democracies,” have positively gone berserk about what I may call the merciless suppression of aggression; but that, *in a context where the guilty party has itself owned, in no uncertain terms, to having committed the aggression complained about and where the U. N. Commission and the U. N. Mediator have emphatically said “ditto,”* the Americans and their Western allies have not only *not* cared to name Pakistan as the aggressor *but* have even had the audacity to blame India, the complainant in the case, on several counts.

I put it to President Truman and to Secretary of State Dean Acheson that, in their own words, aggression (*not* the imaginary aggression of Russia *but* the actual aggression of Pakistan) must not be ignored, must not be rewarded. *Aggression anywhere in the world is a threat to peace everywhere in the world.* That being the new “Truman doctrine,” I appeal to the President of the United States to act, even at this admittedly late hour, as the man of courage that he undoubtedly is and, forgetting alike the (not inconsiderable) influence that the wily British have brought to bear upon him and the exigencies of “cold war” strategy re-draft the latest U.N. resolution on the Kashmir issue. There is no harm in practising—at least now and then—what one so incessantly preaches. *“Cold War” strategy is not everything: there can be room, even in the presentday world, for truth also.* The Americans have, at present round their necks the “putrefying albatross” of beating Russia to its knees. Clamped on by their own choice three or four years ago it may yet whip the Communists together under the hammer and sickle. Far from disrupting them it may act as a cohesive force. But “cold war” strategy is no reason that justice should be denied India and Pakistan be pampered at her expense. Let both the British and the Americans bear these words of the poet in mind:

“Last, if upon the cold, green-mantling sea  
Thou cling, alone with Truth, to the last spar,  
Both castaway,  
And one must perish—let it not be he  
Whom thou art sworn to obey.”





# "POSITION OF THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA"

## A Further Rejoinder

By D. N. BANERJEE,

University Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, Calcutta University

### III

Mr. Basu has, in a very patronizing manner, taken objection<sup>63</sup> to my reference to the Proceedings of the Indian Constituent Assembly in connexion with my discussion of the question of the nature of our present system of government and, particularly, of the position of the President in it. He seems to think that the knowledge of the "canons" of construction of a Constitution is a monopoly of only one who is licensed to practise as a lawyer in a court of law, and that a student of Political Science "whose sphere of activity is," after all, "limited to the instruction of the young," is totally ignorant of them. Without entering into the discussion of the question whether or not many of these young men are far better informed about constitutional matters than many of those whom he had in this mind by way of a contrast, I may assure Mr. Basu that there is no justification for this attitude of self-complacency or—should I say?—self-conceit. A student of Political Science has also often to deal with the canons of interpretation and construction of statutory and constitutional laws. By the by, Mr. Basu appears to think<sup>64</sup> that the two terms "interpretation" and "construction" are synonymous. Strictly speaking, as Judge Cooley<sup>65</sup> has shown, they are not, although in common use "the word *construction* is generally employed in the law in a sense embracing all that is properly covered by both."

"Interpretation," says† Cooley, "differs from construction in that the former is the art of finding out the true sense of any form of words; that is, the sense which their author intended to convey; and of enabling others to derive from them the same idea which the author intended to convey. Construction, on the other hand, is the drawing of conclusions, respecting subjects that lie beyond the direct expressions of the text, from elements known from and given in the text; conclusions which are in the spirit, though not within the letter of the text. Interpretation only takes place if the text conveys some meaning or other."

However, this is a very minor point and we should pass on.

Now, as regards the question of the "cardinal" rules of legal interpretation and construction, I should like to observe, at the very outset, and notwithstanding the fact that I have myself quoted above

some of these rules, that there is unfortunately, as will appear from what follows, such a wide diversity of judicial opinions in regard to them in the reports of the proceedings of courts of justice in different countries that one almost gets submerged in a bog, as it were, as one goes through those proceedings and tries to discover from them some well-established guiding principles or definite doctrines. What are considered to be such principles or doctrines will on examination appear to every impartial student to be nothing more than *provisionally* correct. It is, therefore, difficult to say, speaking realistically, that the whole subject of legal interpretation has yet been "placed and kept" on such a scientific basis that it must command a universal assent and respect. There is as yet no "precise and unchanging" yardstick for judges in this field: no possibility of any mechanical application of a measuring rod by them. The length of the yardstick now being used changes, it has been rightly said, from case to case according to the discretion of the judges who apply it. Indeed, the so-called cardinal rules of legal interpretation remind me of what Burke once said in 1775 in the course of his Speech on Conciliation in America :

"These are deep questions, where great names militate against each other; where reason is perplexed; and an appeal to authorities only thickens the confusion. For high and reverend authorities lift up their heads on both sides; and there is no sure footing in the middle."

Take, for instance, the expression "due process of law" in the American Constitution. Declaring a certain Arizona statute invalid (four of the nine judges dissenting), Chief Justice Taft of the United States Supreme Court said<sup>66</sup> in 1921 that

"The legislative power of a state can only be exerted in subordination to the fundamental principles of right and justice which the guaranty of due process in the Fourteenth Amendment is intended to preserve."

Thus, "the Court in applying 'due process of law,'" remarks Walter Dodd,<sup>67</sup> "is guided by nothing more definite than 'the fundamental principles of right and justice,' and has no standard other than the views of a majority of the judges by which to separate 'permissible from improper legislation.'" As a result, one judge, he continues, "because of his training and experience, may have one view as to what are such fundamental principles and how they apply in a particular case, and an equally competent judge may have pre-

63. See Mr. Basu's article in *The Modern Review* for February, 1951.

64. See *ibid.*

65. See Cooley, *A Treatise on Constitutional Limitations*, 7th Ed., pp. 70-71.

† See *ibid.*

66. See Walter Dodd, *Cases and Materials on Constitutional Law*, 4th Ed., 1949, p. 79.

67. See *ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

cessely oppositive views." Even "the same individual may have different views at different periods in his life as to what is 'permissible' and what is 'improper'."<sup>68</sup>

Again, he says, in effect, in another place that, although Constitutional provisions have been the subject of judicial construction in the United States for a very long time, yet "the supreme court of Illinois in 1895 declared it improper to regulate the labour or hours of women differently from that of men, and in 1910 arrived at precisely the opposite view, without any change whatever in the state constitution."<sup>69</sup> "This is," he further observes,<sup>70</sup> "but an illustration of what state courts have done over and over again in order to readjust their views to the changing needs of the community. Had a definite and precise meaning been given to 'due process of law,' such changes of judicial attitude would be more difficult." And what is the effect of all this?

"We get," says Walter Dodd,<sup>71</sup> "little help from the courts as to the meaning of this term (i.e., 'due process of law') as it is now applied to limit legislative power."

This only shows the value of the so-called canons of constitutional construction!

The position in England is, more or less, similar. For instance, in regard to the question of the use of extrinsic aids in legal interpretation and construction, that is to say, in regard to the question, namely, "what sources of information outside a statute may be used for throwing light upon its meaning," there has been a bewildering variety of judicial opinions. And although it is now\* a fairly well-established rule "that what may be called the parliamentary history of an enactment is not admissible to explain its meaning,"<sup>72</sup> yet there have been many weighty judicial opinions to the contrary. For example, we find in Maxwell<sup>73</sup> that

"Reference has been occasionally made to what the framers of the Act, or individual members of the Legislature, intended to do by the enactment, or understood it to have done. Chief Justice Hengham said that he knew better than counsel the meaning of the 2d Westminster, as he had drawn up that statute. Lord Nottingham claimed that he had some reason to know the meaning of the Statute of Frauds, because, he said, it had had its first rise from him, he having brought it into the House of Lords. Lord Kenyon supported his construction of the Municipal Offices Act, 1710 (c.25), by the argument that so accurate a lawyer as Mr. Justice Powell, who had drawn it, never would have used several words where one sufficed."

68. See *ibid.*

69. See *ibid.* The italics are mine.

70. See *ibid.*

71. See *ibid.*

\* But see hereinafter the view of Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice of the Federal Court of India.

72. See Maxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 29; also Beal, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-98; also Craies, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-22; also the ruling of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in *Administrator-General of Bengal Vs. Prem Lal Mullick* (1895), L. R. 22 Ind. App. 107.

73. See Maxwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-29.

Again, Lord Field "refers (in 1890) to the improbability that the eminent lawyers who framed the Judicature Act, 1875 (c.77), would not have made a certain exception if they had intended it . . . And it has been stated (1892) as a general proposition in ecclesiastical matters that if the law excludes all historical investigation and discussion on antecedent usage in matters of ritual and practice it excludes one source of light upon doubtful questions."

Further, "Lord Westbury, when Chancellor, referred to a speech made by himself, as Attorney-General, in the House of Commons, in 1860, in introducing the Bankruptcy Bill, which was passed into law in the following year, and one of his reasons in favour of the construction which he put on the Act was that it tallied best with the intention which the Legislature (that is, the three branches of the Legislature) might be presumed to have adopted."<sup>74</sup>

Moreover, we find in Craies<sup>75</sup> that in *R. vs. Bishop of Oxford* (1879), Bramwell and Bagallay, L.JJ., "allowed a speech of the Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords to be cited as an authority as to the construction of a statute"; that, in *S. E. Ry. vs. The Railway Commissioners* (1880), Cockburn, C.J., said that "where the meaning of an Act is doubtful, we are, I think, at liberty to recur to the circumstances under which it passed into law as a means of solving the difficulty," and himself proceeded accordingly "to quote a speech made by Mr. Cardwell on the introduction of the Bill into the House of Commons, and a speech made by the Lord Chancellor on introducing it into the House of Lords"; that in *Herron vs. Rathmines and Rathgar Improvement Commissioners* (1892) Lord Halsbury said that

"The subject-matter with which the Legislature was dealing and the facts existing at the time with respect to which the Legislature was legislating are legitimate topics to consider in ascertaining what was the object and purpose of the Legislature in passing the Act."

And that, previously, in *Hawkins vs. Gathercole* (1855), Turner, L.J., stated that

"The dominant purpose in construing a statute is to ascertain the intent of the Legislature, to be collected from the *cause and necessity of the Act* being made, from a comparison of its several parts and from *foreign (meaning extraneous)* circumstances so far as they can justly be considered to throw light upon the subject."

This "rule expressed by Turner, L.J.," says Craies,<sup>76</sup> "has often been cited as authoritative."

In view of what I have shown above, it is not surprising that Dr. Lushington's dictum<sup>77</sup> in *Gough vs. Jones* (1863) that "the most satisfactory mode of construction" is to examine a statute and, if possible, to ascertain the meaning thereof "from the statute alone," has failed of universal acceptance, and that judges have often had recourse to matters "beyond the four

74. See *ibid.* The italics are mine.

75. See Craies, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-22 and relevant footnotes.

76. See Craies, *op. cit.*, p. 119, footnote (c).

77. See *ibid.*, p. 118.



corners of" a statute for the purpose of ascertaining what the intention of the Legislature was when the statute was passed. The rules which were laid down by the Barons of the Exchequer in Heydon's case (1584), and which "allow, to a certain extent, the circumstances which led to the passing of the Act to be considered,"<sup>78</sup> have really become a *locus classicus*. Nor should we fail to admit, honestly speaking, that the so-called "canons" of legal interpretation and construction, not being statutory declarations, have not yet acquired that finality, inviolability and universal acceptability which are sometimes attributed to them by some interested people. Their sanctity, importance, and acceptability depend largely upon the prejudices of some lawyers and text-book writers. Personal equation is a very important factor in their admissibility, particularly in view of the exigencies of advancing civilization and the inexorable logic of facts. This may appear to be a very audacious statement on the part of one who is not a lawyer by profession; but regard for truth and realism compels it.

I shall now pass on to Mr. Basu's cheap attack<sup>79</sup> on me for my reference to our *Constitutional Assembly Debates* in support of some of my views on the true nature of our present system of government. He seems to think that such reference is not permissible under his so-called canons of constitutional construction. Apart from what I have shown before, let him now follow me. Dealing with the question of the "Interpretative Value of Debates in Constitutional Conventions," Professor Willoughby has said:<sup>80</sup>

"When it is necessary and proper to resort to extrinsic evidence in interpreting the (American) Constitution, an important source of such evidence is to be found in the history of the events which led up to its adoption. Of special importance are the recorded proceedings of the convention which drafted, of the State conventions which ratified, and of the public utterances of the men who played an influential part in the establishment of, the Constitution. Resort is to be had, however, to these sources only with caution, and only where latent ambiguities are to be resolved."<sup>81</sup>

Even in regard to the interpretative value of *The Federalist*, he has said:<sup>82</sup>

"What has been said regarding the interpretative value of the debates in the conventions that framed and ratified the Constitution, and the value of contemporary interpretation thereof by Congress and the Executive, applies to the collection of essays published under the title of *The Federalist*."<sup>83</sup>

78. See *Craies, op. cit.*, p. 93 and p. 119.

79. See Mr. Basu's article in *The Modern Review* for Feb., 1951.

80. See Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

81. Nobody can reasonably object to the limitation suggested by him.

82. See Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

83. Willoughby has also quoted Chief Justice Marshall in support of his view. In *Cohens Vs. Virginia* (6 Wheat. 264) Marshall, C. J., said: "The opinion of *The Federalist* has always been considered as

Secondly, dealing with the question of extrinsic aids in constitutional construction, Judge Cooley<sup>84</sup> has first referred to the "Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention" and then remarked:

"When the inquiry is directed to ascertaining the mischief designed to be remedied, or the purpose sought to be accomplished by a particular provision, it may be proper to examine the proceedings of the convention which framed the instrument. Where the proceedings clearly point out the purpose of the provision, the aid will be valuable and satisfactory . . ."

Thirdly, we find that in *James vs. Commonwealth of Australia*, etc., (1936, A.C. 578), the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has declared<sup>85</sup> (per Lord Wright, M.R.):

"It is true that a Constitution must not be construed in any narrow and pedantic sense. . . . The true test must, as always, be the actual language used. Nor can any decisive help here be derived from (the) evidence of extraneous facts existing at the date of the Act<sup>86</sup> of 1900; such evidence may in some cases help to throw light on the intention of the framers of the Statute, though that intention can in truth be ascertained only from the language used."<sup>87</sup>

Thus, according to the Judicial Committee, the evidence of extraneous facts may in some cases help to throw light on the intention of the framers of a statute.

Fourthly, we find that in *re: The Central Provinces and Berar Act No. XIV of 1938* Sir Maurice Gwyer, C.J., has observed:<sup>88</sup>

"The Judicial Committee have observed that a Constitution is not to be construed in any narrow and pedantic sense. The rules which apply to the interpretation of other statutes apply, it is true, equally to the interpretation of a constitutional enactment. But their application is of necessity conditioned by the subject-matter of the enactment itself; and I respectfully adopt the words of a learned Australian Judge: 'Although we are to interpret the words of the Constitution on the same principles of interpretation as we apply to any ordinary law, these very principles of interpretation

of great authority. It is a complete commentary on our Constitution; and is appealed to by all parties in the questions to which that instrument has given birth. Its intrinsic merit entitles it to this high rank; and the part two of its authors performed in framing the Constitution, puts it very much in their power to explain the views with which it was framed. These essays having been published while the Constitution was before the nation for adoption or rejection, and having been written in answer to objections founded entirely on the extent of its powers, and on its diminution of state sovereignty are entitled to the more consideration where they frankly avow the power objected to is given, and defend it."—See *ibid.*, p. 55n.

84. See his *Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations*, 7th Ed., pp. 100-102.

85. See Jennings and Young, *Constitutional Laws of the British Empire*, p. 262.

86.*i.e.*, the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act, 1900.

87. The italics are mine.

88. See *The Federal Court Reports*, 1939, Vol. 1, pp. 36-37 and p. 46.

compel us to take into account the nature and scope of the Act that we are interpreting,—to remember that it is a Constitution, a mechanism under which laws are to be made, and not a mere Act which declares what the law is to be: *Att.-Gen. for New South Wales vs. Brewery Employees Union*.

"The Proposals for Indian Constitutional Reform, commonly known as the White Paper<sup>89</sup>, and the Report of the Joint Select Committee thereon<sup>90</sup> are historical facts, and their relation to the Constitution Act is a matter of common knowledge, to which *this Court is entitled to refer*<sup>91</sup>; and it may be observed that 'taxes on the sale of commodities and on turnover' appeared in the White Paper as a suggestion for possible sources of provincial revenue, and that the suggestion was approved without comment by the Joint Select Committee."

Fifthly, with reference to the question of the use of extrinsic sources in aid of constitutional construction, Kania, C. J., has recently held that such reference is permissible in certain circumstances. In *Gopalan V. State of Madras*, he has stated<sup>92</sup>, among other things:

"Our attention was drawn to the debates and report of the drafting committee of the Constituent Assembly in respect of the wording of this clause<sup>93</sup>. The report may be read not to control the meaning of the Article, but may be seen in case of ambiguity. . . . When a question is raised whether a certain phrase or expression was up for consideration at all or not, a reference to the debates may be permitted. . . . Resort may be had to these sources with great caution and only when latent ambiguities are to be resolved."

It is evident from this that Chief Justice Kania of our Supreme Court has also accepted the principle of reference to our *Constituent Assembly Debates* in certain circumstances.<sup>94</sup>

Sixthly, it is worthy of note here that in his *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*<sup>95</sup>, Judge Story has gone so far as to refer to, and quote, in connexion with the question, "who is final judge or interpreter in constitutional controversies," a letter which Madison addressed in August, 1830, to one Mr. Edward Everett and which was published in

the *North American Review* for October, 1830. His reason for this was the importance of the man—I mean Madison.<sup>96</sup>

"As a fit conclusion," he writes, among other things, "to this part of these commentaries, we cannot do better than to refer to a *confirmatory view*" which has been recently presented to the public by one of the farmers of the Constitution, who is now, it is believed, the only surviving member of the Federal convention,<sup>97</sup> and who, by his early as well as his later labors, has entitled himself to the gratitude of his country as one of its truest patriots and most enlightened friends."

Story was a judge and he was expected to know what was relevant to, and admissible in, a Commentary on the Constitution of the United States.

Seventhly, we find in Willis:<sup>98</sup>

"What rules of construction does the United States Supreme Court follow in construing statutes and passing on constitutional provisions? *In the main*, the same principles govern the construction of statutes and the construction of constitutions; but a constitution should have a liberal construction and be interpreted so as to carry out its general objects. The courts should endeavor to carry out the real purpose and intent of a provision. This intent must be embodied in the instrument itself. But if a provision is doubtful it may be examined in the light of its *prior and contemporaneous history* . . .

"In exercising its functions, the Supreme Court has sometimes been influenced by *historical considerations*, sometimes by analytical considerations, and at other times by philosophical considerations."

It is clear from this that the letter of the law has not always been a determining factor in constitutional construction in the United States.

Lastly, we find in Beard:<sup>100</sup>

"Those who are called upon to expound the (American) Constitution continually speak with confidence about 'the intention of the farmers' and cite speeches, letters, and papers to prove one interpretation or another, even though their constructions are frequently opposite in upshot. Undoubtedly light can be thrown on the meaning of the Constitution by studying the writings of the Fathers."<sup>101</sup>

Again, referring to the use of "the rational method" in interpretation, Beard<sup>102</sup> says that

"In seeking to discover what can or cannot be done under the (American) Constitution," *the Court*, the President, Congress, etc., "also resort

89. Command Paper 4268, 1933.

90. I.e., the Report of the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform, 1934.

91. The italics are mine.

92. See *The All-India Reporter*, August, 1950.

93. Reference here is to Article 21 of the Constitution of India.

94. It may be interesting to note here that only on 9th February, 1951, Mr. M. C. Setalvad, Attorney-General for India, placed before a special bench of the Patna High Court, in connexion with the question of the validity of the Bihar Land Reforms Act, "*proceedings of the Constituent Assembly* and other documents to show that the 'Constitution-framers had the welfare of the public in mind in permitting States to legislate for the abolition of the Zamindari system.'—*The Statesman*, 14th February, 1951. (The italics are mine).

Mr. M. C. Setalvad "whose sphere of activity" is not "limited to the instruction of the young," is perhaps expected to know something about the "canons" of constitutional construction.

95. Fourth Edition (by Thomas Cooley), Vol. I, Section 396, pp. 281-93.

96. Often referred to as the "Father of the (American) Constitution" for the part he played in the framing of the Constitution at the Philadelphia Convention in 1787.

97. The italics are mine.

98. At Philadelphia.

99. See his *Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1936, p. 94. (The italics are mine).

100. See his *American Government and Politics*, 9th Ed., p. 50.

101. The term is used to mean the makers of the American Constitution and, particularly, the members of the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia held in 1787.

102. Beard, *op. cit.*, p. 51.



to processes of reasoning, and to various claims, assertions, and inferences. They *cite history, both oral and written*; they refer to their memory of what was done or intended. They make use of quotations from the Bible, preceding judicial decisions, acts of Congress, *speeches by statesmen, and official documents* by authorities presumed to be competent.<sup>103</sup>

Moreover, sometimes resort is had to the "spirit" of the (American) Constitution, and sometimes, again, a certain intention on the part of its authors is presumed in constitutional construction, which does not necessarily follow from its text.

Thus, "looking elsewhere for light," says Beard,<sup>104</sup> "judges of the Supreme Court (in the U.S.A.) frequently refer to the 'nature of the system,' 'the spirit of the Constitution,' and its 'general spirit.' Marshall remarked in the Dartmouth College case, with respect to a certain contention, that the framers of the Constitution 'could never have intended to insert in that instrument' an idea 'repugnant to its general spirit.'<sup>105</sup> Long afterward another judge maintained that there are some limitations, not clearly expressed in the Constitution, 'which grow out of the essential nature of all free governments'."

In *Marbury vs. Madison*, also, Chief Justice Marshall made as Beard has pointed out,<sup>106</sup> use of the following *assumption* in the judgment of the Supreme Court:

"That the people have an original right to establish, for their future government, such principles as, in their opinion, shall most conduce to their own happiness, is the basis on which the whole American fabric has been erected."

It is clear from the above that we are now far away from the view that the text of a Constitution is the only guide to its construction, and that the language used in it is the "acid test," etc., as Mr. Basu seems to think.<sup>107</sup> Reference to debates in Constitutional Conventions, to relevant speeches and writings of statesmen, to history, both oral and written, to inferences and assumptions, etc., is permitted, in certain circumstances, in constitutional construction, and my reference, therefore, to our *Constituent Assembly Debates* was perfectly in accordance with reason, with commonsense, and with well-established principles of constitutional construction. Mr. Basu has qualified his statement with the words "unless there is an ambiguity," but, as a clever lawyer, avoided reference to what would, or should, happen if there were any ambiguity, or confusion, or doubtfulness, or un-

certainty, about the "meaning" and nature of a Constitution, or any of its provision or provisions. Now what did actually happen so far as I was concerned? There was a sharp difference of opinion between me and some other persons on the question of the constitutional position of the President of India, particularly, in relation to his Council of Ministers, and also on the question of the true nature of our present system of government. I held—as I do even now—certain views on these questions as set forth in my previous articles in this *Review*.<sup>108</sup> In support of my views I referred to our *Constituent Assembly Debates*. Now reference to these *Constituent Assembly Debates* would really mean reference to the views of some people in the Constituent Assembly, and not to the position of the chairs, tables, benches, etc., in the Assembly. And to whose views did I primarily refer? I referred to the views of persons like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Chairman of the Union Constitution Committee of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly, and of Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar and Shri K. M. Munshi, members of the Drafting Committee. I also referred to one or two other confirmatory views. Now I need hardly say anything here about the position and influence of persons like Pandit Nehru, or Dr. Ambedkar, or Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar in the Constituent Assembly. Even then I would not perhaps have referred to their views if the text of our Constitution had given us a true picture of the position of the President in our constitutional system. It did not, or rather could not, do it. The text would only enable us to have a purely technical and legalistic view of the question, and that would be quite untrue to fact. In *Attorney-General for the Province of Ontario and others vs. Attorney-General for the Dominion of Canada and another* (A.C. 571, 1912), the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council stated,<sup>109</sup> among other things:

"In the interpretation of a completely self-governing Constitution founded upon a written organic instrument, such as the British North America Act, if the text is explicit the text is conclusive, alike in what it directs and what it forbids."

As the text of our Constitution, however, was not explicit, and there were uncertainty, doubtfulness and even confusion in the minds of some people about the *real* position and powers of the President under it, I referred to some views as recorded in our *Constituent Assembly Debates* and also to one or two other corroborative views, in support of my own contention. As I have already stated, my action was quite in consonance with well-established canons of constitutional construction and was, therefore, perfectly justified. We should not forget in this connection that British

103. The italics are mine.

104. Beard, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

105. What Chief Justice Marshall actually stated in *Dartmouth College vs. Woodward* (4 Wheaton 518, 1819), is as follows: "As the framers of the constitution could never have intended to insert in that instrument a provision so unnecessary, so mischievous, and so repugnant to its general spirit, the term 'contract' must be understood in a more limited sense." (The italics are mine).

106. See Beard, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

107. See *The Modern Review* for February, 1951, p. 143.

108. See *The Modern Review* for June and for December, 1950.

109. Jennings and Young, *Constitutional Laws of the British Empire*, p. 145.

Constitutional jurisprudence is not the only jurisprudence in the world: There is also such a thing as American constitutional jurisprudence. If, however, it be held that the views of persons like Professor Willoughby, Judge Cooley, Lord Wright, Sir Maurice Gwyer, C. J., H. J. Kania, C. J., Judge Story, Mr. Setalrad, Professor Willis, and Charles Beard are not entitled to much respect as none of them, so far as we know, have ever been members of the Calcutta Bar, I have nothing to say except this that I am in a very good company and that I can well afford to ignore any unformed criticism of my action.

There is another aspect of the question. The reason why reference to the parliamentary history of a statute is not ordinarily permissible in legal interpretation, say, in a country like England, is that the English Parliament is a "tripartite" body, consisting as it does of the King, Lords and Commons. What happens in one part of the body is not expected to be known although this view has no meaning today to the other parts. Thus in *Miller vs. Taylor* (1769) Willes, J., said<sup>110</sup>:

"The sense and meaning of an Act of Parliament must be collected from what it says when passed into law, and not from the history of changes it underwent in the House where it took its rise. That history is not known to the other House or to the Sovereign."

We also find in Maxwell<sup>111</sup> that the language of an enactment "can be regarded only as the language of the three Estates of the realm, and the meaning attached to it by its framers or by individual members of one of those Estates cannot control the construction of it."

Now this argument cannot apply to our Constituent Assembly as it was a unicameral constituent body. We should not indulge in reasoning in total disregard of local circumstances.

#### IV

This rejoinder has become unduly long and must have severely taxed the patience of the reader. I could not help it as I had to deal with a number of controversial points raised by Mr. Basu. I have, however, no desire to prolong this controversy further, unless again compelled, as we have gone far away from its central theme, namely, the position of the President of India.

In conclusion, I should like to say that it appears to me that Mr. Basu and I hold different views about the connotation of the term "Constitution" and that this has led to a difference of opinion between him and me. He seems to have been using the term in a very narrow sense, meaning by it only the "written" elements in a Constitution. I have been using the term, except where a technical necessity required

otherwise, in its usual sense, implying by it both "written" and "unwritten" elements in a Constitution. Usage, however, is on my side to-day.

"What is the Constitution of Great Britain?", asks Professor Munro. "It is", he himself answers, "an infinitely complex amalgam of institutions, principles, and practices; it is a composite of charters and statutes, of judicial decisions, of common law, of precedents, and usages and traditions. It is not one document, but thousands of them. It is not derived from one source, but from several. It is not a completed thing, but a process of growth. It is a child of wisdom and of chance, whose course has been indifferently guided by accident and by high design."<sup>112</sup>

"What is the Constitution of the United States in its present-day significance?", asks Professor Munro again. "Briefly," he himself states, "it is made up of contributions from six different sources. These are: (a) the original document; (b) twenty-one amendments; (c) hundreds of statutes which provide details for the general provisions of the Constitution; (d) thousands of judicial decisions interpreting the Constitution and the aforementioned statutes; (e) executive orders which fill in the details of statutes; and (f) a countless host of usages, customs, precedents, traditions, and even administrative opinions, which have acquired constitutional strength."\*

This view is also supported by Professor W. F. Willoughby who says:<sup>113</sup>

"It is now recognized, however, that, in the case of all countries, there are many fundamental political provisions which are not set forth in their formal constitutions but which none the less must be deemed to be of a constitutional character. Of no country is this more true than of the United States, which, of all countries, is supposed to have a peculiarly inflexible constitution. . . . The most important fact, from the standpoint of the study of government, resulting from this is that only a very imperfect idea can be obtained of the governmental system of a country as it actually exists and functions by a mere study of its written constitution. The constitution considered alone is a dead, inert thing. It is this that makes the study of government, seemingly an easy task, in fact one of great difficulty, requiring in high degree the exercise of the inquisitive and analytical faculties."

And Ogg says:<sup>†</sup>

"The truth is that our written constitution—any written constitution that has been in operation even a few years—has come to be overlaid with, or enveloped by, a mass of rules and usages, not set forth at all in the basic text, yet contributing in many instances quite as much to making the govern-

112. See Munro, *The Governments of Europe*, New and Revised Edition, pp. 8-10; also Ogg, *European Governments and Politics*, 1934, Chap. III; also Ogg and Zink, *Modern Foreign Governments*, 1950, Chap. II.

\* See Munro, *The Government of the United States*, 5th Ed., p. 67; also Ogg, *op. cit.*, Chap. III; also Ogg and Zink, *op. cit.*, Chap. II.

113. See W. F. Willoughby, *The Government of Modern States*, p. 118. (Revised Edition).

† See Ogg, *op. cit.*, p. 41. Mr. Ogg is an American.

110. See Craies, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

111. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 29.



ment what it is as anything within the four corners of the formal document? Some of these added features arise from interpretation, supported by judicial opinion. Many rest upon statute. Still others flow only from precedent or custom."

Jurists also support the above view.

"A constitution," says Holland,<sup>114</sup> "is often, as in England, an unwritten body of custom, though, since the assertion of the 'rights of man' which preceded the Independence of the United States and the French Revolution, the written enactment of such fundamental principles has been not uncommon, as well on the European continent as in America."

And Sir John Salmond, a Judge of the Supreme Court of New Zealand, says in his *Jurisprudence*,<sup>115</sup> considered by some people as "a legal classic":

"The constitution (of a State) is both a matter of fact and a matter of law. The constitution as it exists *de facto* underlies of necessity the constitution as it exists *de jure* . . . The constitution as seen by the eye of the law may not agree in all points with the objective reality. Much constitutional doctrine may be true in law but not in fact, or true in fact but not in law. Power may exist *de jure* but not *de facto*, or *de facto* but not *de jure* . . . Nowhere is this discordance between the constitution in fact and in law more serious and obvious than in England. A statement of the strict legal theory of the British constitution would differ curiously from a statement of the actual facts. Similar discrepancies exist, however, in most other states. A complete account of a constitution, therefore, involves a statement of constitutional custom as well as of constitutional law. It involves an account of the organised state as it exists in practice and in fact, as well as of the reflected image of this organisation as it appears in legal

theory . . . Constitutional practice may alter, while constitutional law remains the same, and *vice versa*."

Finally, in my second article<sup>116</sup> in this series I rebutted a view of Hughes, C.J., quoted by Mr. Basu, with a view of Professors Ogg and Orman Ray, quoted by me. Mr. Basu appears to have demurred<sup>117</sup> to it. My rebuttal, it is gladdening to note here, has the support of no less an authority than Judge Cooley, referred to by Bryce, himself a great jurist and historian, as an "eminent constitutional lawyer."

"We may think," says Judge Cooley, "that we have the Constitution<sup>118</sup> all before us; but for practical purposes the Constitution is that which the government, in its several departments, and the people in the performance of their duties as citizens, recognize and respect as such; and *nothing else* is."<sup>119</sup>

Bryce endorses this view with the general observation:<sup>120</sup>

"The solemn determination of a people enacting a fundamental law by which they and their descendants shall be governed cannot prevent that law, however great the reverence they continue to profess for it, from being worn away in one part, enlarged in another, modified in a third, by the ceaseless action of influences playing upon the individuals who compose the people."

Thus authority is pitted against authority. Let Mr. Basu coolly think over the whole matter. Meanwhile, let me come back to, and reiterate, the point emphasized by me in my first article:<sup>121</sup>

"The Constitution of a country is not to be found in its law alone."

114. See Holland, *The Elements of Jurisprudence*, 13th Ed., p. 373; also see Dicey, *The Law of the Constitution*, 8th Ed., pp. 22-29.

115. See Salmond, *Jurisprudence*, 10th Ed., 1947, pp. 140-42. (The italics in the extracts quoted, are mine).

116. See *The Modern Review* for December, 1950, p. 461.

117. See *The Modern Review* for February, 1951, p. 143.

118. Judge Cooley means by this expression here the written part or parts of the American Constitution.

119. See Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, 1928, Vol. 1, p. 400. (The italics are mine).

120. See *ibid.*

121. See *The Modern Review* for June, 1950, p. 450.

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## NOCTURNE

By CYRIL MODAK

You are to me a melody  
That runs through all my days,  
And sweetly thrills, with music fills  
My heart to burst in praise!

From every hour as from a flower  
Your memory's fragrance spreads;  
And every thought desire-fraught  
For you its tribute sheds.

While others sleep in silence deep,  
And drowsy is the air,  
Till inky night melt into light,  
I seek your Image fair.

In one caress, Ah! Love, to press  
Your beauty on my heart,  
With one wild kiss of burning bliss  
Become of you a part!

Till like a flood my surging blood  
Break floodgates of your being,  
And sweep our hearts to heights where starts  
All feeling, hearing, seeing!

O sorry waste! . . . I cannot taste  
Night's joy-feast and love's wine,  
Till I can rest on your dear breast  
This sleepless head of mine!

# IMPEACHMENT AND DEMOCRACY

By Prof. RAMESH CHANDRA GHOSH, M.A. *L.L.B. PH.D.*

As is well-known, the fundamental principles of the Cabinet system of Government are two: the dual executive and the collective responsibility of the Ministers to the legislature. The Constitution of India provides for both these principles. The President is the Head of the State. All executive powers are vested in him and executive actions shall have to be taken in his name.<sup>1</sup> But the real executive is the Cabinet or Council of Ministers who are collectively responsible to the Indian Parliament or more correctly, to the House of the People.<sup>2</sup> We can, therefore, conclude that we have a Cabinet system of Government.

But there are some who have expressed fears that the President may turn out to be a dictator,<sup>3</sup> especially as all powers vested in the President, throughout the body of the Constitution, are legal powers which the Courts are bound to recognise; secondly, because the Ministers hold office during the pleasure of the President<sup>4</sup>; and lastly because, there is no obligation on the part of the President to act always on the advice of the Council of Ministers.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Sen Gupta goes so far as to say that in case of sharp differences between the President and the House of the People, the former may try the same *coup d'état* which von Hindenburg resorted to in 1932. Therefore, he suggests that the dual responsibility of the Ministers to the President and the House of the People should be put an end to by a "suitable amendment of the Constitution," while Mr. V. N. Srivastava and Dr. B. M. Sharma suggest that it should be made obligatory on the part of the President to act always on the advice of the Ministers. It is submitted that all these fears are groundless and the suggestions are worse than useless. They show a lack of profound insight which led the Constituent Assembly to adopt Art. 75 in its present form.

There are occasions when the President cannot and should not act on the advice of the Council of Ministers. As it is not the object of my article to enumerate the occasions when the President may refuse to act on such advice, I will mention here only a few cases. When there is no party with an absolute majority in the House of the People, and a Coalition Ministry suffers a defeat very soon after the general election, by the withdrawal of the support of a section of the House, and the remedy of dissolution is also not

readily available, the President may legitimately exercise his discretion in the selection of the new Prime Minister. A defeated Ministry has no right to advise the President as to the selection of its successor.<sup>6</sup> The President may also refuse to give his assent to a Bill by which a fascist Government tries to subvert the Constitution. He may dismiss the Ministry and dissolve the House of the People. He may refuse to act on the advice of the Council of Ministers when they are

"pursuing a policy which subverted the democratic basis of the Constitution, by unnecessary or indefinite prolongations of the life of the Parliament, by gerrymandering of the constituencies in the interests of one party or by fundamental modification of the electoral system to the same end."

As Wade and Phillips point out :

"Even in England, there are some matters which fall to be determined by the exercise of his personal judgment, and in particular the appointment of a Prime Minister, and in some circumstances the dissolution of Parliament."<sup>7</sup>

Normally, the President will dissolve the House on the advice of the Premier; but when an alternative Ministry is possible, the President may well refuse dissolution in such a big country like India with an electorate of over 170 millions.

However, all these do not mean that our President will be a dictator. The Ministers no doubt hold office during his "pleasure"; but, this "pleasure" must be exercised in harmony with the principle of collective responsibility of the Cabinet to the House of the People. For, this principle is a part of our Constitution [Art. 75(3)], and the President, by the terms of his oath, is bound to "preserve, protect and defend the Constitution and the law" and to devote himself to "the service and well-being of the people of India."

The oath naturally reminds one of the sanction behind the conventions of the British Constitution. There is no doubt now that these conventions are obeyed in the U. K. not because their violations will lead to a breach of the law; for, in that case, there is nothing to prevent Parliament to amend the law; but because the people or their representatives in the Parliament want these conventions to be so obeyed and respected. For, these conventions ensure efficient government and the supremacy of the people. Says Dicey :

1. Arts. 52, 53(1), 77(1).

2. Art. 75(3).

3. Dr. N. C. Sen Gupta : *The Constitution of India*, (1950), p. 81. Mr. V. N. Srivastava : "The Union Executive in the Constitution of India" in *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, October-December, 1950, p. 20. Dr. B. M. Sharma : "The President in the Indian Republic" in *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, October-December, 1950, pp. 6-7.

4. Art. 75(2).

5. Art. 74(1).

6. Anson : *The Law and the Custom of the Constitution*, (1935), Vol. I, pp. 142-143. Jennings : *The Constitution of Ceylon*, 1949, p. 89. Ridge's *Constitutional Law*, 7th Edition, p. 146. Wade and Phillips : *Constitutional Law*, (1946), p. 59.

7. Jennings : *Cabinet Government*, pp. 296, 307. Wade's Note to Dicey's letter to *The Times*, September 15, 1913 in *Law of the Constitution*, 9th Ed., Appendix p. 602.

8. Wade and Phillips : *Constitutional Law* (1946), p. 59.

9. Art. 60.



"Our modern code of constitutional morality secures, though in a round-about way, what is called abroad 'the Sovereignty of the people'."<sup>10</sup>

To use his words again, these conventions are "intended to secure the ultimate supremacy of the electorate as the political sovereign of the State."<sup>11</sup> Therefore, all breaches of conventions "are far more likely to lead to political action than to proceedings in Court being brought against the offender."<sup>12</sup>

It is to be remembered that the principle of Collective responsibility of Ministers is the most important convention in Great Britain. It has been described as "the foundation of Parliamentary Government as it is known throughout the British Commonwealth."<sup>13</sup> Lord Salisbury regarded it as "one of the most essential principles of parliamentary responsibility." Fortunately for us, this fundamental convention has been incorporated into the body of our Constitution and elevated to the status of a rule of law. Nevertheless, there are some who doubt that it may not function properly as the Ministers "hold office during the pleasure of the President" who is not bound always to act on their advice. An attempt will be made here to show that this doubt is baseless.

Our Constitution not only compels the President to take the oath or affirmation of loyalty to the Constitution, but prescribes punishment for "the violation of the Constitution."<sup>14</sup> If the President violates the principle of collective responsibility of the Ministers to the House of the People, which is a part of the Constitution, he violates the Constitution, unless he can show and maintain that he has done so, for the "well-being of the people of India," or for defending and protecting the great and eternal principles of our Constitution enshrined in the Preamble, viz., the principles of Justice, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, which the "people of India" have solemnly resolved "to secure to all its citizens." If the people want the President to be a dictator, nobody can prevent him from being that; for he will dismiss the hostile Ministry and dissolve the House of the People and easily secure a pliant majority to have his own way. But in that case, he is not an autocrat, but a true representative and servant of the people. On the other hand, if the people are opposed to his dictatorship, any violation of the Constitution by the President will at once set the great machinery of impeachment in motion against him. The charge may be preferred by either House when a resolution moved after at least fourteen days' notice and signed by one-fourth of the total number of members of the House, is passed by two-

thirds of the total membership of the House.<sup>15</sup> When a charge has been so preferred, the other House is to investigate it or cause it to be investigated by a suitable body. The President is entitled to appear personally and to appoint lawyers to represent him. If the investigating House, by a resolution passed by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the total number of members of that House, declares that the charge has been sustained, it will have the effect of removing the President from his office.

Such a system of impeachment prevails in almost all republics for the trial of the Head of the States, and in England, for all persons except the king who "can do no wrong."<sup>16</sup>

In England, impeachment has almost fallen into disuse. The last impeachments were those of Warren Hastings (1788-95) and Lord Melville (1805). An unsuccessful attempt was made by Thomas Anstey to impeach Lord Palmerstone in 1848. Of course, conventions are now observed in Great Britain not because of the fear of impeachment, but because of public opinion; otherwise, as Dicey says, they would be no 'understandings' at all but 'laws' in the truest sense of the term and "their sole peculiarity would be in their being laws the breach of which could be punished only by one extraordinary tribunal, namely, The High Court of Parliament."<sup>17</sup> But it should not be forgotten that though the dread of the Tower and the block exercise no appreciable influence today over the British statesmen, yet even Dicey admits that in the past "the habit of obedience to the constitution" i.e., "the observance of constitutional morality" was generated and confirmed by impeachment.<sup>18</sup> Recently, a good deal of confusion has become noticeable in some writings about the true nature of impeachment. Mr. K. K. Basu has made a wrong statement that impeachment in the U. K. and the U.S.A. had always been based on the violation not of constitutional morality or "traditional maxims of parliamentary Government," but of "an express provision of the Constitution."<sup>19</sup> Another writer, Dr. B. M. Sharma, thinks that even if the President chooses "to effectively exercise some of his powers independently of the Council of Ministers . . . he will not be guilty of violating the Constitution."<sup>20</sup> Dr. Sharma has especially in mind the powers of the President to issue Ordinances under Article 123, and Emergency Proclamation under Article 352 of our Constitution. All these raise the important question: What is 'Violation of the Constitution?' What is the exact scope of impeachment?

15. Art. 61.

16. In the U.S.A., Art. 1 and 3 cl. 3; in the Fourth Republic (France), Art. 42, 57; in Italy, Art. 90; in Eire, Art. 12(10).

17. Dicey: *Law of the Constitution*, 9th Ed., p. 443.

18. Dicey: *Ibid.*, pp. 442-443.

19. Mr. K. K. Basu: "The President of India" in *The Modern Review*, September, 1950, p. 23.

20. "The President of the Republic" in the *Indian Journal of Political Science*, Oct.-December, 1950, p. 5.

10. Dicey: *Law of the Constitution*, 9th Ed., p. 431. Also, Keith: *Constitutional Law*, 1931, p. 30.

11. Dicey: *Ibid.*, pp. 422-23.

12. Wade and Phillips: *Op.cit.*, p. 67.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 60. See also Jennings: *Cabinet Government*, *Op.cit.*, pp. 220-221.

14. Art. 61.

In England, impeachment is, of course, a judicial and not like the Bill of Attainder, a legislative proceeding against a Lord or a Commoner. The person may be accused of treason or felony or a high crime or misdemeanour.<sup>21</sup> The words "treason," "felony," mean offences under statutory or common law; but "high crime" or "misdemeanour" are offences for which no definition is to be found in the statutory or the Common law.<sup>22</sup>

May says:

"Impeachment by the Commons for high crimes and misdemeanours beyond the reach of the law or which no other authority in the State will prosecute, is a safeguard of liberty."<sup>23</sup>

It was a procedure availed of for trying "great political offenders whom the ordinary powers of law fail to reach."<sup>24</sup> Anson says that it was one of the main weapons of the commons to gain "control over the conduct of the ministers of the Crown" and, in the seventeenth century it was freely used "as a check on Ministers whose policy displeased them."<sup>25</sup> Keith says that it was used "as a means of bringing ministers of the Crown to account for conduct opposed to the welfare of the State."<sup>26</sup> Impeachment lost its value and fell into disuse in England only when the House of Commons became so powerful "to control and review the conduct of ministers as to make it impossible for them to conduct business without a parliamentary majority."<sup>27</sup>

It may be shown that the same practice obtains in France. In the Third Republic the only case of impeachment was that of Louis J. Malvy, Minister of the Interior (1914-1917). The Senate condemned Malvy without basing its decision on the Criminal Code. In the words of Barthelemy :

"The Senate proclaimed its sovereignty, affirming that it was not bound by the law and could punish any fault which seemed most just even if not provided for by the law."<sup>28</sup>

Such a tenet receives justification provided the Senate keeps itself within the bill of impeachment passed by the Chamber.

"The tenet," goes on Barthelemy, "has been traditionally recognised in France since the Charter of 1814, which was itself borrowed from the English ruling. Moreover, it should be noted that if there were no such rule, it would have to be invented, for, without it Ministerial responsibility would be nothing more than a name."

21. Halsbury: *Laws of England*, Vol. 26, pp. 214-216; Chalmers and Hood: *Constitutional Laws* (1946), pp. 46-48; also, Wade and Phillips: *Op.cit.*, p. 206.

22. W. F. Craies, "Misdemeanour"—*Ency. Britannica*, Vol. 18, 11th Ed., pp. 577-8.

23. May: *Parliamentary Practice*, 12th Ed., pp. 588-591.

24. *Ency. Britannica*, (14th Ed.), Vol. 12, p. 120; also Keith: *English Constitutional Law*, 1931, p. 116.

25. Anson: *Op.cit.*, Vol. I, (5th Ed.), p. 407.

26. Ridge's *Constitutional Law of England*, 5th Ed., p. 230.

27. Anson: *Op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 384-385.

28. Joseph Barthelemy: *Government of France*, (1924), p. 194.

The Constitution of the Third Republic made the President impeachable only for "high treason." Article 42 of the Fourth Republic contains an exactly similar provision though the process of trial prescribed in Article 57 is different from that of the Third Republic. Though no President has been impeached in France, yet Sait thinks "the Constitution obviously intends that high treason should be regarded in the political rather than in the strictly criminal sense."<sup>29</sup> But France has developed a new method for removing an undesirable President before the expiry of his tenure of office, although he may not be charged with "high treason." In 1887, Jules Grevy was compelled by Parliament to resign from his Presidentship within a year of his re-election, on account of the sinister influence which he allowed his son-in-law, Daniel Wilson, to exert over him in the distribution of presidential favours.<sup>30</sup>

Again in 1924, another President, Alexander Millerand, was forced by the Parliament to vacate because of his attempt to increase Presidential powers, his participation in election campaigns, his support for a particular political party (the National Bloc), his recalling M. Briand from Cannes by telegram and thus compelling him to break off his negotiations with Mr. Lloyd George. After the election of 1924, M. Herriot refused to form a government at the invitation of M. Millerand, whereupon the President asked a member of the minority to constitute a Ministry. This led the Chamber of Deputies to pass the following resolution:

"The Chamber, considering that M. Millerand, President of the Republic, has in conflict with the spirit of the Constitution pursued a personal policy; considering that he has openly taken sides with the National Bloc; considering that the policy of the National Bloc has been condemned by the country, is of the opinion that the continuance of M. Millerand at the Elysee would injure the Republican conscience, would be the source of incessant conflict between the Government and the Head of the State and a constant danger to the regime itself."<sup>31</sup>

The Senate supported this resolution and soon Millerand had to vacate. In France, some of the legal purists regarded these two actions of the Parliament as unconstitutional, for they held that the President was elected for a fixed term of seven years and that his responsibility was legal and not political. Thus Malezieux writes :

"A deux reprises, en 1887 pour Grevy et en 1928 pour Millerand, le President de la Republique a ete contraint de demissionner devant l'hostilite que lui manifestait le parlement. Le Chambre avait decide qu'elle refuserait de collaborer avec tout gouvernement nomme par le president. Cette pratique etait sans aucun doute inconstitutionnelle."<sup>32</sup>

But the vast majority of French writers think that

29. Edward H. Sait: *Government and Politics* (1920), pp. 199-207.

30. Marcel Prelot: *Precis de Droit Constitutionnel* (1949), p. 237.

31. A. L. Lowell: *Greater European Governments* (1930)

32. R. Malezieux: *Droit Constitutionnel* (1948), p. 75.

while in neither of these two cases a charge of "high treason" could be legally maintained, yet the action taken by the Parliament was a mere logical application of the theory of ministerial responsibility. As Prelot says :

"Celle-ci est, en effect, la contrepartie de l'irresponsabilité présidentielle. Si aucun homme politique, susceptible de réunir une majorité parlementaire n'accepte de'assumer la première, la seconde s'évanouit. Exceptionnelle mais effective, il est donc instituée une révocabilité indirecte du président."<sup>33</sup>

Prelot, relying on Vol. III of *Caillaux's Mémoires*, observes that had the first World War not broken out, President Poincaré would also have been forced to vacate in the same way, in the autumn of 1914.<sup>34</sup> In this connection it may be noted that our Constitution makes the President impeachable not for "high treason," but for "violation of the Constitution"—a term comprehensive enough to include, *inter alia*, the violation of the principle of ministerial responsibility provided for by Article 75(3).

The Constitution of the Union of Burma states the grounds of impeachment very elaborately. Article 54(1) of that Constitution runs thus:

"The President may be impeached for—(i) High Treason; (ii) Violation of the Constitution; or (iii) gross misconduct."

The Italian Constitution of 1947 prescribes impeachment of the President for "high treason or violation of the Constitution."<sup>35</sup> The Constitution of Eire (1937) says: "The President may be impeached for stated misbehaviour."<sup>36</sup> The meaning of these terms, the purpose of impeachment, the nature of the charges, etc., will become very clear if we analyse the system of impeachment prevailing in the United States of America.

In 1804, Judge Pickering of the Federal District Court of New Hampshire was impeached, convicted and removed from office not for any indictable offence but for misconduct on the bench, loose morals, drunkenness, intemperate habits, etc. Article II, Section 4 of the Constitution of the U.S.A. says:

"The President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery or other high crimes and misdemeanours."

Article I, Section 3 Clauses 6 and 7 vest in the Senate the sole power to try all impeachments, limit the punishment to removal from office and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, trust, profit under the United States," make the party convicted further liable and subject to indictment, trial,

judgment and punishment according to law," and require that when the President is impeached, "the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court shall preside." In the U.S.A., the charges are voted by the House of Representatives by a majority vote, that is, a majority of a quorum only.<sup>37</sup> But the most important thing for us to note here is how charges are framed and whether they are all bound to be based on indictable offences. In short, it may be said that the practice in the U.S.A. is the same as in England.

In 1805, Justice Chase of the Supreme Court was charged with misdemeanours, *i.e.*, for conducting himself "in a manner highly arbitrary, oppressive and unjust," for "disregarding his judicial functions," etc. In 1862, Judge Humphreys was impeached, convicted and removed from office for favouring the cause of the Confederacy. In 1868, President Andrew Johnson was charged with "high crimes," "misdemeanours," delivering "harangues," making "unconstitutional declarations," etc. He was no doubt acquitted as was Justice Chase. But five of the eleven articles charged him with the "violation of the constitution,"—an expression which occurs in our constitution. The American Senate agreed that the Chief Justice as the presiding officer, would have the right to pass upon the admissibility of evidence; but, if there was any objection, the right to decide the point at issue finally, was retained with the Senate. The statement of Ben Butler, on behalf of the prosecution, bears quotation. Butler said:

"We define therefore an impeachable high crime or misdemeanour to be one in its nature or consequences subversive of Government or highly prejudicial to the public interest, and this may consist of a violation of the constitution, of law, of an official oath, or of duty, but an act committed or omitted, or, without violating a positive law, by the abuse of discretionary powers from improper motives, or for any improper purpose."<sup>38</sup>

Again, in 1913, Judge Archibald of the Commerce Court was removed by impeachment for soliciting for himself and friends valuable favours from railroad companies while they were litigants in his court. In 1926, District Judge English was charged with partiality and favouritism. In 1936, Judge Ritter of Florida District Court was removed for "want of integrity," though he was acquitted of the specific charges against him. Under such circumstances, it appears beyond dispute that "high crimes and misdemeanours" include what is called "lack of good behaviour," or, "any act of wilful misconduct or any act which tends to put the office in disrepute," or, as Story says, "for subverting Constitution and introducing arbitrary power."

Whether any offence is impeachable or not, it is for the House of Representatives to decide in the first instance and for the Senate to decide finally, and, as

33. Marcel Prelot : *Precis de Droit Constitutionnel* (1949), p. 238.

34. Marcel Prelot : *Ibid.*, p. 489.

35. Art. 85, "Il Presidente della Repubblica non è responsabile per gli atti compiuti nell'esercizio delle sue funzioni tranne che per alto tradimento o per violazione della Costituzione."

36. Art. 12(10).

37. Corwin E. S.: *The Constitution—What It Means Today*, (1948), p. 9.

38. D. M. Dewitt : *The Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson*, Vol. I, p. 88; also, Andrew C. McLaughlin: *A Constitutional History of the United States*, (1935), pp. 320-323, 669-675.



Corwin points out, "from this decision there is no appeal."<sup>29</sup> But Corwin seems to have endorsed a different view in his another book where he inclines to the opinion of former Justice Benjamin R. Curtis, acting as one of President Johnson's Counsels, that "high crimes and misdemeanours" mean "offences against the laws of the United States."<sup>30</sup> This is obviously not tenable. As Cooley remarks:

"Impeachment is for the purpose of punishing misconduct. . . . It is often found that offences of a very serious nature by high officers are not offences against the criminal code, but consists in abuses or betrayals of trust or inexcusable neglects of duty which are dangerous and criminal because of the immense interests involved and the greatness of the trust which has not been kept. Such cases must be left to be dealt with on their own facts and judged according to their apparent deserts."<sup>31</sup>

Joseph Story held almost similar views; the only difference was in his thinking that the trial must be held according to the principles of natural justice which he seemed to have found at the basis of the common law. As regards the use of impeachment for trying political offences, there is no difference between his views and the standard opinion in Great Britain. He writes in his usually clear style :

"Political offences are of so various and complex a character, so utterly incapable of being defined or classified that the task of positive legislation would be impracticable, if it were not almost absurd to attempt it (§ 797) . . . Congress has unhesitatingly adopted the conclusion that no previous statute is necessary to authorise an impeachment for any official misconduct (§ 799)."

After mentioning several impeachable offences like malversations and neglects in office, attempt to subvert the constitution and introduce arbitrary power, etc., Story concludes that

"One cannot but be struck, in this slight enumeration, with the utter unfitness of the common tribunals of justice to take cognizance of such offences, and with the entire propriety of confiding the jurisdiction over them to a tribunal capable of understanding and reforming and scrutinizing the polity of the state and of sufficient dignity to maintain the independence and reputation worthy of public officers (§ 800)."<sup>32</sup>

Munro's opinion that "general incompetence or bad judgment or the unwise use of discretion are not grounds for impeachment" is therefore, neither correct, nor in consonance with the practice that obtains either in England or France or the U.S.A. So great an authority as Hamilton wrote as early as 1788 that the subjects of the jurisdiction of the Court of impeachment "are those offences which proceed from the misconduct of public men or in other words, from the abuse or violation of some public trust. They are of a nature which may with peculiar propriety be denominated *Political*, as they relate chiefly to injuries done immediately to the Society itself."<sup>33</sup> This is still the last word on impeachable offences.

It is therefore submitted that the fears of Dr. Sen Gupta, Dr. B. M. Sharma, Mr. V. N. Srivastava and others thinking in a similar way, are groundless. If our Parliament faithfully represents the national will, the President can never become a dictator; for the moment he dares going against such will, he invites trouble on numerous counts. The range of impeachable offences is very wide and "violation of the Constitution" means violation of the cardinal principle of ministerial responsibility, which is not a convention but a law of our Constitution. Not that the President will be impeached now and then. No great nation can afford to get its Head of the State impeached frequently. If impeachments happen in quick succession, it will only prove that the nation is unfit for self-government; for, it fails to produce a great man who will be the symbol of its unity, the centre of all its political gravitation, the personification of that elusive entity called the "State." Though the President will not be impeached frequently, he will always work under the sword of Damocles hanging over his head. During a decade or two the President, the House of the People and the Nation will, no doubt, remain fully conscious of this sword. But with the passage of time and the growth of democratic practice and traditions, this consciousness will certainly fade away from public memory. Impeachment will then fare the same fate in India as it has done in Great Britain. The President, like the king in England, will be the great centre of national honour, the fulcrum of all our political and social activities, theoretically vested with a vast multitude of powers, but actually exercising only a few of them in his discretion, and that, too, very rarely, and invariably in consonance with the public opinion.

29. Corwin : *The Constitution—What It means Today* (1948), pp. 2-10.

30. Corwin : *The President : Office and Powers*, (1948), pp. 410-413.

31. T. M. Cooley : *The General Principles of Constitutional Law* (1931), pp. 204-205.

32. Story on the Constitution, 4th Ed. (1873), Vol. I, pp. 561-566. Also, W. W. Willoughby : *Principles of the Constitutional Law of the United States* (1930), p. 610.

33. *The Federalist*, (No. 65), Ed. by Max Beloff (1948), p. 334.





# THE SIKKIL TEMPLE

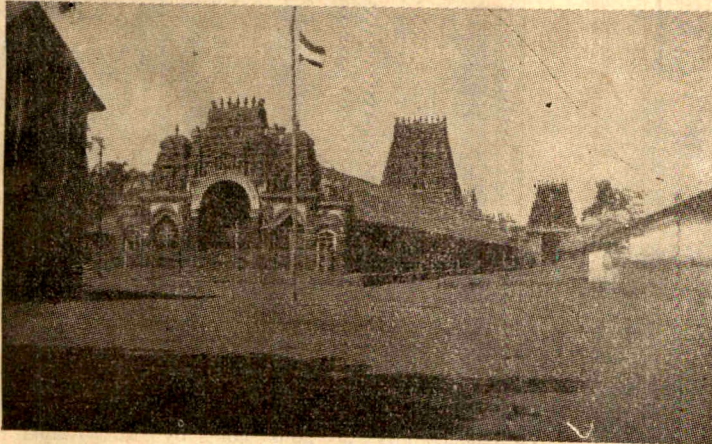
By L. N. GUBIL

THE whole of South India is, as it were, a network of ancient temples not only of architectural beauty but also of hoary traditions.

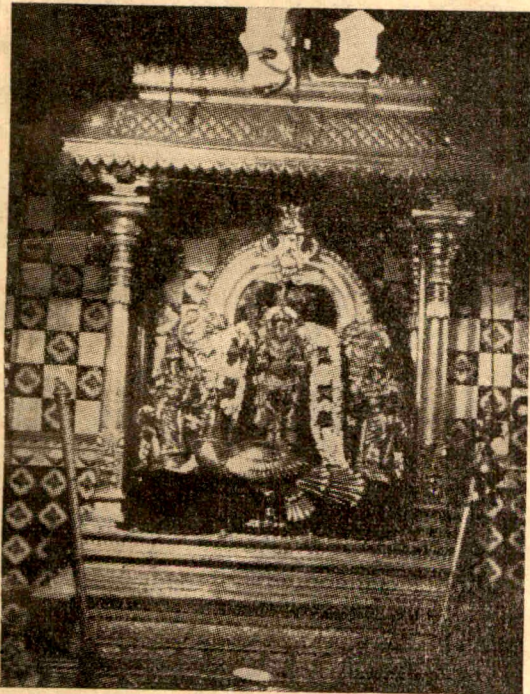
Lingam installed centuries ago by Rish Vashista who moulded the Lingam out of butter called *Navaneetam* from the milk of the divine cow *Kamadhenu*.

The tradition in regard to this is that, as a result of the *Kamadhenu* having eaten on one occasion, the flesh of a dead dog, Lord *Siva* transformed her into a tiger, subject to her regaining her original form after bathing in the holy tank at *Sikkil*.

This tank was filled with divine milk by *Kamadhenu* and hence the tank in the temple is called *Ksheera Pushkarami*. The other popular deity installed in the temple is *Sri Singaravelavar* so called because of the beautiful and luminous shining form in which the idol is made. The *Velayudham* is provided in his hand, the symbolic meaning of this being that the weapon is always available for the destruction of evil in the



The front view of the Sikkil Temple with the Kalyana Mandapam



Sanctum sanctorum of Sri Singaravelavar, Sikkil

One of the more important temples worth visiting by any tourist is that at Sikkil near Nagapattinam in Tanjore district. The presiding deity of this temple is *Navaneeteswaraswami* represented by a



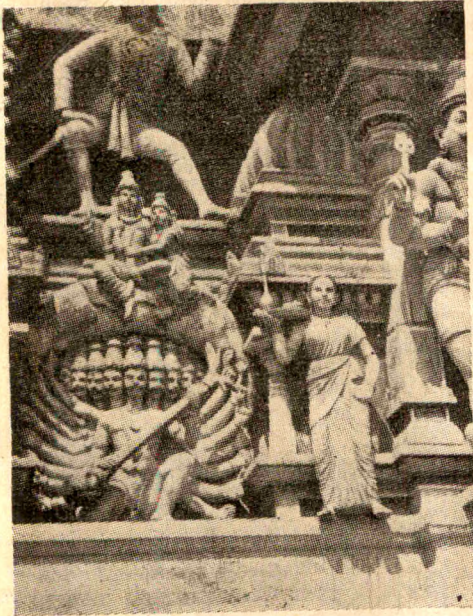
Architectural workmanship of Sri Subramanya at Sikkil, Rajagopuram

interest of the protection of good.

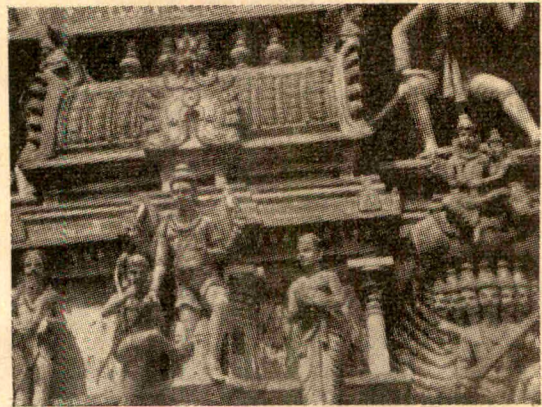
There is also a *Vishnu* deity enshrined in an adjoining temple. It is stated that Lord *Vishnu* obtained the blessings of *Siva* at this place, before subduing *Mahabali*.



It may be of interest to note in this connexion that the regular temple was built several centuries ago Chola King named Kochin Kannan in the fourth century. The Pandyan dynasty also supported the



Another view of workmanship in Rajagopuram showing Ravana carrying Kailas Parvat



Architectural workmanship of Kannappa Naimar at Sikkil Temple

by a King of Ayodhya called Sri Muchukunda Chakravarti. The renovation work was carried out by a

temple with rich gifts in the thirteenth century. A munificent gift of gold coins by the Emperor of Vijayanagaram in 1350 A.D. can be seen now. The temple deities have been referred to in divine praise by Sri Thirugnana Sambandar in his *Thevaram* and Saint Arunagirinathar in *Thiruppugazh*.

The Kaliana Mandapam situate in front of the temple is 300 feet long and 60 feet wide and is used for celebrating the Skanda Shasti festival which attracts thousands of people from adjoining places.

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## THE GOLDEN SANDS

By M. K. KRISHNAN

Picnic is a pleasant pastime. A drive through jungles in the midst of the din and bustle of a boisterous and valleys, a dive in rivers and seas, or a repose on city.



Mahatma Gandhi's statue



Children dig a well

sands and grass, brings a lively relaxation to the body and mind of a person who spends his days and nights

India's sea-shore is even and regular, but there are only a very few places easily accessible where common



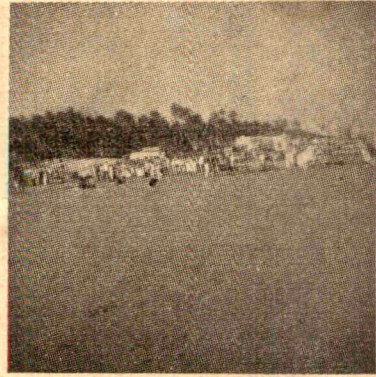
folk can go with their family, take rest, make merry and enjoy week-end holidays. Juhu, one of the healthiest resorts on the sea-shore, is the Brighton of Bombay. On one side the gentle waves toss with silver

Juhu is an open market. Every Sunday all kinds of hawkers gather on the sands and they reap a good harvest on these days. Display of sand-art occasionally pleases the eyes of picnic parties.



Display of sand-art

sprays, while on the fringes palm-groves and brooms grow on the sandy banks making the land lovely where true hearts listen to the music of life.



The open market at Juhu

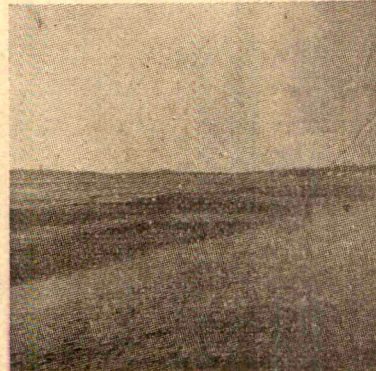
Juhu and Versova, side by side, are a lovely stretch of golden sands where weary souls find a sanctuary of quietude and happiness. Lovers find on



Fruit-sellers on sands

The calm and tranquil atmosphere of the sandy banks is sanctified by the simple and graceful statue of Mahatma Gandhi, whose life was like the open sea where all could fish as they liked. Children were fond of Bapu and they used to play by his side. Yes, Bapu too was fond of them.

It is a pleasure to watch children at play. How enthusiastically they dig their little wells, how artistically they build their sand-homes, how rhythmically they sing and dance. Some are fond of kite-flying, others like riding, swimming and rowing. Children make Juhu a paradise. One forgets one's woes and worries of life.



Versova sands

the sands a world apart, where no one interferes with their quiet joy, and life seems so lovely and full of romance.

The sun-set at Juhu is magnificent. After his long and tiresome work the red sun retires in the West, and reddens and kisses the breasts of the ocean under the cover of a coloured sky. And "no tears dim the sweet look that Nature wears." One feels while reposing on the golden sands of Juhu that

"The whole of the world was merry  
One joy from the vale to the height,  
Where the blue woods of twilight encircled  
The lovely lawns of the light."





Panoramic view of the lands damaged by the entry of the saline water. The clayey nature of the soil close to the bunds under repair can be seen from the cracks

## SAGAR ISLAND—ITS AGRICULTURE AND ALLIED PROBLEMS

By MURARI PROSAD GUHA, ~~MA~~.

TRANSPORT and shelter are the two limiting factors to visit *Sagar Island*. Only during winter the river route is more or less safe for a journey and the choice there is limited too. They are the irregular launch and the numberless sampan-like boats at Diamond Harbour, common to the eye at all the coastal habitations. In other seasons, specially during the rains, the launch stops and the only means of transport is the boat and accidents

and a countryboat lifts the passengers and literally throws them on the quagmire. The shore is a real hell with knee-deep sticky clay even during the driest months. Bare-legged we crossed this and reached the bank to wash the mud with difficulty.

The only road worth mentioning, the district board road, runs from here and goes straight south to Sagar point, where the island is washed by the Bay of Bengal and where the *Sagar Mela* annually takes place on the *Paus Sankranti* day (this year on 14th January). The other routes are the tops of the embankments that protect the cultivable lands from the entry of saline water.

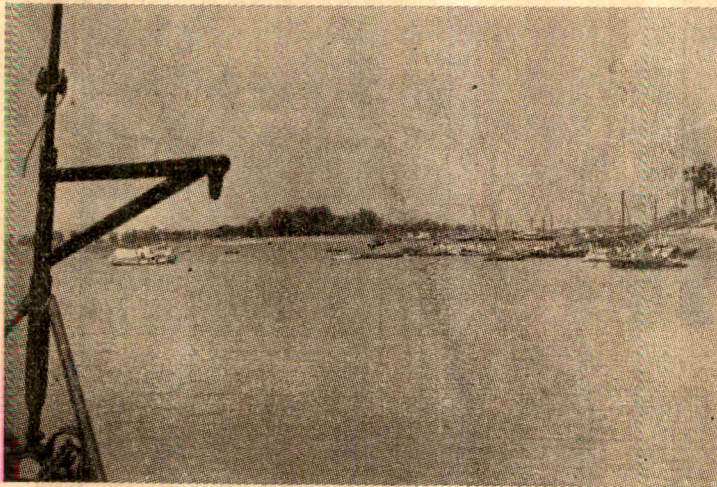
These embankments are the vital links of the present-day Sagar Island. Every year some embankments give way to the forcing waves of the saline river water and the crop is lost, the soil becomes barren due to salinity and takes years to come to the original condition. In some years the damage becomes terrible and this was the case last year. You can see from the photograph how it has damaged the crop after breaking the embankments. The repair has started. This breaking of embankments will continue because the tidal water level has risen but not the new

land of the Sagar Island where cultivation started premature.

The system of land management is peculiar here and there is a story behind this and let me draw the background to you.

Where the Ganges meets with the sea (*Sagar Sangam*) and between 21 deg. 36 min. and 21 deg. 56 min. N. and 88 deg. 2 min. and 88 deg. 11 min. E. lies the Island of *Sagar* deriving its name from the legendary *Sagar Raja* of the *Mahabharata*.

The first history so far traced tells that this island



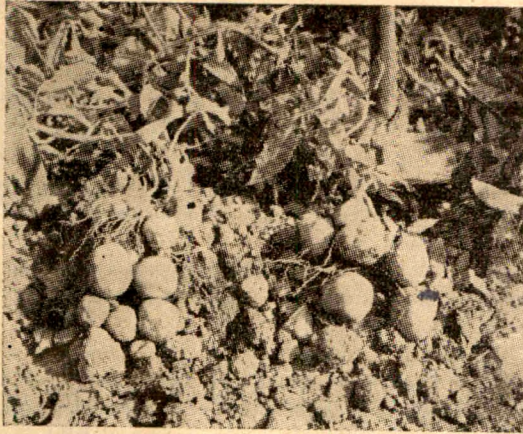
Diamond Harbour from our launch

are not rare. The land and river combined route is a bad road up to Kakdwip (at the end of the mainland) that is on the way of a new birth of being metalled, and from there to cross the river for the northern end of the island. During seasons other than winter the waves are high and fearsome and even the toughest swimmer may have to think for them. During winter it is more or less calm.

We reached the island's northern end—mud point—Kachuberia, the conventional steamer ghat in a launch from Diamond Harbour in the evening just before sunset. But here unlike Diamond Harbour there is no jetty



was a base for maritime power of Maharaja Pratapaditya, our illustrious forefather. After his downfall its glory was lost and nature took the task of taking the island to her laps. (*History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity*, 1912, pp. 218).

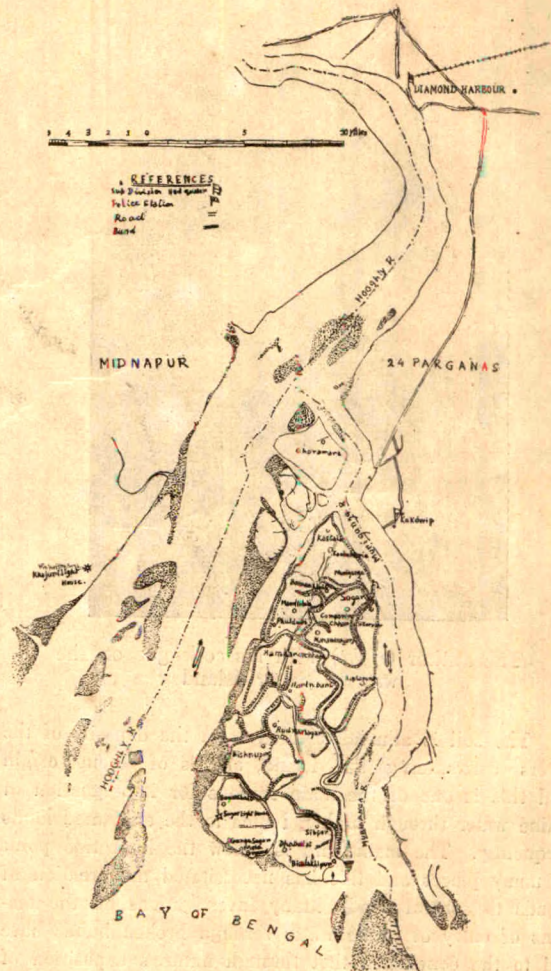


The good yield of potato plants raised from seeds supplied from Government cold storage

After so many years of decline and fall of empires the Britishers desired to clear the island in 1810 to benefit navigation. Some attempts failed. In 1818 a company was started with a capital of 2½ lakhs and concessions from the Government. The management made a good progress but a gale in May 1833 frustrated everything. Some European gentlemen again undertook the task and made a good headway in cultivation of paddy and production of salts with Government's permission, although storms came and passed in 1842, 1848 and 1852. The rent-free term was extended up to 1863. Most of the lands in the northern portion was cleared and the rest remained jungle except the area of the lighthouse established in 1808 at the southern end of the island. But again natural calamity stood in the way and cyclone and storm waves in 1864 and 1867 called attention of the authorities. Leaving aside the enormous destruction only 1,500 persons survived out of 5,600 in 1864 cyclone. It was settled to erect a place of refuge, in each of the five estates, now unions, in the form of a tank surrounded by 16½ feet high embankments and all homesteads should be within a mile and connected with embanked paths. These embankments have risen still higher and is still present. With these and other minor conditions the estates were granted rent-free in perpetuity in 1875. (*District Gazetteer—Bengal*).

From then it went on developing with migrated population mainly from Midnapore and also 24-Parganas, some of whom were released criminals as at that time the island was not a paradise. The last European sold it to a Bengalee Raja, and the Zamindary flourished with clearing of jungles and its conversion to rice fields. Today only a part in the south-east is a reserved forest

(4027.88 acres) under the control of a ranger at Sikarpur. The forest is meant for timber, etc., needed for the local population to construct their houses and for their fuel. Culturable waste land in 1944 was 7051.98 acres but during these few years more lands have come under the



Map of Sagar Island

plough. Today there is no ferocious animal in the island. The population went on increasing as will be revealed from the census figures and it is still on the increase due to more migration and new birth and is ideal for the rehabilitation of displaced persons :

Year of census.	Area in Sq. miles.	No. of villages (no town).	Total population	Density per sq. mile.
1921	84	15	19,445	231
1931	205	45	31,505	154
1941	224	46	44,941	201

The climate of the island is ideal for the closeness to the sea. The ten years' average maximum temperature is 89.8 F. in May and minimum 59.9 F. in January



(Stats. Abs. W. Bengal 1948, pp. 58), and the variation is never sharp. The health is quite good, only cholera comes every year with the Sagar *mela* and there is a permanent cholera hospital at the *mela* grounds to prevent spreading. Malaria was more or less absent before the flood of 1943 and is not of serious nature even now.



The author (right) with his colleague on the way to Sagar Island

The soil is alluvial, created from the deposits of the rivers surrounding the island, and is of recent origin and this is one of the main reasons for impregnation of saline water through broken bunds to the cultivated lands frequently. The main land is below the high tide point at many places and this has necessitated the creation of bunds to control flood. Many investigations on the reasons of entry of saline water through broken bunds have led to the conclusion that through nature's deposition of silt the level of the island will have to be raised by breaking bunds in a planned way and rehabilitating the people thus displaced, so long the block is exposed to tidal water.

Aman paddy is the main crop in the island and although the soil is very much suitable for double crop-

ping, as has been found from crops raised in the island, specially for cultivation of potato, wheat, oilseeds, sugarcane and jute. The lands are fertile and though no manure is used the average yield of paddy obtained is 30 mds. per acre provided no natural calamity damages the crop. The main difficulty in growing potatoes, other vegetables and *rabi* crops is cattle trespass. The condition of cattle is very poor and they are not stall-fed and left to their destiny after the harvest of paddy. This can be solved if a two-pronged drive is given, first by growing oilseeds like mustard and groundnut—which it has been found to give good returns in the island—and secondly utilising the oil-cakes by stall-feeding the cattle. If cattle trespass is controlled economic and high-yielding crops like potatoes can be grown round the homesteads with success. This year a good crop was raised from seeds supplied to the cultivators of the island from the Government cold storage.

The main difficulty is transport of seeds and manures, as there is no all-weather road and the only road from the mud point to the *mela* ground about 25 miles long is also not in order. Main transport is with manual labour and in boats through the few *khals*.

Near the thana at Muriganga is a post office and there is a ferry station. Close to the forest office is a rice mill. In addition to this, there is only one high school at Mandirtala and no place for recreation in the whole island consisting of agriculturists mainly. Like European and American growers they deserve some incentive in the form of subsidy for the marginal produce where the law of diminishing return operates. Seeds and manures may also be subsidised and bonus for high yield may be made available to them as also concession for transport of seeds and manures from the mainland.

The land system complicates the land management. The saline water always tries to enter to deprive the tiller of its produce and the zamindar is reluctant to repair the damaged bunds in time and though this is his obligation he cannot be forced for this fault. Last year there was a great loss and you will find that up to the long distant villages from the spot where the labourers are mending the damaged bund, nothing survived.

Something is to be done for Sagar to make it a golden island in these days of food crisis and this something cannot come through coercion but through co-operation and co-ordination and above all with a mind to bring good to the toilers of the soil.





## A SCULPTOR AT WORK

By DURGA PRASANNA DAS

THE towering and impressive remains of the ancient art of sculpture in India that have defied the vagaries of time



Mahishamardini by Damodar Maharana

always lead an observer to amazement. They prompt a spontaneous sense of respect and unequivocal praise for the deserving artists who put these superb specimens of beautiful figures and gorgeous temples into shape, and serve as brilliant finger-posts to India's glorious past.

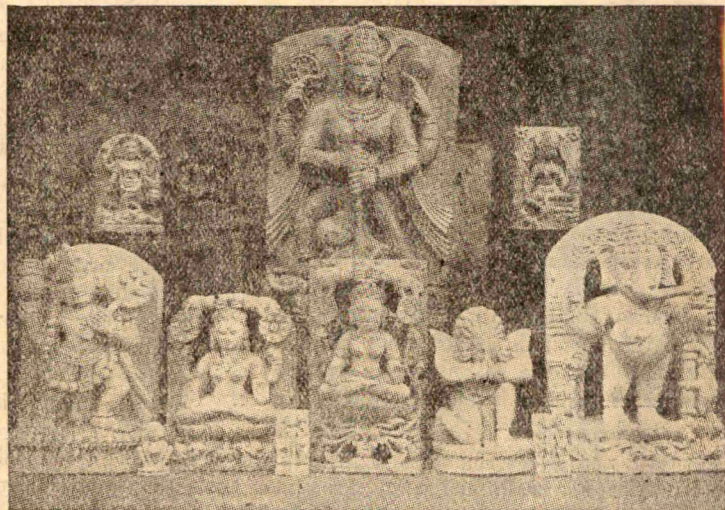
The following revealing lines from *The Discovery of India* by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru give an accurate idea as to the way such magnificence thrived at particular centres of culture in ancient India :

"One rather extra-ordinary development emerges from the Jataka accounts. This is the establishment of special settlements or villages of people belonging to particular crafts. These specialised villages were usually near a city which absorbed their special products and which provided them with the other necessities of life. The whole village worked on co-operative lines and undertook large orders."

Bhubaneswar which has since been created the new Capital for the Government of Orissa was undoubtedly a foremost city of this type. The ancestors of the few remaining 'Maharana' families of sculptors in this city had evidently settled there as interpreted above.

It is encouraging to note the references made by S. Chintamani Acharya, the present Vice-Chancellor of Utkal University, in his book in Oriya, *Bhubaneswar*, in favour of the sculptor Sri Damodar Maharana for his work, his profound knowledge of the ancient *sastras* connected with the art and its application. The surname 'Maharana' connotes the heritage of exalted craftsmanship in wood or stone for the person bearing the same. Sri Damodar Maharana has very rightly inherited the artistic zeal of his ancestors and unlike others of his tribe, sticks to it in the face of the revolutionary tendency of social economy during the last few decades. Monetary considerations alone could have hardly gone as long a way with him as this in respect of his art and I do not disbelieve him when he affirms that he derives greater aesthetic satisfaction than material benefit at the perfect completion of his work. It is, however, true that people are few who appreciate the artistic beauty and thought in his work and still fewer are those who are really inclined to weigh them liberally.

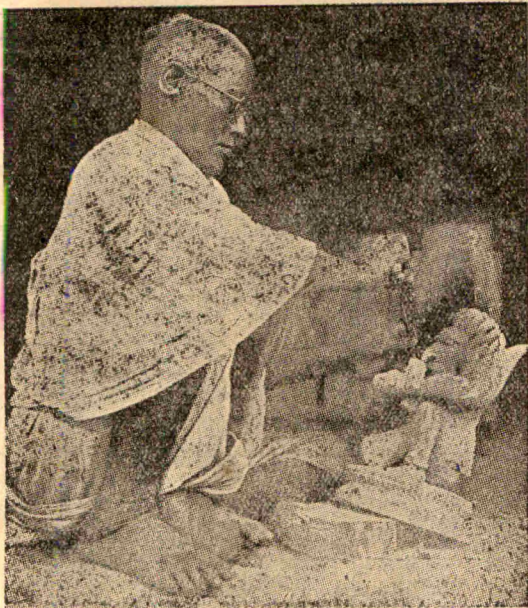
He was born during the eighties of the last century and his father Harischandra Maharana was a success in artistic sculpture of no mean repute. It is interesting to hear the artist claim that Chandramoni, one of his forefathers, was one of the architects of the famous Bhubanes-



Images of Goddess Durga with Ganesha, Garuda, Lakshmi, Kali and Hanuman

war temple which was built in the 9th century under the aegis of King Jajati of the Kesari dynasty. It is a great





The sculptor at work

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joy and consolation for the old man to find his son Sri Padmalav Maharana imbibing the art.

Sri Damodar and his son mainly confine themselves to the carving of images of gods and goddesses and also miniature temples. These vary in shape and their make-up change according to differing concepts in the *sastras*. The time taken for the completion of a work greatly depends on the size and the intricacies involved, but is ordinarily between one and four months for images of perceptible size. A miniature temple usually takes about a year for completion.

The type of stones needed for the work are—*Dalimba*, *Kanda*, *Baula-mala* and *Muguni*. They are obtained from Khandagiri, Udayagiri, Bahratpur, Malipada and Chaikia in the district of Puri. The black variety of stone locally called *Muguni*, which has the strongest elements for bigger images, is mostly indented from Nilgiri in the above district.

The cost of these priceless products of art varies from Rs. 10 to Rs. 1500 and sometimes more. In some cases the cost of the stones is borne by the purchaser. Some of the outstanding specimens of the artist's and his son's work, it is reported, find place in the museums at London, Calcutta, Patna, Bhagalpur, Ranchi and Cuttack, etc.

## MILWAUKEE : A CITY OF MUSIC AND CULTURE IN THE AMERICAN MIDWEST

By ALFRED G. PELIKAN

VISITORS to Milwaukee, an inland American port city in the midwestern State of Wisconsin, are impressed by the many beautiful homes and gardens. Gardening and landscaping have flourished in the past ten years and this may well be due to the natural beauty and richness of the land. The harbor, considered one of the most beautiful on the Great Lakes (a chain of five large lakes which serves as an inland water route for industry and commerce) is bordered almost entirely by parks and parkways, and 163 inland lakes are within one hour's drive from Milwaukee. The sunken gardens and botanical conservatory in Milwaukee's Mitchell Park and the numerous garden clubs in the city and suburbs show that the community is well aware and appreciative of the beauty of its setting.

Great care has been taken by civic societies and public health and safety commissions to keep the city clean and safe. For health and safety, Milwaukee holds a place among the 13 largest cities in the United States. Milwaukee is one of the leading cities in health, fire, and crime prevention, and low death and accident tolls. In 1937, because Milwaukee had won the top health award with such frequency and regularity, the city was temporarily omitted from competition so that other

cities might have a chance at the prize. During the same year Milwaukee was placed first in the national safety contest, and has been recognized five times as the "safest city" in the national traffic safety contest. The local Association of Commerce conducts one of the largest industrial safety training programs in the United States.

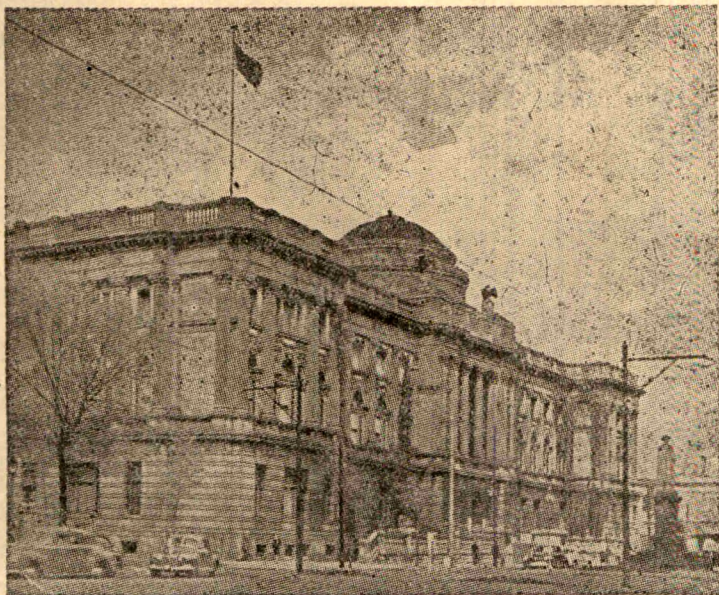
Numerous public playgrounds, social centres, and an excellent school system are greatly responsible for the city's low crime rate, the lowest of any metropolitan city in the United States.

The Milwaukee Vocational School was the first of its kind in the nation and is noted for a progressive program and varied curriculum. The vocational school has attained international recognition as one of the world's largest vocational schools under one roof. Its staff of 300 teachers have instructed an annual average of 35 000 students. More than 50 courses are taught in the day and night schools in apprenticeship, special adult classes, rehabilitation, nursing, and technical subjects.

Marquette University, Milwaukee State Teachers College, Milwaukee Downer College for Women, Mount Mary College, and the University of Wisconsin



Extension Division represent the institutions of higher learning in Milwaukee. Among the private schools, the Layton Art School ranks as one of the most progressive in America.



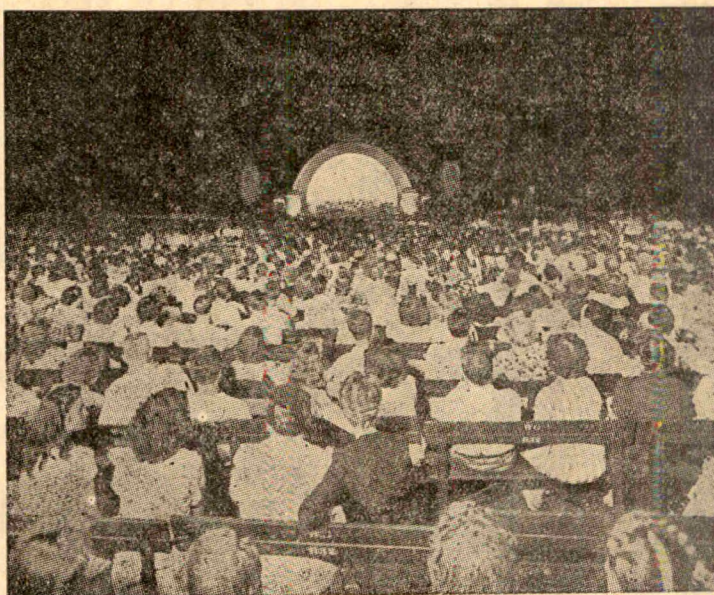
The Milwaukee Public Museum

In 1938 Milwaukee received the Washington Park Temple of Music as a gift to the people of Milwaukee from a local philanthropist. This Temple of Music includes not only the outdoor orchestra shell itself, but also all the necessary equipment, a seating area for approximately 10,000 people, and a very fine amplification system. The people of Milwaukee were enthusiastic about the idea. The series of yearly concerts continue to be well attended and are self-supporting through the interest of the local citizens.

The Milwaukee Art Institute carries on an extensive program of exhibitions and lectures. The permanent collection which includes excellent paintings by many European artists and a collection of etchings and engravings by the Old Masters, is shown at certain times of the year. Eighty-seven loan exhibitions were shown in 1949 varying from fifteenth century Flemish masterpieces to the stimulating and instructive Bauhaus (a school founded in Germany in

1918 by Walter Gropius to create a functional experimental architecture) Exhibition organized by the Museum of Modern Art in New York City. The most notable work of the Milwaukee Art Institute, however, is its active educational program. A total of nearly 600 children attend the free art classes each Saturday. Many local cultural clubs of Milwaukee meet regularly at the Institute.

The Milwaukee Public Museum is rated highly in size and importance of its scientific exhibits. It is one of the largest locally supported museums in the United States. It maintains extensive exhibits in all the various branches of the natural sciences, anthropology, and history, and emphasizes in its exhibitions the construction of environmental groups and the use of murals. The Museum has exceptionally interesting collections of firearms, early typewriters, aboriginal pipes and smoking customs. In addition to its exhibits the Milwaukee Public Museum maintains a number of other public services, notably lectures, loan services to schools and

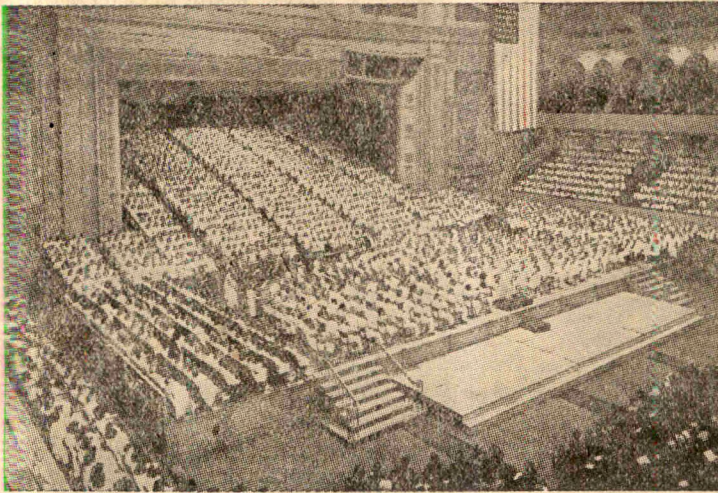


The Washington Park Temple of Music in Milwaukee is the scene of many summer concerts

other organizations, and an identification service. Last year the Museum rendered service to approximately 3,250,000 people.



Milwaukee's Zoo is one of the largest in the United States in number and variety of animals, and the only zoological garden in America or Europe successful in raising polar bear cubs in captivity.



Children of the Milwaukee Public School Chorus sing to a capacity audience in the auditorium of that American mid-western city

The Wisconsin Players, the leading drama group in the city, produce several plays each year. The local theatres also present legitimate stage productions, current successes from the New York stage, Shakespearian plays, and musical comedies.

The Civic Music Association of Milwaukee devotes its attention to working with the musical groups of the city and to promoting musical development in community life. Besides bringing noted singers and musicians from all over the United States to Milwaukee, this Association sponsors the Young Peoples' Orchestra of Milwaukee, which offers young people the opportunity to perform and study the great masterpieces of music.

The name "Milwaukee" comes from the American Indian language, "Mahn-a-waukee Seepe," meaning "gathering place by the water." Milwaukee's lake-front parks are still the gathering place for "Music Under the Stars," the annual musical program presented during the summer months; for the Midsummer Festival in July, the Italian Festival Days, and the Chicago Symphony Opera Season.

Today Milwaukee is the music centre of the State

of Wisconsin. Each year a summer music festival is held on the lake front, attracting thousands of visitors, and which features good music and colorful pageantry. In this annual "Harvest Festival of Many Lands," 22 nationalities are represented, wearing native costumes, playing traditional games, and singing folk songs. Music groups from all over the State of Wisconsin take part in this music festival. Two days of the festival are given over to folk dances, singing and band music. Many of the old German singing societies also take an active part in the festival. The Greeks, members of the Orthodox Greek Church, sing their old hymns and chants to the accompaniment of clarinet, violin, mandolin, and "bouzouki" (lute). A Croatian women's chorus participates in the festival as well as three Jewish singing societies, and an Italian opera chorus which sings both in Italian and English.



An art class for children, sponsored by the Milwaukee Art Institute, sketching at the shore of a park lagoon

In Milwaukee more than 20 groups study music under the State of Wisconsin Recreation Department's direction; they include instrumental classes, orchestras, bands, glee clubs, harmony clubs, and a Mexican and an Italian chorus. The work of the Recreation Department is valuable in preserving the folk music of the



inns and Italians in the northern region of the State not reached by any other agency.

The Biennial public school music festivals have become noteworthy events in the cultural activities of

the community. The performances of choruses of school children, coupled with instrumental music, supply programs which have become the pride of Milwaukee.—From *Think*

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## SHRIMANT BALASAHEB PANT PRATINIDHI : CHIEF OF AUNDH

24th October, 1868—13th April, 1951

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

THE death of Shrimant Bhavanrao *alias* Pant Pratinidhi, B.A., Chief of Aundh (in the Satara District)

Bombay, after a brief illness, removes a charming personality, an erudite savant, a talented artist, a person of varied culture, a patriot, and a servant of the people, of unique distinction and talent. The glittering gallery of our Indian Rajas and Princes, mostly sparkling with diamonds and velvets, robes of honours and titles, showered by the British Government to lend them artificial halos, have hardly put forth real personages of culture and talent, except with rare exceptions here and there. The Chief of Aundh undoubtedly provided one of these rare exceptions. Never hobnobbing with the powers that be, all his honours and distinctions have been won on the basis of his own qualities of head and heart, and of his great services to the people and the country.

He came from a family famous for traditional loyalty to Shivaji, the liberator of the Deccan from the incursions of the Moghuls, a loyalty which dates back to the time of the valiant ancestor Parshuram Yambak, who was appointed 'Pratinidhi' or Viceroy of Shivaji.

When the Silver Jubilee of Pant Pratinidhi Balasahab was celebrated in 1933, many distinguished people from all parts of India sent him their tributes. The message of Sir Jadunath Sarkar ran as follows :

"Being a Viceroy of the Chhatrapati, you are a protector of our honour and an abode of noble qualities. May you live a long life of full hundred years for the welfare of your subjects, for the promotion of fine arts and for the delight of your well-wishers".

Educated at the Deccan College, Poona, he graduated in 1894 and began his apprenticeship in practical affairs as Secretary to his father Shrimant Pratinivas Rao (who was a veritable saint in his habits and thoughts), to whom he succeeded on the *gudde* in 1901.

Throughout his life he has liberally contributed to public and educational causes to the utmost limits of his small resources (the gross revenue of his state never exceeding Rs. 500,000). To the Benares Hindu University he paid a donation of Rs. 10,000. He was

responsible for contributing the princely sum of Rs. 100,000 (in instalments), for the national enterprise of editing and publishing the critical edition of the Mahabharata undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. The Raja Sahab had actually paid Rs. 69,000 up to the merger of his state



Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, Chief of Aundh

with the Government of Bombay, which undertook to pay off the balance out of the income of his state. Thus he died with the satisfaction that his promise for the donation has been fulfilled. Other educational causes also received his patronage. Thus, the well-known Historical Research Institute of Poona received from him an annual grant of Rs. 300.



He was not only a lover and patron of the fine arts, but a practical artist of great talent himself. Another artist, the late M. V. Dhurandher, paid a very high compliment to the Raja Saheb :

"A patron of Indian artists and himself an artist of exceptional merit, Balasaheb is really a prince among artists".

He himself contributed many illustrations to the critical edition of the Mahabharata and had many other illustrations by other artists executed under his direction and at his own expenses. He was a learned connoisseur of the Indian fine arts and collected numerous examples of paintings, sculptures and other works of art, some of which he collected from Europe during his visit to the foreign countries.

He organized his valuable collection of Indian and European paintings and sculptures, for which he constructed a beautiful Art Gallery at Aundh, displaying his collection with great skill and design, as an effective instrument of visual education. In many ways this beautiful gallery of art is unique and of great national value. Some of the historical portraits of important personages of Mahratta history are valuable data for visualizing Indian history. In addition to the art gallery, the Raja Saheb used to maintain a sculptors' studio, employing several sculptors who were continually carving statues from large blocks of marble, provided by this patron of art.

Being an erudite scholar of wide interest, his library of books is a monument to his wide scholarly interest. By the year 1931 he had purchased books to the value of Rs. 34,000 and acquired paintings by old and new masters of the value of Rs. 5,000. He had visited most of the important cultural monuments of India and his studies are embodied in several books and publications, of which the most important are his richly illustrated handbooks on the Ajanta Caves and the Ellora Caves. His interest in archaeology is proved by his restoring and rebuilding the famous Bindumadhab Temple and the Panch Ganga Ghat at Benares.

His deep and critical knowledge of the Sanskrit language and culture is attested by the many books that he published, of which the most outstanding are his edition of *Su-sloka-Govinda*, and *Chitra-Ramayana*, embellished with many beautiful pictures.

His great enthusiasm for the Sanskrit scriptures led him to help and finance the famous editions of the Vedic texts published by the Svadhyaya Mandala of Aundh under the able editorship of Pandit Sripad Satavalekar and other scholars.

But his greatest contribution to the culture of India was his practice of the Sun-cult and the demonstration of the therapeutic qualities of the sun's rays. He developed a scientific application of the solar treatment and composed a work called *Surya-namaskars*, in which he expounded the principles of the doctrine. Many people believe that his long and active life, full of work and energy, was entirely due to his practice of the Sun-cult, an ancient system long anticipating the recent European practice of sun-bathing. He was a very able exponent of the doctrine and several times lectured on the topic at various Universities.

He was in robust health during the greater part of his life, undertaking strenuous physical exercises to keep himself fit for his usefully active life of service and culture.

He was a frequent contributor to the Maharashtra journals and his other literary works include a volume on *Sivaji*, *Bhavani-Sahasranama* and his own Autobiography in two volumes, in which he has freely criticized men and things in India and abroad, of which he saw a good deal during his long and active career.

He was a warm friend and a generous host, a man of large heart and larger sympathies. It is rare to find among the Princes of India such a personage of outspoken frankness and of deep sincerity. He was the first Raja in the Deccan to introduce democratic Government in his State and carried out all possible reforms for the economic development of his State. He introduced primary schools in all villages of his State and initiated many new industries, extending his liberal support for all industrial schemes. The Ogalewadi Glass Works, the Aundh Soap Works, and the Kirloskar Engineering Works owed their foundations and maintenance to the Raja Saheb's liberal financial assistance. His enthusiasm for social reforms was endorsed by Mahatma Gandhi :

"Aundh has a liberal-minded Chief who, with wise Ranisaheba, deserves congratulations for abolishing untouchability from his State" (*Harijan*, 25th. March, 1933).

A great protagonist of the doctrine of Swadeshi, he was simple in his habits and dress, exclusively confining himself to cloths and textiles made in India. It is to be hoped that he will be honoured by a full-length biography of his life, so full of rich and distinguished services to India and to Indian culture. India, indeed, has lost one of her able and talented sons, whose life provides a valuable model for all to be inspired for emulating the services of one who helped a great deal to build up a new and free India.





# THE FESTIVAL OF BRITAIN

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

It is a very odd experience to go to an exhibition well primed up in its theme, to take careful note of all that one sees—and then to find, on coming home, that all the notes and all the impressions have flown right off from the theme to compose themselves into an entirely unforeseen and breath-taking picture! This is what happened when I visited the South Bank. The Exhibition sets out to be an object lesson but the question that it leaves in the mind is the riddle of the Universe. Or, if this is too presumptuous, the more specific riddle of the future of mankind on this planet.

First to deal with the theme. The theme of the exhibition is to tell the story of British contributions to world civilisation in the arts of peace. The story to be told is in two parts—The Land and The People—and accordingly the exhibition site is cut in two. There is an Upstream sequence (the Land) and a Downstream sequence (the People). A route is marked out for you and you are invited to begin with The Land. Here there are seven sections and in the first geology takes you back a thousand million years in time. At that far-off date, the first islands were emerging and the rocks of north-west Scotland and the Outer Isles were formed. But by the third section mechanisation has reached the land. Even the village blacksmith! And, by the seventh, you are contemplating the speed of modern transport and the wonders of the new London Airport—from which large quantities of freight and four thousand passengers will take off from the land 'every hour of the day or night.'

The culmination of the Upstream sequence is of course the already famous Dome of Discovery. Embracing the preceding sequence—and in fact embracing or at least hinting at all aspects of Science, pure and applied—it is the peak of the Exhibition. Indeed, since it is impossible in one or two visits to take in everything that there is to see, visitors who are pressed for time might well be advised to confine their attention to the Dome—and then to seek refreshment in the Royal Festival Hall, of which more later. It is a good idea, too, to read in advance the official guide-book. In that way the visitor will be able to track down any section of special interest either in the Exhibition at large or in the Dome of Discovery, for the Dome alone has eight sections to itself.

The most spectacular exhibit in the Dome of Discovery is the radio telescope. It was not functioning when I was here although there were intermittent and mysterious flashes near the roof of the Dome which I felt sure were connected with it. This radio telescope sends signals to the moon. The signals take about two and a half seconds to reach the moon and are reflected back to the earth. And these reflections can be seen in a tube.

Though I did not see these lunar reflections, it was worth while trying to do so. On asking the way, I was entrancingly directed to 'Outer Space.' This is the very

top-most gallery of the Dome. A moving stairway carries visitors all the way up, but the stairway was the other side of the Dome and I decided to try the ordinary stairs instead. (Ordinary stairs... To digress for a moment, there are no ordinary stair-cases in the Exhibition. Stair-cases, over-head promenades approached by stair-cases, are one of the most important features of the exhibition's architecture. They are worth looking at for their own sake. Oh the endless stairs one has climbed by the time one has been round the place. In the Dome they are steel and strong and insubstantial, shoot out platforms at sharp angles, and add immensely to the strange Wellsian scene).

Once arrived in Outer Space it was essential to sit down and rest. I walked round the gallery and found a bench at the other end. It was an exciting spot from which to view the Dome. A globe like a moon hung just ahead of me. Behind and just below was a tremendous object like a crystal. On this gigantic crystal, the spaces between its angles were filled in with drawings of other crystals. They were extremely lovely to look at. I could see the shapes of jewels, stars, flowers, even lace d'oyeys. Crossing the little gallery and looking over Outer Space I saw a giant telescope. It was a strange looking thing with a basis which on one side was like a pyramid and on the other like a curving Cleopatra's Needle. A wheel was set upon this base and from this rose the telescope proper. But even this appeared fantastic. The first third of its length was like a metal waste-paper basket while the rest of its length was open-work. Five circles of metal held this part of the frame together—and between these circles were squares of wire, in which wires crossed diagonally from corner to corner. What an amazing object and what, I wondered, was the purpose of the diagonal wires... Continuing along the gallery and looking across the Dome, it was clear that the display had three focal points: the giant crystal, the giant telescope, and a Totem pole.

Crystals for some reason—oh that I knew any Science—are the key-note of Outer Space. There is a whole series of them, growing out of one another and hollow like a cave (most disappointingly marked 'No Entry') as a prelude to a peep-show depicting the scene as it probably appears on various planets. I would have loved to linger here but one had to take one's place in a queue and keep moving. Uranus looked like a landscape of sky-scrapers with a full moon hanging above. Loveliest of all, I think, seemed Saturn. Clouds floated across pink and brown cliffs. And a huge wide shaft of golden light—like an orange rainbow with a blue line running through it—curved round the side of the picture.

Leaving Outer Space I descended to the next gallery and went in search of some shapes, in coloured wire, which I could see suspended above some drawings. From a



distance, they suggested trumpets, cradles, saddles, jewels. And I was astounded to discover that they were in fact diagrams demonstrating some exalted mathematics. The note on the drawings—aside from commenting somewhat unkindly that only mathematicians were expected to understand them—drew attention to 'the inherent beauty of mathematical concepts.' How far, I wondered, does mathematics enter into beauty? Could a concept, which can take shape in wire, take shape in music too?

Anyone who visits the Dome of Discovery and begins, as I did, at the top, will leave the floor display for another visit. But the shapes he has seen will influence him. Coming out into the sunshine (we hope) he will survey the Exhibition scene, the examples of modern art set about the grounds, with a more practised eye. He on honey dew has fed and drunk the milk of paradise—and what will he think of the first sculptured group that meets his gaze, a group of a man and a woman, with heads sawn off before they quite reach the top and with holes in their backs? This sculpture is not by Henry Moore but there is one of his near the York Road Entrance, in the same mood, only it seems more powerful.

It is the lay-out of the Exhibition—and its sculpture—which sends one's thoughts off into the future and into speculating as to the direction the human race is taking. Anyone who visits the Exhibition on a crowded day and plods from one restaurant to another seeking the shortest queue will have plenty of food for speculation. He may traverse the whole exhibition space, absorbing the lay-out and the decor, and as most of the sculptures are placed near the restaurants he cannot escape them either.

To consider first the setting of the Exhibition. In the nature of things an exhibition, unless it be enclosed in a single space like a Crystal Palace, will not be architecturally satisfying: separate pavilions, varying in size and purpose, will not like eggs scramble into a whole. Moreover, at the South Bank, the architects found the site bisected already by the overhead Hungerford Bridge. So evidently they decided to make a virtue of necessity. There would be no attempt at unification. (The only feature that runs the whole length of the site is the walk along the river front). The overhead bridge would mark the division between the two sides of the Exhibition, The Land and The People. On The Land side the Dome of Discovery would be the centre of attention and on that of The People there would be the Royal Festival Hall. For the rest, the Exhibition would depend on a number of close-ups and on its staircases for visual interest. Last but not least, a lucky accident was to give the Exhibition its theme song! It had been decided, for reasons of sentiment, to retain the old Shot Tower which had stood on the South Bank for over a hundred years. It would now find itself close by to the Festival Hall. And to balance this, on the other side of the Exhibition, some genius had the brilliant idea of erecting the Skylon close to the Dome of Discovery. This Skylon is described in the guide book as 'a vertical feature in steel and aluminium'. But it

stands on wires and shoots straight up into the sky like a rocket heading for the moon—and at night it blazes like fairyland!

I made some notes of one or two of the close-ups which seemed especially striking. Entering the Exhibition by the Station Gate, the visitor is met by a medley of strange shapes. On the left is a white circular building and on the right is a strange Wellsian construction never till now encountered. A white iron mast pierces up through a grey crown from which several wires, like the ribbons of a maypole, descend to support a swirling tapering white steel curve, rather like a collar in shape. Through this collar you pass to the first section in the Exhibition, The Land of Britain. The circular building and the white collar hem in a segment of the Dome of Discovery.

An amazing vista, if too much of a close-up, is the view from the Harbour Bar restaurant. Right across the scene on the south side runs a raised white bridge, curving past the front of the Festival Hall and round past the Shot Tower. The base of the tower is painted white with a black collar. The tower itself is like a light-house with a platform at the top. Above the platform is a fan and this is the aerial of the radio telescope which beams messages to the moon. Visitors are allowed inside the Tower. (Looking aloft, I saw a network of stars hanging in the darkness. For a moment I thought the Dome of Discovery must be putting on an act. But of course from the bottom of a well you can always see the stars...).

The decor of the Exhibition is white and glass. Flags everywhere, streaming from masts which chime in with those on the river, add colour. So do large dishes of tulips. On the Waterloo side variegated coloured screens shut out the drabness of surrounding streets. And occasionally, just to add more colour, one comes on a painted shape, mounted on wood and leaning against a pavilion. But the prevailing impression is of white and glass.

The Dome of Discovery is white. The Royal Festival Hall is white and glass. From the air the Dome looks like a mushroom but from the ground the over-lapping roof is seen to tilt upwards from the door level. Solid flying white buttresses give support all the way round. In front of these buttresses white steel ladders, stretch from the ground to the edge of the roof and encircle the Dome in a pattern like sound-waves. This wonderful Dome is not to survive the exhibition which seems a great pity. But if it were reprieved, where could it be put up? Its architecture would not blend with that of any preceding age. (It would look best in a field where it could pass for a marquee; or at the North Pole where its white painted steel would accord with the ice and the polar bears).

If the Dome is quite unlike the architecture of any other age, so is the Royal Festival Hall. And not only is the Royal Festival Hall to remain: it is the fore-runner of "a number of great buildings, which will form part of a co-ordinated design" and which the Government and the London County Council are planning to put up.



ARABIA—THE FOUNTAIN-HEAD OF ISLAM



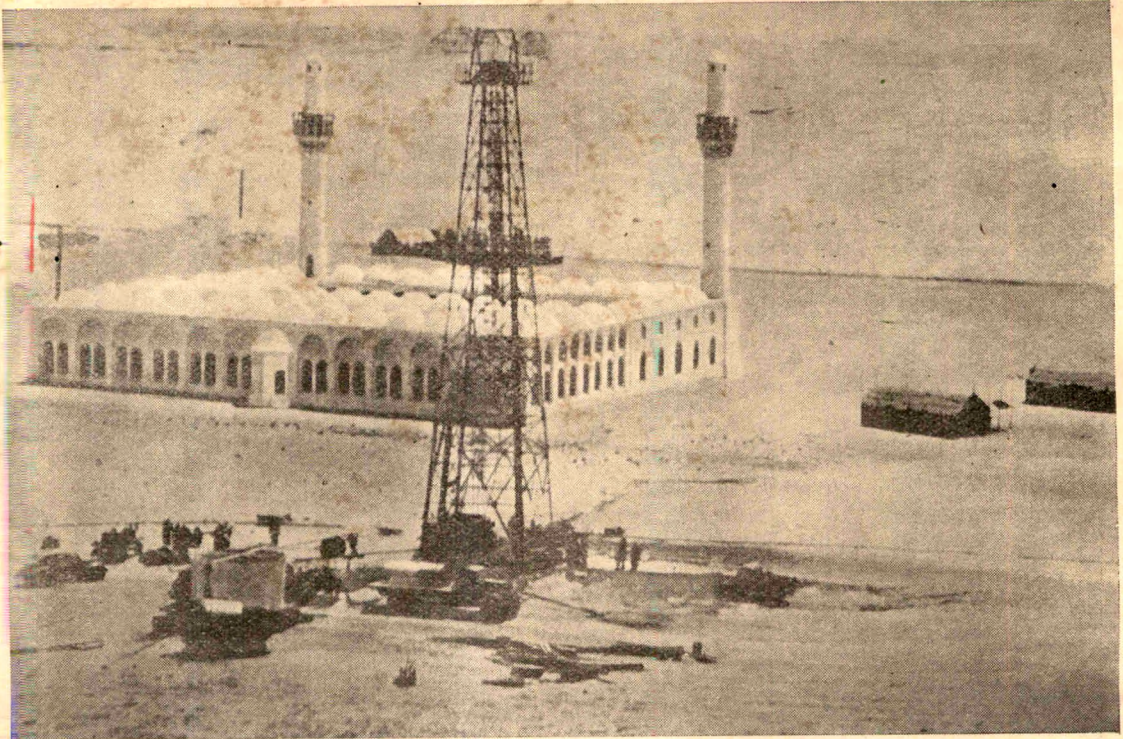
Mecca. The Kaaba enclosed in a grille, and a general view



Pilgrim encampment on the outskirts of Mecca during the pilgrimage period



ARABIA AND THE OIL-QUESTION IN THE NEAR EAST



The oilfields of Saudi Arabia. A striking view



The miserable workmen's quarters of oilfield native labour



The appearance of the Royal Festival Hall, at first sight, is intolerable. It looks like the very latest design for an up-to-date bee-hive with what relief there is to the eye situated mainly on the roof. This is because the greater part of the walls is of glass. In architecture glass is flat and grey and expressionless. (A glass wall facing west must look gorgeous at sunset. But the Festival Hall has its long front on the river, looking north; and on the west, though perhaps not for ever, it is darkened by the Hungerford Bridge).

However once inside the Festival Hall it is all exhilaration. You feel as if you were on a gigantic liner as you are met by the many round white metal pillars supporting the roof. A liner, with the space and variety which is the principal adventure of modern building. The stair-case has a metal rail and glass panels instead of bannisters. To the left of the stair-case and across it as you mount up to the hall proper—such a long pull-up! This seems inevitable in modern architecture if you are to have several perspectives at once—you look into a glass restaurant on two floors, with an exciting inside stair-case connecting the floors. And looking across the restaurant and through the outer glass walls, you see the river. On every floor you see the river! And, aside from all this, in a design which there was no time to take in as one was swept along with the crowd, there are so many opening spaces. Spaces to sit and have tea at little tables. Spaces for bars. Spaces just to sit comfortably and smoke. Spaces in which to promenade.

The concert hall itself is a dreadful disappointment. Perhaps, after all this passage through light and perspective, a sense of claustrophobia is inevitable. It seems like a monotonous brown cave and the eye is disturbed by the ugly design of the boxes. With no visible means of support they jut out from the wall in a kind of lozenge pattern. This may give the inmates an uninterrupted view but gone is the grace and neighbourliness of the old familiar style. An added irritation is that they have for decoration a brassy milled edge which picks up the light. Of the hall's virtues as a vehicle for music, much has been said in its favour though it is too soon to judge. The acoustics, it seems generally agreed, are perfect. But what will be the psychological effect of the hall on the performers? Perhaps it is worth quoting the music Critic of the *Spectator*. He says:

It is a hall "which, like the rest of the Exhibition, faces the fact that we live in 1951, however unpalatable that may be to many; a hall, moreover, whose acoustic characteristics favour the kind of music that has been written, and will in all probability continue to be written, by the composers of the Machine Age—bright, clean and not impossibly large, like the hall itself, and often 'functional' in character." (I did not see the hall as bright and clean. It oppressed me as brown and hard...).

This Critic feels we must face the fact that we live in the Machine Age. It is reflections like these, prompted by the Exhibition, that send one's thoughts racing round

the riddle of present-day existence and whether it is going. What has the Machine Age to do with modern art? Is it revulsion from the Machine Age that is driving many of these artists into strange wildernesses from which they return with their fantastic compositions? It may be so—and yet the baffling thing is that these modern works of art seem completely at home in the grounds of the South Bank Exhibition.

A sculpture by Henry Moore is the first thing anyone sees who enters the Exhibition by the Chicheley Street gate. As all the world knows, he is the sculptor who creates women with heads like turtles; men whose torsos begin perhaps with the semblance of a human form but whose arms may continue far beyond the length of the body and even end in a huge bony square. He is the most criticised of all our moderns and yet Sir Kenneth Clark, a former Director of the National Gallery, refers to him as our 'greatest living sculptor.'

An article on the work of Henry Moore, with illustrations, is published in the Penguin Modern Painters series. From this it appears that Moore's revolt is not against the Machine Age. It is against traditional art, which stems from Renaissance Europe, because 'in art,' says the writer, 'these values have decayed into a set form.' (I think the forms are only set where the faith is gone! A modern artist, Moira Forsyth, is making the most glorious stained glass windows...). And so Henry Moore's escape is the old familiar one of back to Nature. Only it is not the face of nature. It is the force and energy of primitive life which propels him. It is 'the mess and muddle and fecundity of life which he finds wonderful and mysterious.' Well, a man must live by the light which has been given to him. But one cannot help feeling that such an attitude towards nature is better expressed in poetry than in a visual art.

But if Henry Moore and his school are going back to nature, other artists, whose works appear in the Exhibition, are escaping into abstractions. Of these I noticed two different kinds—some really abstract and others just abstractions! Of the truly abstract, one I liked and one I didn't. The one I liked was set in a pool. It was of green copper, folded wings or folded reeds it recalled, stretching straight up above the water. The other had a good rhythmical design. But it was white and heavy in stone and suggested a ponderous flower. As for the abstractions, I think they are nonsense! I will describe one. An incredible iron contraption, it was called a bird-cage. The base was like a tilted ironing board on a tripod. Above there was a large open iron picture frame, with a long iron noose, iron sticks like the sticks in a telephone post, and a ball at the end of a chain. All these huddled to one side of the frame. The other side of the frame was empty. (This kind of thing, throwing a few impressions together, may be very new in art but is very old in poetry. Unimportant poetry).

One last comment before I leave these sketchy comments on modern art. I wish the genuinely 'abstract'



artists would escape from the machine world into the world of pure science.

I have left very little space in which to write about the other half of the Exhibition, The People. The chief reason is that it did not appeal to me in the least. Its principal exhibits are Homes and Gardens and The Lion and The Unicorn and both, to my mind, are flops. To begin with one is antagonised by the guide-book which announces that the Homes and Gardens Pavilion takes the past as read. In one's home, of all places, to take the past as read! And when, in England, there is a long and lovely tradition in furniture-making. Next it was obsessed with the modern problem of space. One seemed to wander through one bed-sitting room after another until one had the feeling that most of the population were condemned to live eternally in cramped quarters. No imagination came into the picture. There was no hint as to how it is possible, by means of colour, to soothe the spirit with the illusion of space—which in cramped quarters is the most important thing of all.

As for The Lion and The Unicorn, it was just a jumble. At one end of a not very long pavilion you were greeted by a whimsical lion and unicorn in string. At the other end, you saw the White Knight from 'Alice Through The Looking Glass.' In between these two were a selection of oddments which were there to suggest our native genius. But nothing could make an impression because the atmosphere was torn by at least three loud-speakers all blasting away at the same time. One caught words from a Shakespeare play or from 'Alice' and most trying of all, a series of medallions, depicting various types of British people, took turns to light up and to speak in exaggerated accents.

Lost in this howling atmosphere were one or two

beautiful things. There was a very lovely stone cross, with figures and beasts and birds carved up the sides. There was also an attractive mural which told the story of the growth of liberty in England. We began with Saxons round a tree and ended most oddly with the freedom of Pakistan and India. (But I hope Indians will be amused at finding themselves next to Mrs. Pankhurst). The best panel of all went to Wesley. He could be seen preaching from a brightly painted cart with an extremely stylised little church in the background. The climax of the painting was the lilac tree. It had huge mauve blossoms shaped like little Christmas trees. (It is the only painting of which I made notes. But the Wilks panel must have been good too for I see that I have scribbled a line 'that villain Wilks'!)

The tremendous effort that has been put into the display in the Dome of Discovery, the careful, exhaustive, scientific approach—all this sticks out a mile in comparison with the sketchy nature of the exhibits in Homes and Gardens and The Lion and The Unicorn. Inevitably one comes away with the feeling that the future is with Science. Artists may go back to nature, psychologists may poke their fingers into the springs of character until it seems as if man has no integrity and no free will. But man, thank God, has no chance of wresting the final secrets of the universe. To return once more to Outer Space. 'Bigger and better though our telescopes become,' says the guide-book, 'it is now believed that a point will be reached in space beyond which they will never be able to penetrate, because the universe is expanding at a speed greater than that of light.' May the universe expand *ad infinitum* and, as man learns more of the immensity of the heavens, may it bring peace to his machine-distracted soul.

Westminster, London, May 1951.

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## A WEEK OF HISTORICAL CONFERENCES AT NAGPUR

By DR. CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab)

NAGPUR, the capital of Madhya Pradesh, became the venue of a week of historical conferences during the last Christmas holidays. The Indian Historical Records Commission, the Indian History Congress, the Numismatic Society of India, and the Museums Association of India held their annual meetings here recently. These are the four most important and well-known historical societies in India and, as such, their meetings are very important to Indian historians. The meetings were held at the University Convocation Hall and Nagpur Mahavidyalaya. The delegates were stationed at the Assembly Rest House and the hostel of the Nagpur Mahavidyalaya. The Reception Committee made excellent arrangement for the board and lodging of the delegates.

The opening ceremony of the Indian Historical Records Commission was performed at the University Convocation Hall on the 25th December at 10 A.M., by His Excellency Shri Mangaldas Pakvasa, the Governor of Madhya Pradesh. He delivered a short, lucid and learned address. In it he said that the Indian Historical Records Commission was first established in 1919 and started on its career as an official organisation. Being financially unproductive it became an easy victim of retrenchment during the years 1931 to 1936. But later on gradually it became an organisation in which official as well as unofficial elements were mixed up. He said that the Indian Historical Records Commission was a body of scholars engaged and interested in discovering old records and

manuscripts in which India was so rich due to the antiquity of its history. He further said that the records formed the very foundation of India's history. They were the raw materials by means of which India's past could be properly reconstructed and visualised. He then said that in India much had not yet been done towards the study of these records. Then he said about the establishment of the Regional Survey Committees to make a countrywide search and survey for the collection and preservation of records. Then he spoke about a scheme which had been initiated with the objective of getting the most important old records published in the form of selections on the pattern of the selections from Poona Residency Records and Peshwa Daftar Records.

It was decided that the Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the President of the Indian Historical Records Commission, would inaugurate its meeting; but owing to various other pre-occupations at New Delhi he could not come to Nagpur to do this pleasant work. However, he sent a printed copy of the English translation of the Hindustani speech which he prepared to read at this inauguration-ceremony. In it he said that the Indian Historical Records Commission dealt with all sorts of historical documents. He said that the National Archives of India contained a vast collection of records and documents; but systematic series began from the year 1672 A.D. Some of the latest documents are as late as 1949. From the point of view of quantity the Indian collection is one of the biggest collections in the world. Records are the basis of history and can alone give authenticity to our knowledge of the past. During the 19th century European states adopted the convention that all state records should be opened to the public after a lapse of 50 years. If the historical records are to be utilised to a great extent, it is important that they should not only be preserved but also systematically arranged and classified. He suggested that there should be an intimate co-operation between the National Archives of India, universities and learned societies, to undertake and to fulfil the work of making the records known to the scholarly world in a scientific manner.

The reading of the papers was then taken up. The Indian Historical Records Commission published in advance not only the summaries of the papers but also the papers themselves in the form of a volume. As usual, the number of papers was very limited. It seems that there should be more papers for reading at the annual meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission. Moreover, it is not easily understandable what purpose is served by publishing the papers in a book-form in advance. They should be published after they were read and discussed so that the authors might get a chance to improve their articles according to the discussions which were held on them.

However, the papers which were read were all quite interesting. The following is the list of those papers :  
(1) *Charles Desvoeux at Achin (1772-73)* by S. N. Das

Gupta; (2) *The Correspondence of Modave* by S. P. Sen; (3) *A French Account of Commerce in India in 1774* by R. C. Mitra; (4) *Fateh Nama Gum Khalsa Ji Ka* by Sita Ram Kohli; (5) *A Tiruchirapalli Grant of Vijaya Ranga Chokhanath of Madhurai* by K. R. Venkataraman; (6) *Notes on Communications in the Early 19th Century* by Arun Kumar Das Gupta; (7) *Gangadhar Sastri* by Kali Kishor Datta; (8) *A fresh patta of the time of the last Chauhan Ruler of Sambalpur-Athargarh* by L. P. Pandeya; (9) *Danger to Jhansi in 1774-75* by T. S. Shajwalkar; (10) *Oudh and the Question of Salt Tax in 1867* by Nanda Lal Chatterji; (11) *Note on Some Unpublished Letters of William Smyth (1658-1664)* by S. Natarajan; (12) *The Recorder's Court at Madras (1798-1801) and Some of Its Findings* by C. S. Srinivasachari; (13) *Boundary Disputes between the British and Mayurbhanj in the 18th century* by Tarit Kumar Mukherji; (14) *Visual Telegraph, Calcutta to Chunar (1816-28)* by R. H. Phillimore; (15) *The Old English Correspondence in the District Collectorates, Bengal* by Tapan Kumar Roy Chowdhury; (16) *The Mukhbiri-Sadiq of Lucknow* by K. Sajunlal; (17) *A Nishan of Muhammad Akbar, heir-apparent of Shah Alam Bahadur Badshah Ghazi* by A. H. Nizami; (18) *Parwana relating to the Sanad of Sardeshmukhi given to Sahao Chatrapati by the Moghul Emperor Muhammad Shah Badshah* by B. W. Bhat; (19) *Contemporary Biography of a fifteenth century Sufi Saint of Bihar* by S. H. Askari; (20) *Records from the Rajania Family of Wai* by G. H. Khare.

The Indian History Congress began its session on the 27th December last. A speech of welcome to the delegates of the 13th Indian History Congress was delivered by Lt.-Col. Pandit K. L. Dubey, Vice-Chancellor of the Nagpur University. This address of welcome, though warm in character, is naturally short. In it he spoke about Nagpur which has been for millenia a meeting-ground for the diverse cultures that had built up India into what it was to-day. He also told about the moral responsibilities of historians to the country.

The inauguration-ceremony of the Indian History Congress was performed in a specially erected pandal by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Indian Republic. It was a signal honour to the Indian History Congress that the President of the Indian Republic inaugurated it. He gave a well-thought-out, provoking and learned address. In it he said that he had no pretensions to scholarship but had a genuine interest in history and particularly in Indian history. Then he spoke about the importance of Sevagram, the place where Mahatmaji used to live, in the contemporary history of India. He criticised the current view that there was no historical material available in India; on the contrary, he believed that the vast amount of material which was found in the form of inscriptions, coins, stone sculptures, clay figurines, pottery, beads, etc., and the vast literary materials threw a flood of light on the past of India. Then he said about the importance of not only the political but also the



religious, cultural, literary, industrial and commercial history of India and the good work which was being done by the Bharatiya Itihasa Parishad and the Indian History Congress. Then he discussed the question of the nature of history. According to him :

"The commonest view of history is that it is a record of the past and that its main concern is to digger from the graveyards of time the facts and figures that once were but are not to-day."

He considered this as the most inadequate appreciation of history. Then he gave an idea about the view of history by such well-known writers of antiquity as Polybius and Cicero. He also said that the great Roman historian Livy believed that the great events in human life were determined by fate. He further told that as against the concept of fate there was the concept of environmental determinism and determinism by heredity. According to him, true history must be found in a reconciliation and synthesis of various forms and factors which operated on and through human beings. According to him, Kautilya in his *Arthashastra* mentioned as sources of history Purana (myths and legends), Itivritta (events), Akhyayika (tales), Udaharana (biographical quotations), Dharmastra (cultural life) and Arthashastra (material life). According to him, this view was not only comprehensive but also very original. Kautilya has made a happy blend of the idealist and metaphysical theories of history as well as the materialistic theory of history.

After the delivery of this brilliant speech of inauguration the presidential address of Dr. H. C. Roy Chowdhury, Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, was read by Mahamahopachyaya Prof. D. V. Potdar, one of the past presidents on account of the regrettable absence of Dr. Roy Chowdhury due to illness. In it he spoke at the outset about the historical importance of the city of Nagpur. Then he advised to speedily publish the comprehensive history of India which had been started by the Indian History Congress. Then he spoke about the recent excavations carried out by the Indian Archaeological Department at Azikamadu near Pondicherry, Brahmagiri and Chandravalli in the Mysore State, Sisupalgarh near Bhubanesvara and certain old sites near Delhi. He regretted at the non-publication of the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India and the Annual Report on South Indian epigraphy though he rejoiced at the publication of *Ancient India* which was the Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India. He also spoke in high terms about the work done in the domain of mediæval and modern history by the Indian Historical Records Commission. He also expressed joy at the publication of the journal entitled *Indian Archives*, the revival of the Indian Records Series, the arrangements made for the regional surveys of records in the provinces, and the writing of a history of the Indian armed forces in World War II under the auspices of the Ministry of Defence. Then he spoke about certain

important publications on ancient Indian history in the current year.

After the delivery of this presidential address the Indian History Congress was split up into five sections with a President over each section. It is important to note that the presidential addresses of all the sections were not printed in advance. It would be better if these sectional presidential addresses were printed in advance.

Section I (from the earliest times to 711 A.D.) was presided over by Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, Assistant Director and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. This presidential address is entitled *Some Problems of Ancient Indian History*. In it he referred to the recent discovery of an exceptionally well-preserved granary at Mohenjo-daro. Then he spoke about the severe stricture passed on the excavators of the Indus Valley Civilisation by Wheeler and Piggott. According to him, the period of the Rig-Veda may be carried back to the 4th or 5th millennium B.C. or even beyond, and it ran to the 2nd millennium B.C., later followed by subsequent Vedic literature. According to him, Harappa culture is a phase in the composite Indian culture inaugurated by the Rig-Vedic people. According to him, also the Rig-Vedic people were autochthonous in India, whence they spread in all directions. He believed that the Aryan problem required further study by the scholars. He next took up the question of the Indus script and had dealt with the question of the decipherment of the Indus script. Then he took up the question of the hiatus of over a thousand years in Indian history between the desertion of the Harappa sites and the early historic period of the 4th century B.C. In this connection he referred to the efforts made by the Indian Archaeological Department to bridge this gap by carrying out excavations recently at a place called Tilpat near Delhi. According to him, the beginning of Tilpat went back to centuries before (c)—6th-5th centuries B.C. He also referred to the recent excavations at Hastinapur where a grey painted pottery like those of Ahichhatra and Tilpat had been found. According to him, Dr. Dal of the Indian Archaeological Department also surveyed about 15 ancient Mahabharata sites in the upper Gangetic Valley in search of this grey ware with equally successful results. He dealt with the importance of the Puranas from the historical point of view.

A number of interesting papers were submitted to each section for the purpose of reading, discussion and publication. A list along with the summaries of these papers was published. The following is the list of papers read in this section : (1) *Agriculture in the Ancient Tamil Country* by Dr. A. M. Ariakiaswami; (2) *Some Aspects of Social History as Gleaned through Jaimini Grihyasutra* by Prof. Radha Krishna Chaudhury; (3) *The Numerals in Indian Kharosthi Records* by Dr. C. C. Das Gupta; (4) *A Glimpse into the Dark Period of Orissan*

*History (from the time of the Nandas till the 4th Century A.D.)* by Sri Sushil Chandra De; (5) *Some Royal Seals from Excavations at Rajghat (Banaras)* by Sri K. Deva; (6) *The Age of the Vishnu Purana* by Prof. V. R. Dikshitar; (7) *Vidarbha Architecture, Sculpture and Idols of Talagaon Dasasar* by Shri V. A. Ghate; (8) *A Note on Protected States in Ancient India* by Sri Bimal Kanti Majumdar; (9) *Is Punaura the Birth-place of Sita?* by Sri K. K. Mishra; (10) *Some Puranic and Vedic Traditions and the Ancient Middle East* by Dr. Raj Bali Pandey; (11) *The Date of Tivara-deva of Mohakoshala* by Sri S. N. Rajaguru; (12) *Vindication of the Matsya Purana List of the Andhra Kings* by Prof. Gurty Venkat Rao; (13) *Ancient History of Vengi* by Prof. R. Subba Rao; (14) *Traces of Aryans in Mohenjo-daro and Harappa* by Swami Sankarananda; (15) *Early Brahmi Inscriptions in Mahakosala and Orissa and their Survey and Decipherment* by Sri L. P. Pandeya Sharma; (16) *Some Joint Notices of Woman and Sudra in Ancient Indian Literature* by Sri Ram Sharan Sharma; (17) *Kalidasa and Buddhist Sanskrit Literatures* by Dr. V. S. Agrawala; (18) *Coins of Gautamiputra Satakarni* by Dr. M. Rama Rao; (19) *Coins of Satakarni IV* by Prof. Miss M. Vaidehi; (20) *Indradymna—the Founder of the Jagannath Temple at Purusottam Kshetra* by Sri Sadasiva Nath Sarma and Sri Baikuntha Nath Sen Gupta; (21) *The Ganga Era* by Prof. V. V. Mirashi; (22) *The Pandava Dynasty of Mekala* by Prof. V. V. Mirashi; (23) *Srimad Bhagavata—the Place of its Origin* by Dr. J. N. Banerji; (24) *Is the Bhabru edict of Asoka rightly named?* by Sri Satya Prakash; (25) *The Arya-Manjusri-mula-kalpa on Chandragupta I* by Sri Kailash Chandra Ojha; (26) *The Original Version of the Samba Legend* by Sri Dilip Kumar Biswas; (27) *Some Occupations and Professions in Buddha's days* by Sri Yashpal Agarwal; (28) *Sanskrit Elements in Early Tamil Literature* by Prof. K. A. Nilkantha Sastri; (29) *A Note on Uparika and Udranga* by Dr. Sudhir Ranjan Das; (30) *A Note on verse 22 of the Aihole Inscription of the time of Pulakesin II* by Dr. G. C. Roy Chowdhury.

Section II (711-1206 A.D.) was presided over by Dr. B. C. Sen of the Calcutta University. The following is the list of papers read at the meeting of this section: (1) *Some Aspects of Administration According to Kanada Works of the 9th and 10th Century A.D.* by Prof. G. S. Dikshit; (2) *The Battle of Urati* by Dr. T. V. Mahalingam; (3) *Later Reference of the Hunas (7th Century A.D.-12th Century A.D.)* by Miss Pushpa Niogi; (4) *Some Notes on the Kayasthas of Early Mediaeval Kashmir* by Sri Sunil Chandra Roy; (5) *Balavalabhibhujanga* by Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar; (6) *Udamana in Bengali Epigraphy* by Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar; (7) *Malladeva—A Forgotten King of Mithila* by Prof. Radha Krishna Chaudrury; (8) *Ugraditya's Kalyanakaraka and Ramagiri* by Sri Jyoti Prasad Jain; (9) *Ibrahim Qutb Shah's Campaigns against the East Coast* by Sri R. Narasinha Rao; (10) *Lakulisa-Pasupata and their Tem-*

*ples in Medixval India* by B. P. Majumdar; (11) *The particle ni in Bengali inscriptions of the twelfth century* by Dr. Sukumar Sen; (12) *The Date of Pallava Paramesvara II* by Sri N. Lakshmi Narayan Rao; (13) *Sculptures in the Main Temple at Baijnath* by Sri N. S. Vats; (14) *A 13th Century Bengali Poet in the Island of Ceylon* by Sri P. C. Majumdar.

Section III (1206 A.D.) was presided over by Dr. A. B. M. Habibulla, Head of the Department of Islamic History and Culture in the Dacca University in Eastern Pakistan. In it he dealt with the dynamics or trends of this period of India's history. Then he gave us an idea of the original research work which had been done in this period for a little over a century ago and also criticised certain view-points of that period. According to his view:

"The mediaeval period characterised by the introduction of the Muslim element in Indian life thus came to be regarded as something separate from the main current of India's history."

According to his view, this has a pernicious effect on the approach to the Indo-Islamic history. So he pledged here for a proper sense of perspective in object and method of enquiry. Herein he also called for the examination of all kinds of original sources. Then he spoke about certain lacuna which existed in the history of this period and for which research was necessary. He also spoke about fields of work other than the political one. There were only three papers read in this section. They are the following ones:—(1) *Theocratic and Secular Elements in the Indo-Islamic State* by Prof. S. R. Sarma; (2) *A Fifteenth Century Shuttari Sufi Saint of North Bihar* by Prof. Syed Hasan Askari; (3) *The Gajapati Bhanudeva IV* by Er. N. Venkataramanayya.

Section IV (1526-1764 A.D.) was presided over by Dr. Yusuf Hussain Khan of Osmania University. In the presidential address he said that the Moghul State was a culture state per excellence. According to him, the Moghul emperors were deeply concerned with the well-being of the people of the country and did not make any distinction between Hindus and Muslims. According to him:

"The Bhakti movement of the fifteenth and sixteenth century represents the first effective impingement on Hindu ideas of Islamic culture and outlook."

According to him, the contact between India and other Asiatic countries was revived after the establishment of the Mughal dynasty. Then he spoke about considerable industries in India, apart from agriculture, which attracted the attention of foreign travellers. The following is the list of papers read at this section: (1) *Two Forgotten Mughal Subadars of Orissa* by P. Acharya; (2) *Fresh Light on the History of the Gond Rajas of Deogarh* by Dr. Y. K. Deshpande; (3) *Seal stamps of titles of prominent members of Jadhav of Scindhakhed in Berar* by Sri D. B. Mahajan; (4) *Some Aspects of Education in India under the Great Mughuls* by Sri P. N. Ojha; (5) *1761 Panipat and the Nizamat* by Prof. V. Raghavendra Rao;



(6) *Revenue System during Muslim Rule in Orissa* by Sri Bhabani Charan Roy; (7) *Raja Mansingh and the Final Conquest of Orissa by the Mughals* by Sri Bhabani Charan Roy; (8) *Political Offences in Aurangzebs' India* by Prof. S. P. Sangar; (9) *Notes on Balasore and the English in the first half of the 17th Century* by Dr. J. N. Sirkar; (10) *A Rare Silver Coin of Muhammad Shah and later Indo-Afghan Relations* by Sri A. K. Bhattacharya; (11) *Maharaj Bharmal and Bhagwant Das of Amber—Their Relations with the Moghul Court* by Sri Satya Prakash.

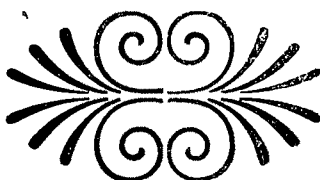
Section V (1764 onward) was presided over by Dr. Nanda Lal Chatterji of the Lucknow University. In it he deplored the attitude of the British historians writing the history of India during the British period. According to his opinion, the dynamic and scientific approach to the history of modern India will have to be achieved in planned stages and by co-operative effort. The following is the list of papers read at this section: (1) *A forgotten battle—an episode in the life of Sadava, a pretender of Sadasivarao Bhau* by Sri M. S. Agaskar; (2) *The Indian President* by Sri Parag Banerji; (3) *A note on the imposter of Sadasiva Rao Bhau* by Dr. V. S. Chitale; (4) *Anglo-Russian Commercial Rivalry in 1812* by Sri R. N. Chowdhury; (5) *Wazir Ali's Family* by Dr. K. K. Datta; (6) *Resumption of rent-free tenures for assessment by the Company's Government (1819-50)* by Dr. H. R. Ghoshal; (7) *The Plunder of Bharatpur* by Dr. Hiralal Gupta; (8) *Why Shirajuddala Hated the English* by Sri R. S. Krishnaswamiengar; (9) *An experimental period in the history of the British in India* by Sri R. S. Krishnaswamiengar; (10) *Diwan Pandit Jivaji Samraj—A hitherto-unknown Deputy of Peshwa in Kathiawar* by Dr. M. R. Majumdar; (11) *A little-known event in the History of Travancore: The Quilon Plot* by Dr. B. N. Mehta; (12) *The Oudh Treaty of 1837* by Dr. Sri Nandan Prasad; (13) *Haidar Ali—the Forerunner of Indian Nationalism* by Sri D. S. Achutta Rao; (14) *Reform of the military bazars in the time of Cornwallis* by Sri Sacchidananda; (15) *The Penultimate Campaign of the Poligar War of 1799-1801 (The Panchata-Kurichi Campaign of February-May, 1801)* by Prof. S. C. Srinivasachari; (16) *A Controversy on the nature of Indian Debt* by Prof. Amales Tripathi; (17) *The Arms Act of 1878* by Prof. H. Vedantastri; (18) *Foreign Trade in India, (1767 A.D.), from the Memoir of John Law of Lauristan* by Dr. R. C. Mitra; (19) *A Critical Review of the Ad-*

*ministration of Mysore State from (1920 to 1941)* by Dr. K. N. V. Sastri; (20) *The Foreign Policy of the Indian Union (Retrospect and Prospect)* by Sri G. B. Pandya; (21) *Ram Mohun Roy—the Forerunner of Free India's Foreign Policy* by Sri Bimla Prasad; (22) *Sirajuddaula's Expedition against Calcutta in June, 1756* by Dr. V. P. S. Raghuvanti; (23) *Ramshastris—A Revaluation* by Dr. V. D. Rao; (24) *Peshwa-Nizam Meeting at 'Edalabad (1741 January)—Its Significance* by Sri V. G. Dighe.

There was also the 40th annual meeting of the Numismatic Society of India. It was inaugurated by H. E. The Governor of Madhya Pradesh. The presidential address was delivered by Dr. V. S. Agrawala of New Delhi. One feature of this address is that it was delivered in Hindi. The following is the list of papers which were read at this session: I. Dr. A. S. Altekar: (1) *A Unique Kushano-Roman Coin*; (2) *A New Kshaharata Coin*; (3) *Recent Numismatic Discoveries in Bihar*; (4) *Some Forged Silver Kushana Coins*; II. Prof. V. V. Mirashi: (1) *A Coin of Chatu Mana*; (2) *The Coins of a New Saka Dynasty in Hyderabad*; (3) *The Legend on the Apratigha Coins of Kumaragupta*; III. Dr. S. L. Katore: (1) *A New Coin of King Sata*; (2) *A New Coin of Yajnasri Satakarni*; IV. P. L. Gupta: (1) *Gold Coins of Kumaragupta III*; (2) *Identity of Prakasaditya*; (3) *Copper Coins of Ramagupta*; V. A. K. Narain: *A New Western Kshatrapa Coin*; VI. Satya Prakash: *Interesting Numismatic Finds at Naleswar*; VII. C. R. Singhal: *Some New Coins from the Prince of Wales Museum*.

The Museums Association of India also held its annual meeting here. It was inaugurated by H. E. The Governor of Madhya Pradesh. The presidential address was delivered by Dr. N. P. Chakravarty, late Director-General of Archaeology in India. There were only two papers: (1) *The Preparation and Display of a Whale Skeleton* by Mr. V. L. Devkar; (2) *On the Use of Museums for the Illiterate in India* by Dr. C. C. Das Gupta.

The Reception Committee also arranged an excellent exhibition of historical materials. The credit for this organisation should go to Dr. H. N. Sinha, Principal, Nagpur Mahavidyalaya and the Local Secretary of the Reception Committee. The delegates were also taken one day to the well-known place called Ramtak where there is a temple sanctified with the names of Rama and Sita. All thoroughly enjoyed this excursion.



## SARAT CHANDRA DAS

### India's Pioneer Explorer to Tibet

By V. G. NAIR

How many people in this country know the remarkable life-story of the late Babu Sarat Chandra Das, of the Bengal Educational Service, India's pioneer explorer who journeyed twice to the Forbidden Land of Tibet about seventy years ago, in search of her hidden secrets—the topography and the mysteries of Tantric Buddhism? Perhaps a few among the millions who are acquainted with the Indo-Tibetan relations during the British administration of India.

Sarat Chandra Das undertook these perilous journeys to the Hermit-Kingdom of the Dalai Lama when such ventures were extremely difficult and fraught with dangers to human life. Although his explorations in Tibet were crowned with lasting success in promoting the centuries-old Indo-Tibetan cultural relations and in further bringing to light the unknown secrets of that land of snow, these goodwill missions unfortunately culminated in the arrest, tortures and barbarous execution of his Lama benefactor, the learned and venerable Sengchen Dorjechan, the old Minister and tutor of the then Panchen Lama of the Tashi Lhumpo monastery, the second dignitary in Tibet. The Lhasa Government's allegations against the old Minister was that he harboured in his monastery an Indian envoy of the British Government and helped him to carry away the national secrets of Tibet to foreign lands.

The adventures of European travellers to the unexplored regions of Tibet in the nineteenth century against the persistent Tibetan policy of absolute exclusion imposed on them by the Lhasa Government, Lhasa's reign of terror and assassination over all the intriguing explorers, Moscow's wooing of the 13th Dalai Lama for establishing Russian supremacy in the Hermit-Kingdom and the subsequent two British expeditions from India which finally opened the closed doors of the forbidden country form interesting chapters in the history of exploration in Tibet. And in these annals of Tibetan exploration, Sarat Chandra Das occupies the foremost position as the pioneer explorer of modern India. He was our foremost missionary of goodwill and fraternity to the people of Tibet during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Sarat Chandra Das was born in the town of Chittagong, in 1849, in a Hindu family of the Vaidya or medical caste. He received his early education in the Presidency College, Calcutta. While serving in the Engineering department of the College in 1874, he was appointed Head Master of the Bhutia Boarding School

opened at Darjeeling by the Government of Bengal. This was a turning point in the life of Sarat which brought his lasting renown. During his stay at Darjeeling, he applied himself to the study of Tibetan language and its literature in which he became exceedingly proficient.

Between the year 1874 and 1878, Sarat Chandra Das deeply fell under Tibetan influences. He made short trips to Sikkim and explored the country. In his investigations, he received considerable help from his colleague and friend Lama Ugyen Gyatsho, who was attached to his school as a Tibetan teacher. This Tibetan Lama was born in Sikkim. He had received instructions in the use of surveying instruments and had done useful work during his journeys to Tibet.

Lama Ugyen Gyatsho was once deputed to Shigatze and Lhasa with tribute from his monastery. He was then asked to ascertain whether permission could not be obtained for Sarat Chandra Das to visit Tibet. Reaching Shigatze, he expressed the matter to Lama Sengchen Dorjechan, the old Minister of the Panchen Lama, who was also anxious to have an Indian Pandit from India to teach him Sanskrit and Pali. He readily invited Sarat Chandra Das to visit Tibet and issued a passport for him. Further for ensuring his personal safety in Tibet, the Minister entered the name of Sarat as a student of theology in the Grand Monastery of Shigatze.

Shigatze is the second capital of Tibet. It derived its name from the legendary mountain Sumeru mentioned in the Buddhist scriptures and in the Hindu Puranas. Famous for its Tashi Lhumpo monastery, it is the seat of the Panchen Lama, the second Grand Lama of Tibet. The Panchen Lama does not possess any political power but is considered even superior in rank to the Dalai Lama himself. The present Panchen Lama owing to differences with the Lhasa Government was reported to be an exile in Communist China.

Lama Sengchen Dorjechan, the Minister of the Panchen Lama, was a noble and saintly person of great virtues and profound learning. In those days, none in Tibet was held in higher esteem and veneration than he. He was a devout Buddhist and desired to reform the Buddhist religion which then prevailed in his country. He was eager to learn English and the Indian languages. He was also interested in Western sciences and in its discoveries. He had sent various Buddhist images and ritualistic utensils to India and had deputed several Lamas of his monastery as missionaries to this



country. He was a man above sectarian differences and international prejudices. He strove for the noble ideal of universal brotherhood as preached and lived by Lord Buddha. Consequently he had created many enemies among the conservative, irreligious and fanatical Lamas of Lhasa, who waited for an opportunity to bring about his downfall.

As fates had decreed for the old Minister Sengchen Dorjechan, Sarat Chandra Das accepted his invitation, and started on his first mission to Tibet in June 1879, accompanied by his companion Lama Ugyen Gyatso, the Tibetan teacher of his school. He reached Shigatze and remained there for six months as the guest of the Minister. During his stay there, he made a rich collection of works in Sanskrit and Tibetan which he brought back to India. He also explored the country north and north-east of Kanchanjinga, of which nothing was previously known to us. He established friendly relations with the Minister and his colleagues. While departing for Darjeeling, the Minister requested him to visit Tibet again and instruct him further in the study of Indian languages and Buddhism.

In November 1881, Sarat Chandra Das undertook his second journey to Tibet again accompanied by his faithful companion Lama Ugyen. He reached Shigatze and remained there for some months as the guest of the Minister, his old benefactor. He taught the Minister English and Sanskrit and in turn learnt from him Tibetan and Lamaist Buddhism. One day, Sarat begged his pupil and Guru to have him a sight of Lhasa, the most sacred city in Tibet. At that time, the exclusive policy of the Lhasa Government forbidding all foreigners was strictly in force. After some hesitation, the Minister consented and persuaded his nephew, the Governor of Gyantze to take Sarat to Lhasa for a few days in the retinue of his wife. Accordingly, Sarat Chandra Das was sent to Lhasa by the Governor of Gyantze, in the guise of a Tibetan Lama. He lived at Lhasa in the room of a monastery and was cautious to move about the city frequently. He also visited other parts of Tibet and returned to India after an absence of nearly a year. Sarat Chandra Das was the third Indian to visit Lhasa. The first two were Nain Singh and Kishen Singh, independent explorers, who visited the city in 1866 and 1880.

A year passed after Sarat's return to India. Somehow, the news of his visit to Tibet and his entry into the Forbidden City of Lhasa leaked out to the Tibetan Government. Lhasa accused the Minister Sengchen Dorjechan for assisting an Indian spy of the British Government to enter Tibet and carry away her national secrets. The old Minister who was the most venerable figure among all the Lamas of those days was thereupon denounced as a traitor and dragged to Lhasa where he was beaten daily in the public market place. He was then con-

demned to death. His execution was carried out in June 1887 in the traditional way of sinking the victim in the Brahmaputra river till he became lifeless. His limbs were then severed and thrown separately into the water. His unfortunate relations, the Governor of Gyantze and his wife, were put into prison for life and their estates confiscated. Several other persons who helped Sarat Chandra Das were mercilessly mutilated and murdered.

Thus ended in tragedy the noble life of Tibet's most venerable Lama of the nineteenth century who had to suffer martyrdom because of his unbounded love for Western sciences and for the Indian languages. This grim tragedy has been recorded in their works by the Rev. Ekai Kawaguchi of Japan who subsequently went to Tibet and lived there for three years and also by Lieut.-Colonel L. Austine Waddell, of the Indian Medical Service who accompanied the British Expedition to Tibet during the years 1903-1904.

Gyantze from where Sarat proceeded to Lhasa in the company of some Tibetan ladies lies in the heart of Tibet. It is situated about 130 miles from the Indian frontier, 145 miles from Lhasa and 213 miles from Sili-guri, which is only fourteen hours' journey by train from Calcutta.

The monumental literary works of Sarat Chandra Das are so enormous that its value to research students cannot be over-estimated. A complete list has been printed in the Centenary Volume of the Asiatic Society of Bengal edited by Dr. Hermle. Besides a large number of translations into English of Tibetan texts, Sarat Chandra Das has edited in Sanskrit the poem, *Avadana Kalpalata*, of Kshemendra which he discovered in Lhasa, and in Tibetan a historical work of great value, another giving the history of the pre-Buddhist or Bon religion of Tibet and a handy volume of English-Tibetan Dictionary. Two of his English works which are difficult to obtain in these days are (1) *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow* and (2) *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*.

Sarat Chandra Das visited Peking in 1885 in the company of the Honourable Colman Macauley, a Secretary of the Bengal Government, for obtaining the necessary permission from the Chinese Government to the projected embassy in Tibet. He returned to India after several months. As a mark of his services to geography and exploration in Tibet, he was given the title of Rai Bahadur by the Government of India and made a Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire. His faithful companion Lama Ugyen Gyatso also received the title of Rai Bahadur. And the name of Minister Sengchen Dorjechan who sacrificed his life for furthering the cause of Indo-Tibetan relations will remain supreme among the greatest martyrs of the world. May his soul rest in peace!

## SOME ASPECTS OF THE UNION PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION

By PROF. GUR PRASAD SRIVASTAVA, M.A., LL.B., D.P.A., D.F.A. & D.

THE Government of India Act, 1919<sup>1</sup> had provided for the establishment of a Public Service Commission, but it did not come into existence for seven years. The Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services in India of 1924 also recommended for its establishment.<sup>2</sup> Thereupon, a Public Service Commission was established in 1926. After 1st April, 1937 it came to be known as the Federal Public Service Commission. The new Constitution of India has renamed it as the Union Public Service Commission.<sup>3</sup>

So far the Public Service Commission has consisted of three members including the Chairman. But the number of members has not been fixed by the Constitution and the President is empowered to determine it. The Government of India Act, 1919, stipulated that the members were to be appointed by the Secretary of State in Council for a period of five years and he alone could remove them before the completion of their term.<sup>4</sup> But the Act of 1935 provided that the Chairman and other members of the Commission should be appointed by the Governor-General in his discretion provided that at least half of the members should at the date of their appointment have held office for at least ten years under the Crown in India. Moreover, he, in his discretion, determined the number and conditions of service of the staff of the Commission. The Chairman of the Commission was ineligible for any office under the Crown in India after retirement. All the above provisions have been kept intact with minor alterations and adaptations to the changed circumstances of the new Sovereign Republic of India. As for example, the place of the Secretary of State has been taken by the President of the new Republic.

Article 316(1) of the new Constitution provides that the President would make the appointments of the Chairman and other members. The draft constitution had provided that "at least one half" of its members should have a service qualification of ten years. But the Constituent Assembly changed the above expression into "as nearly as may be one half" in its second reading of the Draft Constitution.<sup>5</sup> Emphasizing the need for the service element the Chairman of the Drafting Committee said that "obviously nobody could be a better judge in this matter than a person who had already been in the service of the Crown."<sup>6</sup> As the number of members has not been fixed, the President has been empowered to make regulations determining the number and conditions of service of members of the Commission.<sup>7</sup> The President would

also determine the number and conditions of service of the staff of the Commission. Moreover, the Chairman is ineligible for further employment under Government, although other members are not so debarred. The same article fixes the tenure of members at six years and the age of retirement at 65 years whichever is earlier, provided that a member can always submit his resignation to the President in writing. Moreover, no member is re-eligible for office on the expiry of his term. Article 317 provides for the removal of a member from office in certain conditions. It also provides that the Chairman or any other member of the Public Service Commission shall only be removed from office by order of the President on the ground of misbehaviour after the Supreme Court, on a reference being made to it by the President, has, on inquiry held in accordance with Article 145 of the Constitution, reported that the Chairman or member should be removed from office. In the meantime the President may suspend such a person. A member would be deemed guilty of misbehaviour if he becomes interested in any way in any governmental contract or agreement or participates in any way in its profit or in any monetary benefit arising from it otherwise than as a member and in common with the other members of any incorporated Company. The same article also provides that the President may by order remove from office the Chairman or any other member of the Public Service Commission if he is adjudged an insolvent or engages during his term of office in outside employment or is declared infirm in mind or body. But obviously the President is to act in this matter in consultation with his Cabinet.

The Royal Commission of 1924 recommended<sup>8</sup> that the Public Service Commission should possess two categories of functions, first, with regard to recruitment and second, with regard to some quasi-judicial matters, such as discipline and control of the Civil Service. But according to the Indian Statutory Commission the Public Service Commission performed four functions.<sup>9</sup> Firstly, it advised the Government on recruitment matters. Secondly, it held competitive examinations. Thirdly, in case of recruitment by selection it received applications, interviewed the candidates and submitted a list of those eligible in order of merit. Fourthly, in cases of promotion from the provincial service it considered the moral and physical qualities of candidates and advised the Governor-General in Council about their suitability for promotion. The Government of India Act, 1935, provided that the Commission should conduct competitive examinations for the civil service. The specific matters in which it was to be consulted were firstly, methods of recruitment to the Civil Service and secondly, principles of

1. Section 96(c).

2. Para 25.

3. Article 315.

4. Section 96C(1).

5. Vide the Pioneer, dated 23rd August, 1949.

6. Ibid.

7. Article 318.

8. Para 27.

9. Para 337.



appointment to the civil service and promotions and transfers from one service to another and also the suitability of candidates for appointment, promotion or transfer. Moreover, it was also the duty of the Public Service Commission "to advise on any matter so referred to them and on any other matter which the Governor-General in his discretion might refer to them."<sup>10</sup>

Article 320 describes the functions of the Union Public Service Commission. Firstly, it will conduct examinations for appointment to the services of the Union. Secondly, it shall be consulted in the following matters:

- (a) On all matters relating to recruitment to the Civil Services.
- (b) On the principles to be followed in making appointments, promotions and transfers.
- (c) On all disciplinary matters affecting Government Servants.
- (d) On any claim for costs incurred by a Government servant in defending himself against legal proceedings instituted in respect of his public acts.
- (e) On any claim for the award of a pension in respect of injuries sustained by a person while serving the Government.
- (f) To advise on any matter so referred to them and on any other matter which the President may refer to them.

3) Thirdly, it shall also be its duty to assist two or more States, on their request, in the recruitment of their administrative personnel. Fourthly, Article 321 of the new Constitution provides for the addition of functions of the Public Service Commission by an Act of the Legislature. This Article is based on the sovereignty of the legislature in the new Constitution of India.

But it has also been provided in Article 320 that the President "may make regulations specifying the matters in which either generally, or in any particular class of case or in any particular circumstances, it shall not be necessary for a Public Service Commission to be consulted." Moreover, it shall also not be consulted as respects the manner in which effect is given to Article 16 dealing with equality of opportunity in matters of public employment and also to Article 335 dealing with the claims of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

Thus we see that the picture of the Union Public Service Commission which emerges from the present study is not wholly satisfactory. (In fact, one finds that most of the provisions of the Act of 1919 and the Act of 1935 have been kept intact, the word 'President' being substituted for the Secretary of State.) The result of this has been that most of the defects of the old Public Service Commission have also not been eliminated. But, however, a reform of the Public Service Commission can be undertaken on the following lines in order that it may compare favour-

ably with the Public Service Commissions of other progressive countries like Great Britain and the United States of America.

Firstly, there should not be a fixed tenure of members. In Great Britain, the Civil Service Commissioners are appointed by the king during pleasure. This insures their independence from the executive Government. But the framers of our Constitution have not gone beyond the Government of India Act, 1919 and that of 1935 and so the defect continues.

Secondly, in Great Britain, the Civil Service Commission performs all the executive work relating to recruitment. The Public Service Commission did not possess this power under British Rule in India. But, strangely enough, in the new Constitution also the President has been authorised to make regulations ousting the jurisdiction of the Union Public Service Commission in some matters.

Thirdly, the Civil Service Commission in Great Britain has been free from political influence since the Palmerston Incident of 1857. But this was not the case with Public Service Commission under British Rule. Even now the complete independence of the Public Service Commission from political influence has not been assured.

Fourthly, the President has been empowered to determine the number of the members of the Commission. Therefore, it is possible that it might be changed from time to time according to Presidential whim. Moreover, it would give the President a great power over the Commission. In order to avoid these consequences it would have been better if the constitution itself had fixed the number.

Fifthly, the number of Civil Servants in the Commission is very large. This matter also bears out the statement that the new Constitution is a reproduction of the old British legislation with minor changes and adaptations. Nobody can deny the utility of Civil Servants on the Commission but to say that nobody could be a better judge in this matter is to condemn the democratic system of Government itself. In fact, not more than one-third of its members should have been Civil Servants. Moreover, it should have been definitely provided that the Chairman would be a non-official.

Finally, in Great Britain, the decisions of the Civil Service Commission in regard to age, health, character and ability of candidates are subject to judicial review. This should have been provided here also in order to ensure impartial selection.

But there is no cause for despair as the root cause of all evils of our political system, i.e., foreign domination has been removed from the Indian soil and our institutions would not work under any handicap now. The defects, as they are gradually realised in the course of working of our Governmental machinery, would, no doubt, be removed by amendments of the Constitution.

# THE INDIAN IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY

By JAMSHED MATHUR

In the days of the infancy of the iron and steel industry Thomas Carlyle prophesied :

"The Nation which gains control of iron soon acquires the control of gold."

The truth of this is borne out by the fact that, perhaps the best measure of the industrial prosperity of a nation is indicated by the production of these metals. A glance at Table I suffices to show where our country stands in relation to the World's industrially advanced nations. We produce less than one per cent of the total world production. Yet, Ancient India was renowned for her iron crafts !

TABLE I

Country	Pig Iron production (Million tons per year)		Crude Steel production		Per capita
	1940	1949	1940	1949	
World	104.6	..	143.4	150.5	
U.S.A.	41.8	48.0	59.8	69.6	860 lb.
Germany	20.6	7.0	25.1	9.0	
U.S.S.R.	15.4	..	19.5	25	
U. K.	8.3	9.6	13.4	15.6	520 lb.
France	4.5	7.0	5.5	9.0	
Belgium	2.2	3.6	2.2	3.8	
Japan	2.9	1.6	6.3	3.1	
India	2.0	1.5	1.4	1.4	8 lb.

The famous "Damascus" blades are said to have been forged in India, while the Delhi iron pillar which has survived the violence of natural agencies and the fall of kingdoms through the past 1500 years is a standing monument to the skill of its makers. However, it is obvious that though the art of extracting and shaping iron, generally as wrought iron, was well-known, judged by modern technique it was extremely crude—perhaps not very much different from the practice followed to this day by the aborigines of remote Singhbhum.

Sporadic attempts to establish the industry on a modern basis were made during the latter half of the last century. In 1830 the East India Company erected a blast furnace at Porto Novo (Madras State) but the attempt failed. The government failed again to establish iron works near Naini Tal (U. P.) between 1862 and 1877. The next attempt was made in 1873 by the Barakar Iron Works, whose blast furnaces at Kulti were reopened by the Bengal Iron and Steel Co. This concern was later amalgamated with the Indian Iron and Steel Company whose original furnaces were at Hirapur. With the discovery of the vast deposits of high grade iron ore and good quality coking coal in Bihar at the advent of this century, and the establishment of the Tata Iron and Steel Company in 1911, the steel industry was placed on a sure footing. In 1923, the Mysore works commenced production of iron and

has made steel since 1936. The last to enter the field was the Steel Corporation of Bengal in 1938 with its works at Burnpur.

The iron and steel industry has the distinction of being based entirely on indigenous materials. Prospecting has shown that quantitatively and qualitatively India probably excels any other country in her resources of iron ore, chiefly hematite. The most important deposit is in the Bihar-Orissa belt embracing Mayurbhanj, South Singhbhum, Keonjhar and Bonai. The major manufacturers draw their supplies from this source whose reserves have been estimated at 8,000 million tons of extremely high grade ore containing 60 to 68 per cent Fe. Deposits of the same high quality occur in the Central Provinces, with reserves estimated at 875 million tons. The Eababudan Hills of Mysore, with reserves of 150 million tons of 55 to 60 per cent Fe. content, supply the works at nearby Bhadravati. A considerable deposit of inferior grade magnetite exists in Madras State together with one of high grade hematite of about 100 million tons in Sandur State. In passing it may be mentioned that the U.S.A. utilises one of 50-55 per cent Fe content while Germany has used one of 20 per cent Fe content. Hence, we are fortunate in possessing the world's richest hematite in virtually inexhaustible quantity.

However, the position as regards good quality coal suitable for the manufacture of metallurgical coke allows for no complacency. Reserves of this are estimated at 750 million tons which may not last for more than 65 years. Coking coal is obtained almost entirely from the Jharia Coalfield; of the ten million tons mined annually only a third is used for metallurgical purposes. A more rational exploitation of these deposits with a view towards conservation is imperative. The other grades of boiler and gas coals required by the steel industry are available in the Raniganj (Bihar-Bengal), Bokaro-Karanpura (Bihar), Talcher (Orissa) and Central Indian fields. The Indian Coal Fields Committee (1946) has estimated total reserves of bituminous coal at 16,500 million tons, the bulk of which occurs in the Bihar-Bengal area.

The third major raw material are the fluxes, limestone and dolomite, used in the blast furnace and in basic steel making. These are obtained from Gangpur in Bihar and also from the Central Provinces. Fluorspar is imported.

Manganese ore is often a part of the blast furnace "burden," or in the form of ferromanganese or spiegeleisen it is used in the making of special steels. India is among the world's main suppliers of manganese ore. There are large deposits in the Central Provinces,



Bombay and Madras but the main producers of the steel industry draw their supply from deposits in Orissa.

The last essential requirement are the refractories. The refractory industry is well-established on or near the Bihar-Bengal coalfields where suitable raw materials for the making of fire-clay, silica, chrome bricks and shapes are available. Magnesitic refractories have been developed from extensive deposits in Madras and Mysore. The capacity of this industry is 250,000 tons per year, which is adequate for the present demand.

By far the leading steel producers in our country is the Tata Iron & Steel Co. The plant is ideally situated 150 miles west of Calcutta on the main B.N.R. line, roughly midway between the coalfields and the ore belt. Within a radius of 120 miles of the town almost every raw material is available. Compare this with the U.S. steel industry situated on the coalfields of Pennsylvania but obtaining their iron ore from the Lake Superior district over 700 miles away. An even more glaring example of the capriciousness of nature is given by the Russian industry located on the iron ore deposits of the Urals but obtaining coal from the Kuznets Basin no less than 1500 miles away. We are indeed fortunate that our iron ore and coal deposits occur almost together. The Tata plant has the reputation of being the twelfth largest steel plant in the world and the largest in the British Commonwealth. Taking the Indian operating blast furnace capacity as just over 2 million tons pig iron per year, with their five furnaces Tatas contribute approximately 63 per cent. They possess 67 per cent of the finished steel capacity, but in the peak year 1941 they produced 839,000 tons of the total production of 1.1 million tons, that is, 76 per cent of the total. A large variety of rolled steel material including structural sections, rails, bars, plates, black and galvanised sheets, tin plate, railway wheels, tyres and axles, etc., is produced. In 1934, they developed a special alloy steel for the construction of the Howrah bridge, the third largest cantilever bridge in the world. During the war, special steels ranging from straight carbon and high speed tool steels to high alloy aircraft and stainless steels were manufactured, including bullet-proof plate and armour-piercing shot steel. A recently developed product is high silicon sheet steel for the manufacture of motors, dynamos, transformers, etc.

The Indian Iron and Steel Company together with the Steel Corporation of Bengal comprise the second largest unit. The two blast furnaces at Hirapur supply pig iron to the neighbouring steel furnaces at Burnpur, while associated with the two blast furnaces of the old Bengal Iron Company (now I.I.S. Co.) at Kulti, 10 miles away, are the largest and most modern iron foundries in the country. SCOB makes products similar to Tatas, while Kulti specialises in the production of centrifugally cast iron pipes and railway

sleepers. The Indian Iron & Steel Company accounts for 35 per cent of the pig iron capacity in India.

The Mysore Iron & Steel Works at Bhadravati contribute 2 per cent of the pig iron capacity, with a single blast furnace of 80 tons per day capacity. This plant has the distinction of being the only one using wood charcoal instead of coke in the blast furnace "burden."

Other producers are the Government Ordnance Factories at Ishapur, Kanpur and Meerut and also the J. K. Industries (Kanpur) and the National Iron & Steel Co. (Calcutta), each of which have either small open hearth furnaces or a few electric furnaces for making special steels.

Another feature of the iron and steel industry is the Re-rolling industry making products which the main producers are not equipped to produce. The most important of these is the Tin Plate Company of India Ltd., situated 3 miles from the Tata plant from whom they obtain the black plates which are converted to tin plate for the metal box and container trade. This is the only works of its kind in India; with a production of 67,000 tons (in 1949) it meets almost all the country's demand. Another important industry located at Jamshedpur is the Indian Steel Wire Products Ltd., who manufacture a wide range of light rod, barbed wire, wire nails and bolts, nuts and rivets. The present capacity is 60,000 tons per year. Specialising in railway requirements as points, signal material, sleepers, special bolts and nuts is Guest, Keen and Williams Ltd. of Howrah, whose output is 48,000 tons per year. Conveniently situated at Nagapatam (Madras State) for the reception of imported billets and to supply markets far removed from the works of the main producers, is the Indian Steel Rolling Mills Ltd. The annual production of 18,000 tons includes bars and light rods. Finally we have the Eagle Rolling Mills at Kumardhubi (in Bihar coal-fields) producing light sections and bars. Besides the above-mentioned large plants there are approximately 130 mills in all parts of the country. The total capacity of the re-rolling industry is 500,000 tons; but production, chiefly from imported billets, does not exceed 60,000 tons per year.

Table II gives the installed pig iron capacity in the industry. Production in 1941 touched the 2 million

TABLE II

Company	Pig Iron capacity tons/year	Finished Steel capacity tons/year
Tata Iron & Steel Co. Ltd.	1,250,000	850,000
Indian Iron & Steel Co.—		
Kulti	328,500	..
Hirapur	584,000	..
Steel Corporation of Bengal	..	350,000
Mysore Iron & Steel Works	29,200	40,000
Ishapur Ordnance Factory	..	24,600
Total	2,191,700	1,264,600

tons per year mark but is now 1.5 million tons per year. The consumption of pig iron apart from steel making is about 130,000 tons per year, half of which is used for the production of railway sleepers, another 25,000 tons for pipes and fittings, and the remainder for other foundry purposes. Pig iron imports have been negligible, limited only to special qualities. In fact, since 1923 India has been one of the few important world suppliers. In 1938 exports chiefly to Japan were 629,000 tons. Exports declined sharply in war years, and with the expected increase in demand for foundry iron in the country the exportable surplus is bound to decrease. Since 1943 there has been an export of ferro-manganese (produced by Tatas) to the U.S.A.; 11,000 tons were exported in 1946. This is a step in the correct direction, since it is more profitable to convert our rich manganese ore to ferromanganese rather than to export it in the raw condition.

Turning to the steel production we find that the finished rolled steel capacity is approximately  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million tons per year (Table III). The peak production was 1.1 million tons in 1943 which has languished to

TABLE III

Year	Labour cost/ton finished steel at TISCO	Average output/ worker/annum
1939-40	Rs. 33.5	24.36 tons
1948-49	Rs. 90.8	16.3 tons

900,000 tons on the average. On the basis of that for the first half of this year the anticipated production is 920,000 tons. In contrast to this, the industrial panel assessed the demand for the coming years at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 million tons per year. Hence, there is a deficit of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 million tons. Thus, though we may be justly proud with the fact that in 1939 we produced 78 per cent of the total consumption of rolled steel compared to a mere 24 per cent in 1926, it is obvious that our production will fall increasingly short of the demand when our ambitious projects and development plans get under way.

The future of the steel industry is clearly one of expansion in order to meet the present deficit and cater for future requirements. The government have in mind the erection of new plants, possibly in the Central Provinces and in Orissa. Foreign experts have suggested the erection of two plants each of 500,000 tons capacity and with provision for doubling the

capacity. The cost of such a plant is estimated at Rs. 85 crores and the time of erection and operation as 8 to 10 years. Meanwhile, each of the major producers has drawn up expansion plans. The Tata Company propose to raise their steel capacity by 200,000 tons at capital cost of Rs. 12 crores, provided government assist in financing the programme by means of a substantial long-term loan. In the past years government has agreed to grant loans of Rs. 3½ crores to the SCOB and Rs. 1½ crores to the I.I.S.C.O. to enable them to undertake renewals and increase production of steel by 200,000 tons. The Mysore Iron and Steel Works, a State enterprise, has proceeded with its expansion schemes with commendable speed. By 1952 the production of pig iron is expected to rise from the present 28,000 tons per year to nearly 100,000 tons, leading to a trebling of the steel production. On the whole, it has been estimated that with government help and at a cost of 30 crores steel production can be increased by 500,000 tons in 3 to 4 years. This will enable the country to wipe out the immediate present shortage. The importation of half a million tons steel a year at an average cost of Rs. 400 per ton involves a heavy annual drain of some Rs. 20 crores in foreign exchange which we can ill afford.

The immediate problem crying for solution is regarding the efficiency of the industry. Largely because of deterioration in equipment and the intransigent attitude of labour, production has barely risen over 80 per cent of the installed capacity compared to over 95 per cent in the U.S.A. Besides, the labour force in an Indian Steel Works is about three times that in a modern works elsewhere. As Sir J. R. D. Tata said at the annual company meeting :

"There is obvious scope for a considerable reduction in the number of men and a corresponding increase in their earning power."

As for the productivity of labour the figures given in Table III need no comment.

The economic structure of a modern nation is largely dependent on its iron and steel manufacturing potential. We possess prodigal reserves of raw materials and there is no reason why we cannot build up an industry comparable to that in the Ruhr or Pittsburg. The foundations have already been well laid; it is up to the present generation to build upon them.







# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

## ENGLISH

**CRISIS IN CIVILIZATION:** By *Rabindranath Tagore*, *Visva-Bharati, Calcutta, 1950*. Pp. 18. Price Re. 1.

A few months before his death, the Poet wrote one of the most poignant essays which ever came from his pen. The world was in the midst of war, and all that the West had so long stood for in human civilization, seemed to be crumbling before our eyes. In spite of the surrounding darkness, the Poet reconquered his faith and proclaimed once more that the spirit of man would surely prove victorious in the end.

At a time, when the darkness seems to be enveloping us from all round, it is perhaps good to bear company with the Poet once again, and we do feel grateful to the publishers for having made the celebrated essay available once more in its new form.

**THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF MAHATMA GANDHI:** By *Gopinath Dhawan*. Published by *Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad*. 1951. Pp. viii + 407. Price Rs. 6.

This is the second and revised edition of a book published five years ago. Gandhiji never personally wrote any political or economic treatise. He was an intensely practical man; and his ideas shaped themselves even in the midst of work, undertaken on a national scale. Scholars should feel grateful to Dr. Dhawan for having delved into the thousands of pages which Gandhiji wrote in his life-time, and for having successfully formulated out of it a consistent social and political philosophy.

There are several points which strike one as the prevailing characteristics of Gandhiji's system of thought. He was never static in his life, he was ever-changing, and the change was progressively in the direction of radicalism and a greater appreciation of the oneness of the entire human family. Throughout the numerous extracts which Dr. Dhawan has quoted in his book, one cannot fail to be impressed by this living and growing character of Gandhian thought.

Gandhi, the man, has become very dear to us today. But mere hero-worship will not carry us anywhere unless we pin our faith on what the man stood for, and unless we try to put into personal and collective practice new ideas with which Gandhiji experimented in the midst of a world darkening under the shadow of war.

From that point of view, we should regard Dr. Dhawan's book as a timely and very useful contribution.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

**HISTORY OF MYSORE AND THE YADAVA DYNASTY:** By *G. R. Josyer*. Pp. 318. No price stated.

The title of this work is a misnomer. The author seeks to present "handily and readily" "the history of Mysore from early times and of its progress under the Yadava dynasty" (Preface). But the entire history of the territory from pre-historic far down into mediaeval times is summarised in about twenty pages (pp. 3-24) included under the singularly inappropriate title of the *The Dim Past*. By far the greater part of the work is concerned with the history of the present ruling house of Mysore from its traditional beginning in 1399 till the year 1950 when the present Maharaja was installed as *Rajapramukh* of the newly-created Mysore State of the Indian Union. The dynasty, as is well-known, passed through a series of singular vicissitudes through the period of its early struggles, its supersession by Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan and the assumption of administration of the State by the East India Company from 1831 to 1857. Since then, thanks to a succession of able rulers and administrators and their Dewans, the State has made phenomenal advance in educational, economic and (latterly) constitutional development. Of this long period the author gives a readable and valuable account in course of which he does adequate justice to the memory of two of Mysore's able, but unfortunate sovereigns, viz., Maharani Lakshammanni and Maharaja Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar.

It is however unfortunate that the work should be throughout lacking in historical references. Some of the extracts quoted by the author might have been abridged, or even omitted, without lessening the force of his arguments. What is worse, he occasionally quotes mere tales as sober history, witness his quotation of a Mahabharata story as "a vision of ancient Mysore" (p. 7) and his repeating the stories of adventures of some early kings of the Yadava dynasty (pp. 29-31, 35). His judgments of historical characters are sometimes marked by want to balance, e.g. his comparison of one of the early kings with Richard I of England (p. 35) and of another with "Queen Elizabeth of England, Louis XIV of France, Augustus of Rome, Akbar of Delhi and Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar" (p. 41), and his finding in a letter of queen Lakshammanni to the East India Company a reflection of the spirit of Queen Victoria and of Empress Maria Theresa (p. 99). The author's view that Alexander's invasion in 327 B.C. (sic) marked the dawn of modern Indian history (p. 7) is unsound, while his statement on the same page that Alexander's "Governor" sent his ambassador Megasthenes to Chandragupta Maurya's

Court is wrong. To the list of errata given at the end, the author might have added Napoleon (p. 64), Metcalf (p. 170), Jahagirdar (p. 174), and the date 1883 (p. 100). Apart from occasional lapses in composition (pp. 18, 51), the author's mannerisms of style are sometimes irritating to the reader. On p. 72 he writes, "Once again Maharani Lakshmmanni's efforts failed, like Bhagiratha's second effort to bring the waters of the Ganges for the consecration of the ashes of his ancestors. With Job-like patience she waited urging the British now and again like a Laputian flapper . . .". On the following page he says: "Nawab Hyder Ali was not an anointed sovereign. Tippu Sultan was not an anointed Sultan. Their usurpation of the administration did not destroy the monarchy, though it might have made it a figurehead, just as General MacArthur in present-day Japan is the supreme administrator but has not ousted the Mikado." The value of the book would have been enhanced by the addition of a bibliography and a map. Paper, print and the general get-up are excellent.

U. N. GHOSAL

**ADLER'S PLACE IN PSYCHOLOGY:** By Lewis Way. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. 1950. Price 18s. net.

Both Adler and Jung substantially helped Freud in spreading psychoanalysis at the beginning but in course of time both of them separated from him and each sought to establish his own school of thought. On the whole Jung seems to have attracted a larger number of adherents than Adler. Mysticism thrives easily in India and therefore amongst a certain class of people Jung's speculative writings are more widely read here than the scientific contributions of Freud. Adler's theories are very little read and scrutinised.

There has been much controversy about the validity and the reliability of the different points of view enunciated by Freud, Jung and Adler. The book under review has discussed de novo the old criticisms that have been made against Freud's psychoanalysis. No new argument has been advanced but that does not detract from the value of the book which lies mainly in presenting and evaluating the Adlerian standpoint. That task has been very well performed. The assumptions and implications of the theory have been clearly delineated and one who wishes to acquaint himself with Adler's views cannot do better than go through this volume, next of course to reading Adler's original writings. The author has drawn attention to the philosophical and teleological background of Adler's theory. Pushed a little further this may lead Adler's followers to travel the same road to mysticism which Jung and his followers have already reached. The chapter dealing with the comparison of Adler's views with the other prevailing schools of psychology like Behaviorism, Gestalt, etc., is an exceedingly interesting one.

The book is written in an elegant style and needs close and attentive study. We unhesitatingly commend the book to all students of Psychology.

S. C. MITRA

**KNOW YOUR MIND:** By Dr. G. D. Boaz, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon), Reader in Psychology, University of Madras. Published by S. Viswanathan. 1949. Price Rs. 3.

The author had contributed from time to time articles on Psychology in the Sunday Supplements of the dailies. This book is the outcome of a collection

of these articles. He invited questions relating to psychological difficulties that his readers usually had met and attempted in his article the solution of such problems on the basis of psychological tenets. The book, as it is published now, is therefore in the form of questions with answers. He has sifted and classified these questions under fourteen different heads, e.g., Childhood; On adult behaviour; Love, marriage and sex; etc. The answers have been given lucidly in a simple language easily to be grasped by all. In making it popular, the author has advisedly avoided the tortuous path of theories and controversies. The questions have been admirably answered. The more the book is read, the more will it spread the 'mental hygiene' sense among people. The book is a handy memorandum to other psychologists who, also, usually meet with similar queries from men under stress.

D. GANGULY

**GURUDEV TAGORE:** *Some essays collected and edited by R. Narasimhan, M.A., General Secretary, Tagore Society, Madras. Hind Kitabs Ltd. Pp. 132. Price Rs. 3.*

The book is in the form of a symposium on Rabindranath in which thinkers like Tan Yun Shan, A. Rama Iyer, D. Gurumurthi, K. R. Kripalani, G. Ramachandran, James H. Cousins, Sisir Kumar Mitra, Nolini Kanta Gupta, Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Krishnalal Shridharani, K. S. Ramaswami Sastri and Indira Devi Chaudhurani have joined. They have shown Rabindranath as poet, thinker, dramatist, artist and humanist. The most significant article is by Professor Tan Yun Shan, who has given an account of the Poet's visit to China in 1924 and told us how he was instrumental in bringing the two ancient civilizations in close contact again and thereby giving a great impulse to China's literary renaissance. The book will repay perusal. The foreword by C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar is illuminating.

B.

**AT THE CROSS ROADS:** *The Autobiography of Nripendra Chandra Banerji. A Mukherji and Co., Calcutta. Pp. 318. Price Rs. 8.*

This book of reminiscences of a man who was formed by the Bengal "Swadeshi" Movement (1904-1910) is pleasantly written touching the surface of the mighty forces that were making Bengal and through her India. The writer came under the influence of the Dawn Society and of its venerable founder, Satish Chandra Mukherji. The influence of this age abided with him with its call to sacrifice and grimness. Though he could not make the choice that he made 15 years later when he joined the Gandhian Non-co-operation Movement, the latter showed the tendency of his mind. During this interval he acted as a teacher of youth in Government Colleges, and the episodes described by him show the spiritual conflict he was going through. Gandhiji released him from this dilemma. But in politics he was not happy, being incapable of making the compromises that an effective politician must make. And after wanderings in this field he reverted to his natural vocation—education. Journalism as editor of the Calcutta *Servant*, of the *Rangoon Mail*, of the Calcutta *Eastern Express*, fell naturally into this line.

The best part of the book is the description of life in Bengal's country-side including small towns. It gives an idea of Bengalees in their home activities till then accepting the British dispensation. Then came



the 'Svadeshi' Movement which roused these complacent people to the shame and indignity of alien rule. This awakening made possible all that has happened during the next 45 years. Nripendra Chandra was a witness to this great change in a people's life.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

**A HISTORY OF MAITHILI LITERATURE** (Vol. I): By Dr. Jayakanta Mishra, M.A., D.Phil., Lecturer, Allahabad University. Tirabhukta Publications, 1 Sir P. C. Banerji Road, Allahabad. 1949. Pp. 472. Price Rs. 15.

Dr. Jayakanta Mishra has contributed substantially through this volume to the building up of a historical survey of modern Indian Literature. Maithili as a distinct branch of that literature extending from the fourteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century is treated in this volume. The shifting of literary activity from Eastern India to Nepal and then back to Mithila proper with consequent emphasis on lyric, dramatic and prose forms, is provocative to the scholar and it presents grounds of investigation. Similarly, Nachari songs and Champu forms in modern times will seem to be curious to a Bengali reader.

Coming to early Maithili literature, Dr. Mishra has declared that the Bauddha *gans* have the greatest claim to be considered as old Maithili specimens. If we have to depend on philology mainly, the matter should be studied dispassionately, without the least trace of any special pleading. As days pass on, and as claims are being filed by the different East Indian languages, the question is assuming the form of a "problem." The sooner the question is settled once for all, the better for a proper perspective of the growth and development of modern Indian languages in the Eastern zone. With Jyotirishwara we are on firmer ground, and we feel quite at home with Vidyapati Thakura, that is, middle of the fourteenth century.

Dr. Mishra has fully taken into account the contemporaries and successors of Vidyapati, and this part of the book shows his great interest and diligence. But the dramas in Nepal again present a fertile topic for discussion, and the Assamese dramas of the period invite a comparison. Be it said to the credit of Dr. Mishra that he has spared no pains in presenting a connected and documented account. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee's commendatory introduction will be perused with interest in evaluating the work of Dr. Mishra.

P. R. SEN

**THE TALES AND TEACHINGS OF HINDUISM**: By D. S. Sarma, M.A., Principal, Vivekananda College, Madras. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., 261-263 Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 176. Price Rs. 3.

The distinguished author of this book is well known for his popular works on Hinduism and allied subjects. His books are among the best to popularise the fundamentals of our faith among the English-knowing Indians. The present book, intended to be used as a text-book in High schools, consists of two parts. The first part gives an outline of Hinduism, its scriptures and teachings, and ascertains its place among the religions of the world. This part is meant for detailed and serious study. In the first chapter the learned author shows that Hinduism is the oldest of the ten living religions of the world and its fundamental scripture, Rig-Veda, is the oldest religious work. In this chapter he has clearly pointed out how Hinduism has taken the wind out of the

sails of all the religions that it has met with throughout the ages and concludes, "It thus assimilated Buddhism in ancient times, withstood the onslaughts of Islam in the middle ages and has outlived the propaganda of Christianity in modern times".

The second part of the book, recommended for non-detailed study, gives a brief account of the famous stories and legends contained in our immortal epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata as well as the Bhagabata and other age-old Puranas. In this part two chapters are devoted to the *leelas* of Krishna and the last two to the four famous legends of Dhruva, Prahlada, Harishchandra, Savitri and Satyabana. The exposition is so elegant and impressive that the readers cannot leave without finishing it. The chapters on Hindu scriptures and the teachings of Hinduism are highly interesting and instructive. A perusal of them is sure to stimulate the minds of the younger generation for a deeper study of our religion. Now that we are politically free, it is high time for us to broadcast the principal tenets of our faith and to prepare ourselves for cultural liberation.

Rightly does the thoughtful author regret in the preface and observe: "It will be an evil day for India and her civilisation if the boys and girls in our schools were allowed to remain ignorant of the purity and heroism of Savitri and Sita, the resoluteness and indomitable faith of Dhruva, Prahlad and Harishchandra or of the earthly careers of those Great Ones whom we regard as divine incarnations."

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

**APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA**: By P. S. Joshi. Printed by Diamond Fields Advertiser Limited, Currey Street, Kimberley, South Africa. Price not stated.

Mr. P. S. Joshi has already made his mark as a writer on the problem of racial relations. The book under review, a very readable slender volume, deals within its narrow compass with the various aspects of the colour question in South Africa. The author shows how unjust and untenable the theory of "Herren Volk" is and warns in unmistakable terms that it is pushing the Union of South Africa to the edge of the precipice. A very valuable Appendix gives, among others, a list of discriminatory laws against non-Europeans in South Africa since 1910. Students of racial relations will find the book very useful. For the exponents of apartheid it will be a bitter pill to swallow.

Apartheid is territorial segregation of the Blacks from the Whites. The policy of apartheid, if pursued to its logical conclusions, will lead inevitably to the disintegration of the Union of South Africa. It is therefore dangerous to the wrong-doer no less than to the wronged. The Indians in South Africa, already reduced to "a helpless, voiceless and voteless minority" with many fundamental rights denied to them, are facing the most immediate danger by the application of apartheid. Segregation is a shrewd device to achieve their repatriation without compensation. Yet the self-same Indians did much to make South Africa what she is today.

The creed of apartheid violates and suppresses human rights and freedom. It aims at perpetuating the domination of a microscopic white minority over the non-white majority in South Africa. This 'new barbarism,' more terrible than that of ancient times, is against all accepted canons of justice and fairplay. It denies a full life to the non-whites. To quote Mr. Joshi, "Under the pretext of civilisation, the Bantu has been

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robbed of his freedom, the Coloured of his heritage and the Asiatic of his equality."

The champions of apartheid like Dr. Malan refuse to hear the faint murmurs of life, albeit faint, in the placid waters of colonial Africa. A number of incidents in recent times point to the rising temper of the African people. Dr. Malan's government as well as the Opposition are "heavy with the wine of racial superiority" and unless sanity prevails, they are sure to be overtaken by Nemesis.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

### BENGALI

**SARAT PARICHAY** : By Brajendra Nath Bandyopadhyay. Ranjan Publishing House, 57, Indra Biswas Road, Belgachhia, Calcutta-87: 1951. Pp. 130 Price Re. 1-5.

This little book is a valuable addition to the not very extensive literature on the late Sarat Chandra Chatterji, the great novelist of Bengal and Modern India. Sri Brajendra Nath Bandyopadhyay has treated the subject with his usual detachment and his adherence to attested facts, and the result is a very reliable source-book for certain aspects of Sarat Chandra's career, his ideas and his literary output. The main facts of Sarat Chandra's career are first stated, with copious relevant quotations from persons who are or were in a position to attest to facts of Sarat Chandra's life and to give an account of the development of his mind, and Sarat Chandra's own statements as in letters, published lectures and other documents have also been utilised. These last form a particularly valuable series of documentations for Sarat Chandra. As can be expected from Sri Brajendranath, there is a well-documented bibliography in chronological order of the writings of Sarat Chandra so far available in print. These form over 43 items. This is followed by a good and a useful selection from Sarat Chandra's hitherto unpublished letters to some of his friends and relations, which give us valuable glimpses into Sarat Chandra's career and personality. There are two plates, one a fine portrait of Sarat Chandra and the other a reproduction of an autograph letter in Bengali. On the whole, *Sarat Parichay* will remain a valuable contribution to the study of this great literary figure of Modern India whose influence has now extended far beyond his own province and whom through translations readers of Hindi and other Indian languages have also made their very own, as much as readers of Bengali in which Sarat Chandra's original literary output is enshrined.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

### HINDI

**JEEVANKA SADVYAYA** : Translated by Haribhan Upadhyaya. Navajivan, Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp. 172. Price Re. 1.

This is an excellent rendering from *Economy of Human Life*, first published about a couple of centuries ago, but the authorship of which has been attributed from Benjamin Dandamis to Lord Chesterfield. The book has been published in most of the important languages of the world. It was translated for the first time into Hindi however, only some years back. The present is the second edition. The book is full of wise observations on man's various duties, social relationships, search for true happiness and virtues and vices. It is, thus, a great help in character-formation. The translator incidentally mentions that the book was a great favourite of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who recommended it frequently to his friends, particularly to the young among them.

**SANGHARSHA AUR SHANTI** : By Shri Swami Karapatri. Dharmasangha Shikshamandal, Sanmarg-Bhavana, Tour Hall, Benares. Pp. 256. Rs. 3.

The author's works not being available now in the market the publishers have planned to bring out a series of publications, embodying the later writings together with the previous ones of the great thinker. This is the first volume. It deals with prayer, world peace, culture, religion, study of scriptures, etc., suggesting several ways for overcoming storm or conflict, within and without, and entering into true peace. A useful manual for all spiritual aspirants.

G. M.

### GUJARATI

**BHAGWAN SATHE VACHIT** : Published by Monilal K. Desai, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, 100 Bhuleshwar, Bombay. 1948. Paper-cover. Artistic jacket. Pp. 24.

In this very small booklet whose title is—Talks with God—Mr. Desai's late father has set down 51 dicta, all addressed to God and has put in the forefront His omnipotence and helpfulness.

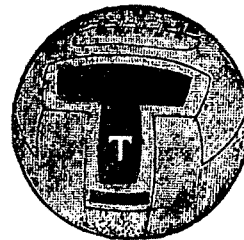
**URMILANUN SWAPNU AND OTHER POEMS** : By Bhai Shankar Kuberji Shukla. Printed at the Adarsha Printers, Rajkot. 1947. Thick paper-cover. Pp. 76. Price Re. 1.

It is said that Urmila, the wife of Lakshman, insisted on going into exile with her husband, Rama and Sita and was ordered by Lakshman to remain behind. She obeyed but immediately fainted and did not regain consciousness till Lakshman returned fourteen years after and roused her. The poet has drawn an imaginary picture of their talk—rather dialogue after their happy union and takes an opportunity of describing the adventures of Sita, Hanuman, Bharat and other characters in the Ramayana. It is a sober, steady performance, so are the other poems.

K. M. J.

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# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## What is Democracy ?

Two political terms, Democracy and Communism, now designate the two rival political systems which divide all mankind into two great camps. George Godwin writes in *The Aryan Path*:

Communism has been very clearly defined, both in the works of Marx and in Communist Manifestos and expositions of later writers. We consequently have a very clear and precise idea of what Communism is as a political philosophy. We also know by experience during the post-war years by what methods its exponents seek to impose their philosophy upon the world.

The Communist sees human society as an antithesis in which the wicked Capitalist oppresses the victimized wage-slave, a description once true, but, in the main, no longer so. The object of Communism is the capture of political power by the proletariat, the abolition of private property, and the complete subjection of the individual, as individual, to the State.

The question is: What do we mean when we use the term Democracy?

Unlike Communism, Democracy is not a closely-reasoned political philosophy, with a single prophet and a holy book. Democracy has no Karl Marx, no *Das Kapital*. It is a general conception of the relation of the individual to the State. It is amorphous and in perpetual flux, changing with historical changes, meaning one thing today, another yesterday.

In general terms, Democracy has always meant some system in which power rests with the body of the people, as opposed to the rule of one, or of an oligarchy of the superior few.

In antiquity it worked successfully in the form of the city state, but under conditions which would be held today to invalidate it. For Athens and other Greek City States tolerated the institution of slavery. Moreover, the classic form of Democracy was never subjected to the test of quantity, being designed for a comparatively insignificant social and political unit—the city.

A repeat pattern is discernible in all subsequent forms of Democracy from that of Rome to the emergent cities of Flanders and Germany in the Middle Ages. As cities became absorbed into states, democratic ideas were subjected to new tests, for what may be suitable for a small political unit may be unsuitable for a large one. One cardinal change which came with the growth of nations was the substitution of indirect for direct representation. The citizen no longer expressed himself in person, but through his nominee. The nearest thing to the old system of democratic political function is to be found today in Switzerland.

The central ideal of modern Democracy, theoretically, at least, is the widest possible degree of personal freedom for the individual, equality before the law, and political power, that is, the right to vote.

The citizen who possesses the vote derives from it a sense of political effectiveness. He feels that he can bring to bear personal pressure, that he can function to make or unmake governments. In a true Democracy this would, indeed, be the case. But with delegation has passed control, for the voting of any one political party into power is in a real sense the surrender of political power by those who voted it in. A government, under a Democracy such as the English, can retain power for considerable periods after it has lost the confidence of the majority which returned it to power.

The truth would appear to be that the sense of political power conferred by the vote is largely illusory and that the endowment of a political party with a mandate to govern is, in fact, a surrender to a small group of supreme power, within that party. Sorel said many years ago:

"The modern State is a body of intellectuals which is invested with privileges, and which possesses means of the kind called political for defending itself against the attacks made on it by groups of intellectuals eager to possess the profits of political employment."

Bertrand Russell has also suggested the illusory nature of the vote as an instrument of political function. The truth would appear to be that the possession of political power, whether wielded with absolute one-man authority, as in the case of Hitler, Stalin and Franco, or by a cabinet on the British pattern, engenders power appetite and propensities in individuals thus invested which were not apparent before their accession to power. It would therefore appear to be the case that beneath democratic forms may exist autocratic, or quasi-autocratic power, the State, as represented by the Cabinet or central committee of the party in power, taking to itself, little by little, more and more of the liberty of the subject, drifting by force of innate psychological trends towards the dictator or autocratic mentality. Bertrand Russell said:

"It has become increasingly difficult to put trust in the State as a means to liberty, or in political parties as instruments sufficiently powerful to force the State into the service of the people."

The present-day trend in countries vocal in their adherence to Democracy, in particular Britain and the United States, is towards the infringement of the rights of the individual and the enthrone of the State at his expense. To believe that this trend is peculiar to Communism is to be deceived by appearances. The price of the planned State is the freedom of the individual. It involves also the creation of a new caste system, one based, not on wealth, but on that privilege which belongs to the official who is armed with State authority.

Democracy tends today towards the so-called Welfare State.

Can the Welfare State, with its perpetual preoccupation with material goods, overestimate their importance at the expense of the things of the spirit?

Is poverty, divorced from actual want, a great evil? If so, the teaching of the sages of all time has been grievously wrong. May it not be that poverty, divorced from actual lack of the necessities of life and redeemed



from the fear of war, provides a better soil for the flowering of the human spirit? And is it not significant that mankind's greatest teachers have been those who renounced material possessions, from Christ to Gandhi?

Can there be any true Democracy without freedom of conscience?

Modern warfare has introduced a new ethical problem, namely, the right of the State to force a man or woman to take part in total warfare, either as combatant or otherwise. In nothing else is the issue of State vs. Individual brought so sharply before the tribunal of men's consciences.

Conscription, hated but endured, by European peoples, was considered, even in the lifetime of this writer, as something alien to the British democratic way of life.

Today we have conscription in the two western democracies of Britain and the United States, so that throughout the West the so-called Democratic states have assumed this power over their subjects, overriding the protests of those who have pleaded conscientious objections to all forms of life taking in the name (and this may well seem strange) of the State religion. Their fault is that they accept the Christian commandment: "Thou shalt not kill" literally.

The whole horrible story of this overriding of the individual by the democratic State has been told by Denis Hayes in *Challenge of Conscience*, a fully-documented presentation of the facts. This is a book that reveals how far Britain has travelled towards the methods she condemns in the Totalitarian States.

Below the surface goods of many of the State's activities in the modern Democracies are evils similar to those execrated in the Communist lands.

Today, those who use this term should consider what they mean by it, and we who hope for the liberation of the common people of all lands from all ideologies and national hatreds and rivalries, should have a care just now and consider whether Democracy is indeed drifting towards a masked form of Totalitarianism—and take thought, too, as to what we can do about it.

### The Role of the Navy in Free India

A correct reading of Indian history shows that the sea has played a very important part in it. S. P. Sharma writes in *The Indian Review* :

The important role that the sea has played in Indian history was wholly overlooked by the British during the period of their rule in this country. Accordingly, they gave a wrong interpretation of the subject, and popularised it too through the schools and colleges that they recognised in the land. Now that they have left, however, it becomes urgently necessary to correct the mistake they made, and to see Indian history in proper perspective. Their view, indeed, was vitiated by two factors. As successors to the Moghals, they inherited certain notions of the latter in respect of defence strategy. The Moghals were essentially a land-power interested in the security of northern India. Danger threatened only from the north-west, and they accordingly devised security measures in that quarter. The second vitiating factor for the British was, paradoxically enough, their own sea-power which shielded India for them for over a century. In fact, the Royal Navy was so immeasurably strong during the period that the British seem to have taken the fact for granted and forgotten all about it. Hence it is that they did not develop the Indian Navy as they did the Indian army; their own navy was always able and available to ward off danger to India from across the seas.

Indeed, while invaders from the land-side were absorbed into the local population in due course, and completely Indianised, those from across the seas, like the British themselves, were able to impose their will on India, and to influence her destinies in profound manner, while keeping themselves aloof and superior by virtue of their foreign bases. In this manner, Britain which ruled the waves all through the 19th century remained unchallenged in her Indian empire by any other power. But towards the end of the century, Japan by means of her occupation of Formosa, and the U.S.A. by getting the possession of the Philippines, entered the Indian Ocean as naval powers. On the Arabian Sea side also, certain developments were taking place. France occupied Madagascar, and from Diego Suarez, the great port and base in the island, could control the sea-routes of the Indian Ocean from the west. Germany occupied Tanganyika and Italy came into Somaliland, both the countries thus securing coast-lines on the Indian Ocean. Nonetheless, Britain may be said to have been all-powerful on the seas.

World War I eliminated Germany from the Indian Ocean; but after 1918, France built a powerful naval base at Diego Suarez, and Italy began to develop Massawa on similar lines. In the east, Japan, which had obtained certain mid-Pacific islands by virtue of the Treaty of Versailles, developed naval bases in them, as, for instance, in Truk and Yapa. Clearly, she was looking southwards in her schemes of expansion. The U.S.A. also became a Pacific power, developing a great naval base at Pearl Harbour in the Hawaiian islands. Naturally, Britain relished none of these developments.

In order to strengthen her own position in the Indian Ocean, Britain constructed a very powerful naval base at Singapore.

She thus stood sentinel at the entrance of the Indian Ocean, issuing a silent warning to all those who might presume to question her might in the region. She also inaugurated the Royal Indian Navy in 1934 so as to have at the elbow a small force capable of expansion as circumstances demanded.

Such was the naval pattern in the Indian Ocean when World War II broke out. Within a short time thereafter, Italy moved into the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, thus depriving Britain of her nearest route to India, and obliging her to take the longer one round the Cape of Good Hope. Japan which was already in command of the coastal waters of China up to Canton, coolly moved south and in record time,

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dealt a series of telling blows at the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. so that she was able to occupy the whole of south-east Asia and to oust both those powers therefrom. It is now known that if she had chosen to attack India, we had practically no defences worth the name. But she probably felt she had bitten off more than she could chew, and that her lines of communication across the wide seas were long and extended enough already. In any case, the American fleet appeared about this time at the Coral Seas, and she withdrew without visiting India. Her submarines however continued to infest the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea and to take a heavy toll of merchant shipping there.

Not merely history but also current events have proved how vitally important are the surrounding waters in influencing the destinies of India.

Even if she were not threatened by any naval power, the very fact that the Indian Ocean becomes the scene of conflict for other powers will suffice to paralyse her foreign trade. The import of strategic material might be held up, and her very security affected thereby. It is thus very essential for her safety that she should contemplate a sort of Munroe doctrine for the Indian Ocean. Among the countries of south Asia skirting the Indian Ocean, she is the most dependent on the seas for foreign contacts; for on the north, her land-route is very difficult and does not encourage heavy commercial traffic. Besides, she is almost equidistant from the east and from the west. And lastly, her children are found scattered all along the fringes of the Indian Ocean, and she would naturally like to maintain social and cultural contacts with them, by keeping the intervening seas free and open.

A peep into the future seems to reinforce the same lesson for her as is taught by history, geography and economy. The power of the United Kingdom, both naval and political, is dwindling in the Far East, but that of the Commonwealth in particular, that of Australia, is increasing. The U.S.A. is today all-powerful in the region, and has a direct approach into the Indian Ocean from the south. Japan, for the time being, is prostrate; but what with her energy and her traditions, it is inconceivable that she should continue to be so for a long time. And being an island, she may be expected to pay special attention to the revival of her fighting and merchant navies. As for China, she has a naval past of worth and renown; and what with her new Government, she may be expected to develop her navy at no distant date and to enter the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Burma, Pakistan and Indonesia are other powers in the area which are likely to emerge with strong navies. But India's interests do not conflict with those of any of them. Conditions in Indo-China are still unsettled; but all that India desires is to have friendly neighbours who will leave her to her own way of life.

On the side of the Arabian Sea also, the developments that are taking place are worth noting. The Middle East, with its oil resources has become a focal point in global strategy. The U.S.A. is very much interested in the area no less than the United Kingdom. But a third party is also waiting to enter the lists: this is the Soviet Union. From time immemorial, the Persian Gulf has had vast strategic importance. Germany before World War I even thought in terms of a Berlin-Baghdad railway in order to reach the warm waters of the Persian Gulf by circumventing the Royal

Navy in the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea. Today the position in the Soviet Asia is changing rapidly. Countries backward so far are developing industries and are likely to call for a sea-outlet for trade purposes. And the Persian Gulf is the readiest they can think of. The question in short is when is the Soviet likely to enter the Indian Ocean as a naval power, in addition to Britain and America?

The role of the navy in a scheme of India's defence is practically determined for her in this manner by circumstances.

India has no aggressive intentions against any other country; but it would be folly to assume that other countries will be similarly disposed towards her. She must therefore keep the powder dry. Besides, if the Indian Ocean becomes a battle-arena for others, she even as a non-belligerent, should be able to protect her own foreign trade. That would be a difficult and delicate task, but not one of her seeking. And if she does not possess the power to undertake it, the power to see that the needs of her security are respected by others, she will indeed have to regret it.

### Don Quixote

C. Jinarajadasa writes in *The Theosophist* :

Every one knows the meaning of the word "quixotic," which is a course of action that shows a certain want of mental balance and adjustment to reality, though it may have behind it a very good motive. This conception has arisen from reading the English translations of the Spanish work *Don Quixote*, whose author is Cervantes. Incidentally let me mention that the word in Spanish is pronounced *Quihote*, with an accent on *ho*, Qui pronounced as Ki. It is pronounced in French *Don Quichotte*.

Readers usually get an idea of the hero of the romance as definitely crazy, doing all kinds of outrageous actions, like tilting at a windmill, imagining that the moving sails are some kind of enemy charging at him. He also imagines that peasant girls are princesses and titled ladies.

Don Quixote is always accompanied in his adventures by his squire, Sancho Panza. Sancho does not realize that his master is crazy, and believes in the offer made to him that his master presently will make him the governor of an island.

Don Quixote is described as thin and gaunt, a tall man, who has had his head turned by reading innumerable stories of the knights of antiquity who went

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out to seek adventures and met with various magicians. While to all Don Quixote appears as a ludicrous figure, nevertheless there is something striking about this madman. There is a certain idealism in him, for he goes out seeking adventures as did the knights of old, claiming that he is a Knight Errant whose task is to rescue captive maidens, put down cruelty, and battle against injustice.

Now, it is a strange thing that in what is known as Latin America—a phrase used to designate all the countries of South and Central America, Mexico, Cuba and Porto Rico, whose colonizers were from Spain, as also Brazil, whose colonizers were from Portugal—in nearly every home there will be found a picture of Don Quixote, and sometimes a statuette. He is always depicted as tall and thin, standing and reading a book, waving one arm declaiming, and careless of his dress with one of his long stockings hanging down. Once in Mexico when I went through the weekly market and came to the part where pottery was being sold, I found a statuette of Don Quixote. It was evident, therefore, that this crazy man had a certain attractiveness about him.

Why should almost every home in Latin America have a picture of this crazy man? It is only when one lives in the homes of Latin Americans that one penetrates a little into the feeling behind the respect given to the crazy hero. That respect is so great that a special condensed edition of the great work of Cervantes has been prepared for the use of schools in Mexico with very graphic illustrations of certain incidents in the story.

The true reason for the high regard paid by Latin Americans to Don Quixote, the crazy man, is due to the fact that in spite of his madness he represents a certain ideal of what Jesus Christ proclaimed in Palestine.

It is quite easy to note in Roman Catholic countries that outside the churches and cathedrals there are always beggars. That church is the most powerful in the world, and yet Roman Catholicism, as also all forms of Protestantism, has not been able to teach their adherents the significance of Christ's commandment: "Forasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me." In spite of churches and hierarchies, and monasteries and nunneries, very little has been done to root out poverty, disease and degradation. I say "very little," for I know well how certain monastic orders of monks and nuns have with the greatest devotion tried to help the poor and the sick. But what they have done is almost like a drop in a bucket. What is noticeable is the attitude of callousness of the religious-minded men and women who go to church and pray to God, yet whose conscience is not pricked by the contrast of wealth and poverty in a so-called Christian civilization. Of course, the same contrast exists in Hindu and Buddhist civilizations. Evidently the religious conscience of mankind has many atrophied spots, so that no response can be obtained from them.

In the romance *Don Quixote*, this crazy man, who sets out on what he calls adventures, again and again proclaims that he belongs to the ancient band of chivalrous knights founded by King Arthur, and that he has taken the vow to aid those in need and to put down the oppression of the weak by the strong. He says: "My office is no other than to avenge those who suffer injustice, and to castigate the proud. If

you can inform me that you have any work for me to do in this locality, you have only to tell me and I promise you by the order of the knighthood which I have received, to give you full satisfaction according to your wishes." Again: "Friend Sancho, recollect that I have been born by the will of heaven in this year of iron to transform it to the year of gold. It is for me that dangers, great actions and valorous deeds have been reserved. It is I who have resuscitated the Round Table, the twelve knights of France and the nine of fame. I have to abolish the memory of tyrants." Elsewhere he says: "Well is it that many possessions and rest were invented for weak men of the royal court; but work, inquietude and arms were invented for those whom the world calls Knights Errant, of whom I am, though not worthy, the least." Again he says: "I seek adventures in order to offer my arms and my person for the most dangerous fate that may appear before you, in order to aid those who are weak and in need."

Each knight of the old pledged himself to valorous deeds in the name of his lady of adoration; all the time his work of adventure is to put down evil; remembering that he is doing the work of God, but also as an offering to his lady.

It is because of this strange idealism of a madman, who tries to live the ancient teachings of Palestine, that the peoples of Latin America, while they smile at his crazy adventures, have their hearts touched by the idealism of deeds that should be done by the followers of a religion, but are not done.

One very striking element in the romance is the contrast between knight and squire.

The knight is the idealist, though he is crazy. Sancho, the squire, is the materialist whose first thought is, "What am I going to get out of all this?" He is all the time thinking of the good things of life, especially his meals, and of making a nest for himself. Sancho represents, to Latin America, the man of the world whose first interest is himself, while in contrast Don Quixote is the idealist, though he does crazy actions.

A long poem by Roberto Nieto of the Republic of Colombia, with the title, *Oh, Sancho*, says as follows regarding Don Quixote and Sancho:

"Oh Sancho! You have not died! In the midst of the motley restless crowds of each day I have seen the reflection of your face in the noisy gabble. But how changed you are, and with what elegance! You have changed the pack-saddle for gloves, and instead of riding on a sorry nag, you drive in a car. Casting on

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one side the garb you wore, you have now the trappings of a gentleman. Good Sancho, who can discover in your present outfit the base lackey of once upon a time?

"But your uncouth nature has not changed; today, as yesterday, it is matter incarnate. What to your eyes is our bitter savage war with grief and pain? Only a fair. You are still the same; still come from your lips the empty good-natured outbursts of laughter. With your bourgeois stride you strut proudly among the learned.

"Meanwhile Quixote overthrown in battle rolls in the dust with his broken lance, invokes the lovely Dulcinea, and dreams of a far-away island.

"When you come on the scene, the world bows before you; for in this bizarre and outlandish age only one light shines—that of your genius.

"Ye comrades of Don Quixote, ye brave paladins who tread the bitter road to the trumpet-tunes of warlike horns, defying the wrath of Destiny! your mission is ended. Do you wonder? Sheathe the sword that defended your ruined ramparts. And salute in Sancho, the lackey without blemish, the heroes of the future.

"What matters the ideal? Wounded and withered, as are yourselves, in the fearful reverses in the tenacious struggle, the ideal lies dead on the bloody field of battle."

Cervantes' great classic appeared in Spain in 1605. The first English translation by Shelton appeared in England in 1612.

Evidently Butler, the author of *Hudibras*, had read Shelton, for we have Dr. Johnson writing as follows:

"The poem *Hudibras* is not wholly English; the original idea is to be found in the history of Don

Quixote, a book to which a mind of the greatest powers may be indebted without disgrace."

Don Quixote knows when he sets out on his mission of succouring the distressed that he must first be knighted by one who is already a Knight. Cervantes describes the ludicrous manner in which the crazy man achieves knighthood. He has then, according to the rules of chivalry, to take a new name. He ceases to be Don Quixote de la Mancha (Mancha being a small estate of his family) and calls himself "the Knight of the Scrowful Countenance." It is this knightly name of Don Quixote that is used by the Brazilian poet, Filinto de Almeida, in his Portuguese sonnet on the hero. The sonnet is exquisite and tender in sentiment; to translate it into bald prose is like offering dried rose-petals instead of a living rose. But at the moment that defect cannot be rectified; here is what de Almeida wrote:

"Meanwhile, whoever sees him forlorn and stunned, with his astorishing helmet and incredible armour, beaten and stoned in so many combats, will call him a Knight, but of the Sorrowful Countenance. What matters? The hero dreams on ever, grave and saddened. And if to dream so is near to insanity, he is strong and happy in the armour of his dream, and so dreaming he marches down the centuries.

"Leave him alone to go on his way, though we laugh at him, as he battles for justice and combats crimes. Leave him with his illusion and its great inglorious effort. For it is such gallant lunacy that makes him so sublime. Awaken him never; leave him drunk with his golden pertinacious ideal which no suffering shall lessen, so as to dream of glory, love, justice and loving-kindness. For only who knows to dream thus is worthy of the name—a Man."

The word "quixotic" conveys no meaning in Latin America.



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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Jacob Epstein—Art With A Bite In It

On the occasion of the seventieth anniversary of the world-famed sculptor Jacob Epstein, Alfred Werner writes in the *Jewish Frontier*, March, 1951:

About fifty years ago, on the corner of Hester and Forsythe Streets in Downtown Manhattan, Jacob Epstein lived in a small room which contained an iron bedstead, a diminutive stove, and his walls with sketches and paintings of Ghetto types on them. By cooking his own meals and paying only \$4 rent, he was able to make ends meet on \$12 a month, and he was content to make just that much by selling his sketches. He lived this way by choice, when his parents, middle-class business people from Poland, moved to better uptown quarters, Jacob refused to leave them. They shook their heads: "Meshuggah!", but allowed him to live in his own fashion. And he was so content on the East Side that even his one excursion to the country ended in failure. "It is only in the Ghetto where there is human nature that I have ideas for sketches," he confessed.

The East Side provided him a wide choice of subjects. There were all the pushcart peddlers, sweatshop workers and patriarchs. Many of them became immortalized in the pages of Hutchins Hapgood's book on the Ghetto, for which Epstein drew the illustrations.

Epstein did not become famous for these drawings, though they revealed his great power of observation. At the age of twenty, Epstein already mastered the art of expressing himself through a few swiftly suggestive bold lines. But the body of his entire work, from these early sketches to his latest creation, *Youth Advances*, a massive male figure made for the 151 Festival of Britain, is permeated with a profound humanity which one may ascribe to his formative years on the East Side. Once, looking backward from the peak of his fame, he remarked: "Rembrandt would have delighted in the East Side." And he added gratefully: "I imagine that the feeling I have for expressing a human point of view, giving human rather than abstract implications to my work, comes from these early formative years."

Today Epstein, who celebrated his seventieth birthday on November 1, is a patriarchal gentleman living in modest comfort in a small ivied house in London's Hyde Park Gate, cared for after the death of his wife by one of his daughters. Though there are still many Britons who fail to understand his work, the time has long since passed when London policemen, summoned to an Epstein exhibit, were not sure whether they had been called to protect or to destroy the strange stones that went under the name of "Modern Sculpture." Anti-Epstein riots have long ago ceased to be the vogue. His recent *Lazarus* left visitors baffled, but angry comments were rare. On the occasion of Epstein's seventieth birthday a number of British papers and magazines devoted their columns to an appraisal of his work. Surprisingly, not a single American art magazine or general periodical used the occasion to pay tribute to the genius of this native of New York City!

In a country as conservative as England iconoclasts have few opportunities, and since 1905, the year of his

arrival in Britain, until today, Jacob Epstein has never stopped breaking images and destroying beliefs not acceptable to him. As a teen-ager he had attended the life class at the New York Art Student's League, but he had spent more time in the Durand-Ruel Gallery where he satiated himself on French Impressionists and Post-Impressionists, as well as American rebels of that day like Winslow Homer, George Innes, Albert P. Ryder, and Thomas Eakins.

When he went to study at the Beaux Arts School in Paris he passed his time in a rage of work. One day he earned the scorn of Bougereau. Unwilling to take criticism from this old-fashioned academician, Epstein covered his work when the master came in. "Ce sauvage Americain!" Bougereau exclaimed, and this unflattering nickname stuck to Epstein for the rest of his Paris student days.

One day this "barbaric American" made a trip to London without anticipating that he was destined to become a Londoner, and a British subject. What kept him in England was not the British Museum, with its vast collection of ancient Egyptian and pre-Phidian Greek art, and its Polynesian and African arts and crafts. There is no question that these treasures had a decisive influence upon Epstein the sculptor. But in England he met his future wife. Their first regular income did not come from Epstein's commissions. During the day he would plunge his hands into the wet, cool clay. But, more important for the budget, he worked at night as a model in an art school to make a few shillings.

Epstein was only in his mid-twenties when in 1907 fame came to him via a nation-wide scandal. He had been commissioned to decorate the facade of a new building, just acquired by the British Medical Association. Horrified at the thought of modeling surgeons with side-whiskers, Epstein rejected the idea of doing a series of famous medical men and proposed, instead, an artistically more gratifying sequence, *The Birth of Energy*. This, depicting men and women in their development from 'womb to tomb' was, he felt, a more appropriate theme for an edifice of this character.

Epstein may not have known that the new building of the British Medical Association happened to be oppo-

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site the offices of the National Vigilance Society, or if he knew, he did not care. At any rate, he spent fourteen months carving a series of eighteen nudes. All of them were artistically beyond reproach. Above all, they were not mere decorations stuck upon the walls, but blended perfectly with the building itself. And one of the statues was of a woman in advanced pregnancy.

Public opinion was shocked. How could a father expose his daughter to this alarming sight? The philistines of the Vigilance Society fumed. How could any pure-minded young man let his fiancée behold these "obscenities?" One of the enraged critics, Father Vaughan, even went so far as to make the most of the fact that Epstein then lived in the Bloomsbury section, London's Greenwich Village. While some bigots, supported by the conservative press, loudly clamored for the removal of this "indecent" statuary, unexpected help came to Epstein from no less a person than the Bishop of Stepney, Dr. Cosmo Gordon Lang, later to become Archbishop of Canterbury. Inspecting the figures, he saw nothing indecent or shocking in them. Some of England's outstanding writers and critics likewise sided with Epstein: "Had Michelangelo ever disguised sex?" they asked.

In him there was the same disturbing turbulence that once expressed itself in William Blake, that un-English Englishman who asserted that exuberance is beauty, and that the gateway of excess leads to the Palace of Wisdom. He felt compelled to create sculpture that expressed emotions and ideas but did not try to duplicate nature. Thus he took upon himself the task of the 20th century artist, to disentangle the eternal from the ephemeral, to capture its structure and essence.

It is not surprising then that artistically conservative people found most of Epstein's work repulsive. Most women, for instance, felt affronted by his large statue

*Genesis*, which symbolizes motherhood, not realizing that the artist had no intention of making the millionth variation of a chorus girl. Venu *Genesis* is the eternal primal woman, the fertile mother of the human race, in the dormant fullness of parenthood. Yet one superficial critic called this sincere and devoted homage to maternity a "joke in marble"—as though an artist would spend months, even years of intense concentration merely to confuse and amuse the public.

Adam is a more recent work. Quite interestingly, Epstein deviated from the orthodox traditional view of the God created Adam in his image, as a composite of Gregory Peck and Van Johnson. Mindful of Darwin's *Descent of Man*, Epstein intentionally made this Adam resemble a hairless orilla beating his breast. The artist's adversaries failed to notice a significant detail: Adam's head is thrown back to indicate that he is different from other animals, that he alone of all creatures received the breath and the spirit of God.

Three times he carved Christ, and three times was abused because he clung to his aesthetic conviction. His first Christ originated during World War I: an enormous figure in bronze eleven feet high. The body is wrapped in cerements, one hand points to the gall wound in his other hand. While the forehead is high and serene, the mouth looks tortured, the eyes full of sorrow. A decade ago Epstein said about this version of Christ:

"It stands and accuses the world for its grossness, inhumanity, cruelty, an bestiality—for the World War (World War I), for the new wars in Abyssinia, China, Spain, and now our new great war (World War II).

"I should like to remodel this Christ. I should like to make it hundreds of feet high, and set it up on some high place for all to see, where it would radiate its warning, its mighty symbolic warning to all lands. The Christ

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the Galilean—condemns our wars, and warns us that "Peace, Peace!" must be still the watchword between man and man."

Another presentation of Christ was the *Ecce Homo*. This is a colossal ste carving—a huge head bearing a crown of thorns, thin sad lips, sightless almond-shaped eyes, and two great hands tied with a rope. This time nearly everybody was incensed, and among the most outspoken were members of Parliament. But, to their great amazement, the son of St. Paul, Dr. Walter Mattheus, defended the cure: "It gives the impression of strength, very different from the weak, sentimental representations of Christ with which we have been made acquainted."

The third Christ, the *Consummation Est*, caused the greatest outcry. To many people it was, and remains the most shocking and repulsive of the three. But there are also people to defend it. Alfred Bossom, member of the Royal Institute of British Architects, was one of them. "It makes you think," he said. "What I mean is, his work can't be ignored. You can't pass Epstein's sculpture without noticing it. It may annoy you, or charm you, or shock you, but it produces a definite reaction, and I like that—with a bite in it."

Epstein is well aware of the general opinion about him. He was told by a gallery owner that an angry man had exclaimed: "I should like to take Epstein to a butcher shop and have his hands chopped off." He knows that a confused and bewildered British Prime Minister almost fainted when he was unveiling one of his monuments in Hyde Park. But the artist also knows that, as time goes on, more and more people will understand

his motivation, and agree with him. One cultured New Yorker said at the time of the *Adam* controversy: "To me, Adam is as if he were not made by a man, but by mankind." Even more strikingly to the point is the defense of another admirer: "It seems to me Epstein is rejected because, after all, he is inferring that the blasphemer may be in hearts other than his own."

Epstein is extremely honest, and much too outspoken for his own good. He is not, and never was, a wealthy man. Philistines of many countries would have gladly forgiven him his "monstrosities," and even paid him excellent fees, had he consented to portray them flatteringly in stone or bronze. An art patron who commissioned Epstein to portray a well-connected aristocratic lady was infuriated when he discovered that he had made her look as she actually was, a middle-aged schoolmarmish woman, instead of a live Venus. And when a certain Duke requested that his likeness be carved in the gala uniform he had worn at the coronation of George V, the artist sternly refused to portray him in a majesty he did not possess, and insisted that the Duke wear ordinary clothes. Yet Epstein did not waste his art of portraiture on socialities and aristocrats alone. Among the men who posed for him were the novelist Joseph Conrad, great in all his sickness and loneliness; the exiled Albert Einstein whom he showed in a sweater with his wild hair floating in the wind; and another exile, Haile Selassie, a tired man with deeply melancholy eyes.

Twentieth century sculpture has gone far beyond Epstein who stands at the beginning of the road. But without Jacob Epstein there might have been no Henry Moore. As for such abstract or semi-abstract young



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It is impossible to foretell how much of Epstein's work will withstand the strain of future criticism. To the generation of 1970 or 1980 he may be a "traditionalist." But even the most conservative estimate of his accomplishments cannot minimize his place in the history of art. He chased the "faisseurs de beaute" out of the temple of plastic arts; he clearly demonstrated to the world that it was the sculptor's task to translate the laws of human anatomy into organic sculptural terms, rather than into their naturalistic equivalent. To achieve these ends a great idealism and a primevally strong personality was required. It required a Jacob Epstein, one who like the giant Antaeus of Greek mythology gains his strength from having his feet firmly planted on the earth, that same earth out of which we come, unto which we return, which "shall endure forever . . ."

Atlanta, Ga.—A rather frequent complaint of editorial writers on Southern newspapers and the Southerners generally is that newspapers in other parts of the country

A black and white portrait of a man with dark, wavy hair, wearing a clerical collar and a dark jacket over a light-colored shirt. He is looking slightly to the right of the camera with a neutral expression. The background is a mottled, textured grey.

(Sd. Sisir Kumar Bhaduri.

# SWAROBIN

**7, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta-9**

One easily recalls, too, the frequent lynchings in South Carolina a few suspects, all taxi drivers, were given a Negro was lynched. The state vigorously and thoroughly, yet three-score defendants in a verdant civilized world.

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There has been a dramatic decrease in lynchings. In 1950 there were only about the average for the last four years. The Southern Regional Council, a group of Southerners, recently pointed out, however, that the number of lynchings in 1950 is not particularly

low. Lynching has become, not without reason, a more subtle thing with racism, and the notion still exists that the number of lynchings serves as a barometer of the South. This isn't necessarily the case, however, that white men may lynch other whites as easily as they may murder a member of the minority race. The number of lynchings may exclude the most heinous slayings—for instance, the case in 1949 of three escaped white convicts who murdered a Negro family.

The pattern of lynching has come slowly over a long period. Gone is the day of the spectacle of large mobs acting openly and publicly proclaiming their objective. The lynch mob has been replaced by very small groups who conspire in secret and dispose of their victims without any fanfare. This development has, naturally, widened the already wide field for argument over just what does and what does not constitute a lynching.

The Southern Regional Council calls attention to the fact that there were more bombings of Negro-owned homes in 1950 than there were lynchings. There were many more Negroes needlessly shot by policemen acting "in the course of duty." There were more abductions, more kidnappings, more actions designed to terrorize and intimidate, many of them committed by members of the Ku-Klux Klan or persons concealing their identity behind a reasonable facsimile of the regalia of the hooded order.

The real significance of the 1950 record of lynchings, painstakingly kept by Tuskegee Institute, is neither in the small number nor in the deviation of lynching from the classic example. The thing that is noteworthy is that most of the participants in the 1950 lynchings have been caught, tried and convicted. One need only review briefly the record of the two cases classified as lynchings by Tuskegee, which readily admits there is no really fool-proof definition of a lynching.

Charlie Hurst, white, thirty-nine-year-old rolling-mill operator of Pell City, Ala., was mortally wounded on February 22, 1950, in his front yard by a group of unmasked men. They had come to his home at bedtime and tried to force him into their car. Hurst's nineteen-year-old son, who came to his assistance, was also wounded. Hurst had previously told his son that "it looks like the Kluxers are after me." There were no charges against the victim. The Tuskegee report concludes that "it seems the mob got the wrong man."

The other lynch victim in 1950 was Jack Walker, a forty-year-old Negro laborer living near Gay, Ga. His body was found on August 18 in a creek near the Flint River by a group of fishermen. He had been shot to death by three men for whom he worked. According to the Tuskegee report, Walker knew too much about illegal whisky traffic.

Now as to what happened subsequently: One of the mob members in the Pell City slaying has been sentenced to five years in prison, one committed suicide and three other accused men are awaiting trial. A Georgia court has sentenced all three of the men implicated in the Negro slaying—two of them to life imprisonment and one to a term of three to five years.

Late in 1950 a group of Klansmen shot up a Negro resort near Myrtle Beach, in South Carolina, and in the shooting, somehow, a Conway policeman in Ku-Klux garb



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